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John F. Snyder, M. D.—President Illinois State Historical Society.

PUBLICATION NO. 9 OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1904.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

BLOOMINGTON, JAN. 27, 28, 29, 1904.

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J. F. SNYDER, M. D., *President of the Society, ex-officio.*

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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY, 1904—JANUARY, 1905.

President,

J. F. Snyder, M. D., Virginia.

1st Vice President,

Paul Selby, A. M., Chicago.

2d Vice President,

Hon. William Vocke, Chicago.

3rd Vice President,

Dr. A. W. French, Springfield.

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The presidents of the local Illinois historical societies; J. O. Cunningham, president Champaign county Historical society, Urbana; Hon. Franklin H. Head, president Chicago Historical society, Chicago; President DeKalb county Historical society;—Hon. Harvey B. Hurd, Evanston Historical society, Evanston; Hon. Wm. Vocke, German-American-Historical association, Chicago; James T. Hoblit, Logan county Historical society, Lincoln; Mr. George P. Davis, McLean county Historical society, Bloomington; J. F. Steward, Maremech Historical society, Chicago; S. B. Kerr, Massac county Historical society, Metropolis; Frank Moore, Old Settlers' Historical association of Randolph county, Chester; Hon. Lorenzo Bull, Quincy Historical society, Quincy; Lovejoy Johnson, Stillman Valley Battle Monument association, Stillman Valley; Hon. E. P. Wade, Madison county Historical society, Alton;—President of the Vermilion county Historical society, Danville; President of the Jersey county Historical society, Jerseyville; President of the Peoria Historical society, Peoria; President of the Southern Illinois Historical society, Carbondale; president of the Woodford county Historical society, Eureka; Hon. Moses Dillon, president of the Whiteside county Historical society, Sterling.

Board of Directors.

J. F. Snyder, Virginia; Edmund Janes James, Ph. D., President Northwestern University, Evanston; George N. Black, Springfield; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; M. H. Chamberlain, LL. D., President of McKendree college, Lebanon; Hon. David McCulloch, Peoria; Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D., University of Illinois, Urbana; Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., University of Chicago, Chicago; Hon. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield; Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; Hon. W. H. Collins, Quincy; Prof. George W. Smith, Southern Illinois Normal university, Carbondale; Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

Secretary and Treasurer to the Board of Directors.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

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Program Committee—Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D., chairman; Jessie Palmer Weber, M. H. Chamberlin, LL. D., J. H. Burnham, E. E. Spark, Ph. D., Mrs. S. P. Wheeler.

Finance Committee—George N. Black, chairman; E. J. James.

Constitution and By-Laws—David McCulloch, chairman; J. H. Burnham, J. O. Cunningham.

Legislation—George N. Black, chairman; Alfred Orendorff, E. J. James, J. McCan Davis, W. H. Collins. (with power to add to its membership)

Local Historical Societies—J. H. Burnham, chairman; J. O. Cunningham, Prof. O. B. Clark, George W. Smith, David McCulloch, W. W. Davis.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition Committee (continued)—E. J. James, chairman; George N. Black, J. H. Burnham, Alfred Orendorff, Dr. William Jayne.

Committee on the Marking of Historic Sites in Illinois—Edwin Erle Sparks, chairman; Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Dr. William Jayne, Mrs. Helen M. J. Little, J. McCan Davis.

Special Committee on Membership of the Illinois State Historical Society, appointed by the president of the society March 23, 1904—Edwin E. Sparks, chairman; J. Nick Perrin, E. A. Snively, J. McCan Davis, H. E. Barker, Dr. William Jayne, J. F. Snyder, ex-officio.

MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

*Boal, Dr. Robert.....Lacon, Ill.
Bradwell, Judge James B.....Chicago, Ill.
Edwards, Mrs. Benjamin S..Springfield, Ill.
Johnson. Hon. Charles P.....St. Louis, Mo.
*McClernand, Gen. John A..Springfield, Ill.
McClernand, Mrs. John A....Springfield, Ill.
Morrison, Mrs. I. L.....Jacksonville, Ill.
*Palmer, Gen. John M.....Springfield, Ill.
Palmer, Mrs. John M.....Springfield, Ill.
*Ruggles, Gen. James M.....Havana, Ill.
*Stuart, Mrs. John T.....Springfield, Ill.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold.....Madison, Wis.
Yates, Mrs. Catherine, (Mrs. Richard Yates, Sr.).....Jacksonville, Ill.

LIFE MEMBER.

Barry, Hon. P. T.....
.....77-79 Jefferson street, Chicago, Ill.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

(This list includes all members, including those who have joined the society since its annual meeting, up to and including Nov. 1, 1904.

Adams, J. C.....Peotone, Ill.
Adams, J. R.....Plano, Ill.
Anderson, Horace G.....Peoria, Ill.
Atkins, Gen. Smith D.....Freeport, Ill.
Bacchus, Mrs. Annie..... (Mrs. Leroy Bacchus)....Springfield, Ill.
Baker, J. J.....Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Bangs, Prof. J. E.....Springfield, Ill.
Bangs, Mrs. Margaret M..... (Mrs. J. E. Bangs).....Springfield, Ill.
Barker, H. E.....Springfield, Ill.
Barry, Hon. P. T., (life member)..... .....77-79 Jefferson street, Chicago, Ill.
Beach, Hon Myron H..... .....404-406 The Rookery, Chicago, Ill.
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*Beckwith, Hon. Hiram W.....Danville, Ill.
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Black, Mrs. George N.....Springfield, Ill.
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Brown, Mrs. C. C.....Springfield, Ill.
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Burchard, Hon. Horatio C.....Freeport, Ill.
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Burnap, Prof. W. L..... Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
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Burt, J. S.....Henry, Ill.
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Clary, Prof. J. M., President Greer College .....Hoopeston, Ill.
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Congdon George E.....Waterman, Ill.
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Cooper, Hon. John L.....Fairfield, Ill.
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Crandon, Frank P..... .....1414 Forest av., Evanston, Ill.
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Cunningham, Judge J. O.....Urbana, Ill.
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Dunn, Mrs. Julia Mills.....Moline, Ill.
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Engelmann, Mrs. Mary K ..Cleveland, Ohio
Eschmann, Rev. C. J. Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
Fairbank, Rev. John B.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Fancher, Miss Grace.....Springfield, Ill.
Faxon, E. W .....Plano, Ill.
Felmly, Prof. David.....Normal, Ill.

*Deceased.

List of Members—Concluded.

Fisher, Albert Judson, (Historian Ill. Society Sons of the American Revolution)...604 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Fitzwilliam, Mrs. Sarah E. Raymond.....4824 Vincennes Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Forbes, Prof. S. A., University of Ill.....Urbana, Ill.
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Funk, Hon. Lafayette.....Bloomington, Ill.
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Pettit, Guy V.....Reynolds, Ill.
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Prince, E. M., secretary McLean County Historical Society.....Bloomington, Ill.
Prince, Frederick C., vice-president and secretary Sherman Historical association.....P. O. box 244, Chicago, Ill.
Pitner, Dr. T. J.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Putnam, Prof. J. W.....Madison, Wis.
Quincy Historical Society.....Quincy, Ill.
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Sattley, Miss Olive.....411 East Capitol Ave., Springfield. Ill.
Saylor, H. L.....138 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Schmidt, Dr. Otto L.....3328 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Schoolcraft, Prof. H. L.....Urbana, Ill.
Scott, Edgar S.....Springfield, Ill.
Scott, Mrs. Julia Green, (Mrs. Matthew T.).....Bloomington, Ill.
Sell, Will J.....Grayville, Ill.
Selby, Paul, A. M.....5468 Monroe Av., Chicago, Ill.
Sheets, J. M.....Oblong, Ill.
Sheppard, Prof. R. D., Northwestern University.....Evanston, Ill.
Sibley, H. F.....Fairfield, Ill.
Sibley, Dr. W. C.....Fairfield, Ill.
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Snively, Mrs. E. A.....Springfield, Ill.
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Sparks, Edwin Earle, Ph. D., University of Chicago.....Chicago, Ill.
Spear, S. L.....Springfield, Ill.
Spence, M. H.....Elmwood, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K.....112 114 Genesee St., Waukegan, Ill.
Stennett, Dr. W. H.....303 Linden Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Stevens, Frank E.....1205 Chamber of Commerce Building Chicago. Ill.
Steward, Miss Bertha, Steward, Lee Co., Ill.
Steward, John F.....1899 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

*Deceased.

List of Members—Concluded.

Stubblefield, Hon. George W.....
..... Bloomington, Ill.
*Stuve, Dr. Bernard .....Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, Mrs. Harriet Rumsey .....
.....LaGrange, Ill.
Thayer, Miss Maude .....Springfield, Ill.
Tietsort, W. B.....Medora, Ill.
Tomlin, Mrs. Eliza I. H....Jacksonville, Ill.
Urech, —.....Mendon, Ill.
Utterback, J. C.....Salem, Ill.
Vocke, Hon. William, President German American Historical Society .....
.....103 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Waite, Dr. H. N .....Johnson, Vermont.
Wallace, Joseph A. M.....Springfield. Ill.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer..Springfield, Ill.
Wells, Frederick Latimer.....Wheaton, Ill.
Wertz, Miss Adda P .....Carbondale, Ill.
West, Hon. Simeon H.....LeRoy, Ill.
Wheeler, Mrs. Catherine Goss, (Mrs S. P. Wheeler).....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert .....
.....14 State St., Chicago, Ill.
Wheeler, Hon. S. P .....Springfield, Ill.
Wightman, G. F.....Lacon, Ill.
Wiles, Mrs. Alice Bradford.....
.....5711 Woodlawn Ave,. Chicago, Ill.
Wilcox, E. S.....Peoria, Ill.
Woolard, F. M.....Fairfield. Ill.
Worthington, Hon. Thomas .....
.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, Mrs. Thomas.....
.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Wychoff, Dr. Charles T., Bradley Polytechnic Institute.....Peoria, Ill.

*Deceased.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Adopted, January 27, 1904.)

ARTICLE I. NAME AND OBJECTS.

Sec. 1. The name of this society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Sec. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its people.

ARTICLE II. OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

Sec. 1. The mangement of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of 15 directors of which board the president of the society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

Sec. 2. There shall be a president and as many vice presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Sec. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has been formed and to this end they shall have power—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within this State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical library, of all property so

received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An act to add a new section to an act entitled an act to establish the Illinois State Historical library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by laws not inconsistent with this constitution, for the mangement of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make reports to the society at its annual meeting.

Sec. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Sec. 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president *pro-tempore*.

Sec. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

Article III. Membership.

Sec. 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, life, affiliated, corresponding and honorary.

Sec. 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than $1, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

Sec. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of $25 be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Sec. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the board of directors be admitted as affiliated members of this society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited repressntative at each meeting of the society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Sec. 5. Persons not active or life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of the society, may upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Sec. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the society upon recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Sec. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the society.

Article IV. Meetings and Quorum.

Sec. 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of January in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Sec. 2. Special meetings of the society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the board of directors may be called by the president or any two members of the board.

Sec. 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

Article V. Amendments.

Sec. 1. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided*, That the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least 30 days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the secretary to all the members of the society.

Adopted by the society at annual meeting Jan. 27, 1904.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, McLEAN COUNTY COURT HOUSE, BLOOMINGTON, ILL., JANUARY 27, 28, 29, 1904.

Meeting of the board of directors of the Illinois State Historical society, Bloomington, Ill., Jan. 27, 2:00 o'clock, p. m.

In the rooms of the McLean County Historical society, McLean county court house.

Present—Dr. J. F. Snyder, president of the society; J. H. Burnham, Hon. David McCulloch; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the society.

It was expected that a committee appointed by the Illinois Press association, May 1904, would according to arrangement meet with the board of directors at this time, but none of the committee being present the conference meeting with it was postponed until the arrival of Gen. Smith D. Atkins of Freeport and Mr. E. A. Snively, who had notified the board of directors that they would be able to meet with it at a later time during the sessions of the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical society. The reading of the minutes of the last previous meeting of the board of directors was on motion of J. H. Burnham, omitted. The secretary's report was read and approved. The treasurer's report was read. The bills submitted by the treasurer were approved and on motion of Hon. David McCulloch were referred to the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical library, with the request that they be paid from the fund appropriated for the support of the Illinois State Historical library of which the Illinois State Historical society is now a department. The committee on publication asked further time before making its report. This additional time was allowed. There was no report submitted by the committee on legislation. Committee on constitution and by-laws asked further time, which was allowed. The committee on local historical societies by its chairman J. H. Burnham made a report, which report was on motion of Judge David McCulloch referred to the society. The board of directors adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

Meeting of Conference Committee of Illinois State Historical Society and Illinois Press Association.

Among the visitors at the meeting were several editors constituting a committee appointed by the Illinois State Press association at its annual meeting at Cairo, last May, to confer with the State Historical society. At 11:30 a. m.

on Thursday, Jan, 28, when Hon. E. A. Snively concluded reading his paper on "Newspapers and Newspaper Men of Illinois," that committee, with a committee of directors of the Historical society, retired to the hall of the McLean County Historical society and there held a protracted conference, having for its object the instituting of a plan to ally the State Press association and State Historical society for mutual aid and promotion. Their consultation resulted in the following agreement; 1st, any editor or publisher in Illinois who will send regularly a (weekly) copy of his publication, free of charge, to the Illinois State Historical library, at Springfield, shall be enrolled as a member of the State Historical society, and receive all its publications, on a parity in every respect with other members, and be exempt from payment of annual dues. 2d, each organization shall be represented at the annual meetings of the other by a committee of two or more, who will be accorded the privileges of the floor for making reports, suggestions or other statements pertaining to the welfare of either society.

This agreement of the joint committees upon submission to the Historical society was unanimously adopted; and in accordance therewith the president appointed Judge David McCulloch, of Peoria, and Gen. Alfred Orendorff, of Springfield, a committee to represent this society at the next annual meeting of the Illinois State Press association to be held in the city of Galesburg on the 18th of February, 1904. This business concluded, Gen. Smith D. Atkins, editor of the Freeport Journal, chairman of the State Press association committee, was introduced and presented to the society, a small gavel bearing on its ivory head the following inscriptions; on one end, "Illinois Press association," on the other end, "Organized Feb. 22d, 1866," and covering the central portion the names of 27 presidents of the association commencing with that of "John W. Merritt, 1866," and ending with "Chas. Boeschenstein, 1898." In presenting the gavel to the Historical society, General Atkins said; "Mr. President, On May 14, 1903, at a meeting of the Illinois Press association, at Cairo, Ill., Hon. Thomas Rees, of Springfield, stated that he had in his possession the first gavel of the association, and it was agreed that Mr. Rees should present it to the Illinois State Historical society at its next meeting, in Bloomington. Senator Rees is not present at this meeting, but he has sent the gavel here by Hon. E. A. Snively, of Springfield, and Mr. Snively has requested me to present it to your society to be retained by you as an interesting historical relic. It is made of ivory, and on it are engraved the names of 27 gentlemen who have served as presidents of the Illinois Press association from 1866 to 1898, 32 years. The Illinois Press association purchased a new gavel, because there was no more room on this one to engrave the names of the presidents of the society. I was personally acquainted with 20 of the gentlemen whose names are engraved on this gavel. Not now will I speak in detail of them; they, or some of them, were distinguished citizens of this State, rendering most valuable service as editors and public officials. It is fitting that this gavel should now be deposited with your society for safe keeping; and it affords me great pleasure to turn it over to you."

Receiving the gavel Dr. Snyder, president of the State Historical society, responded as follows; "General Atkins, I gladly accept, for the Illinois State Historical society, this venerable historic relic, and promise you and the association you represent, that it will be permanently preserved by our society among the other historic relics we now have at the State capitol as the foundation of a future Illinois Historical museum. We will always highly prize this symbol of order and authority, not only for its past associations, and the service it has rendered when wielded by the honored journalists of our State whose names are carved upon it, but also as a memento of this occasion that marks the affiliation of the Illinois State Press association, and Illinois State Historical society inaugurated here today, to bring the two in closer relation to each other for their mutual benefit and improvement. Personally, I am indeed much gratified that it has fallen to my lot to receive for the State Historical society of Illinois this valued souvenir, and I can assure you with confidence that its future care and safe keeping will, by our society, be ever regarded as a pleasant and sacred duty."

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., Jan. 27, 28, 29, 1904.

Business meeting in rooms of McLean County Historical society, McLean county court house, Wednesday, January 27, 3:00 p. m.

The fifth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical society business session was called to order, with President J. F. Snyder in the chair.

Capt. J. H. Burnham read the report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition committee, and made some explanatory remarks favoring declining the appropriation of two thousand dollars ($2,000) offered to the society, by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition commission. Judge David McCulloch moved that the report of the committee be received. Adopted. Prof. E. B. Greene moved that some plan be devised whereby the money offered by the commission could be accepted and used, and that the appropriation be accepted. Mr. George P. Davis opposed the acceptance of the appropriation on the ground of the insufficiency of the amount appropriated and the short time remaining before the opening of the exposition in which to prepare an exhibit. Mr. E. M. Prince also opposed the acceptance of the appropriation. Judge David McCulloch moved that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition committee be continued. This motion was not seconded, as Capt. J. H. Burnham positively declined to act further on such committee, and the motion was withdrawn by Judge McCulloch. Prof. E. B. Greene moved that the entire matter of the Louisiana Purchase appropriation and the exhibit be referred to the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical library, with power to act in behalf of the society. This motion was seconded by Judge McCulloch and was carried. Capt. J. H. Burnham, of the committee on local historical societies, read a letter from Hon. J. O. Cunningham, relating to the work done by local historical societies in the State. Captain Burnham also read the report of the committee on local historical societies. Judge David McCulloch moved that the report be received. This motion was seconded by Mr. E. M. Prince and was adopted. Judge McCulloch made some remarks explaining the difference between *receiving* and *adopting* a report. After some discussion the report was, on motion of Prof. E. B. Greene, adopted. Capt. J. H. Burnham read resolutions of respect and esteem for the late Hon. H. W. Beckwith. These resolutions were adopted by a rising vote.

WHEREAS, Our hearts have been saddened by the death of H. W. Beckwith, president of this society for the first four years of its existence, and its first vice president at the time of his death.

Resolved, That we cheerfully testify to our appreciation of his many lovable qualities as an associate, and we desire to record our belief that the Illinois State Historical society owes his memory a debt that will never be fully satisfied.

While a member of the Illinois State Historical library board for several years, he not only gave careful and conscientious oversight to the duties of the office, but he brought to it a critical and thorough knowledge of the history of the northwest, and of historical publications, with the ability to sift the good from the faulty and the courage to make selections and rejections on the basis of historic accuracy.

He was largely instrumental in bringing about the organization of the Illinois State Historical society, which is deeply indebted to its first president for much thoughtful advice, as illustrated in his first inaugural address, and for his constant and continuous interest in its welfare until the close of his useful life.

The secretary's report, as approved by the board of directors, was read and adopted. Hon. David McCulloch, chairman of the committee on constitution and by-laws, read the proposed constitution of the society, which had been approved by the board of directors of the society Sept. 10, 1903, and copies of which had been sent by the secretary to each member of the society 30 days prior to this (annual) meeting. After some discussion of the proposed constitution, and some explanatory remarks by Judge McCulloch, the constitution, as printed and sent out by the secretary to the members of the society, was adopted. The next business before the society was the election of officers for the year January, 1904–January, 1905. Prof. E. B. Greene moved that the president appoint a nominating committee to report to the society at the opening session the next (Thursday) afternoon. This motion was seconded by Judge David McCulloch and was carried. The president appointed, as a committee to nominate officers for the society for the ensuing year, E. B. Greene, J. H. Burnham, George N. Black, M. H. Chamberlin, A. W. French.

Dr. J. F. Snyder read a brief paper entitled "An Enquiry," relating to a prospectus of a book by Gov. John Reynolds. This prospectus was published in the Illinois State Journal, Springfield, in 1857.

Dr. J. F. Snyder read an address on the "Life and Work of Dr. Bernard Stuve," a member of the society whose death had occurred since the last annual meeting. Capt. J. H. Burnham called attention to the number of deaths which the society had sustained among its membership during the year, and suggested that from this time forward the deaths of members of the society, with suitable memorial biographies, be published in the "Necrological Department of the Transactions of the Society," and that memorial addresses be not read at the annual meetings of the society except in cases of persons eminent in history or in historical research. Prof. George W. Smith made some remarks explanatory of the proposed Southern Illinois Historical society at Carbondale. Hon. David McCulloch reported the organization and flourishing condition of the Peoria Historical

society, with some account of its methods and progress. Capt. J. H. Burnham made some remarks relative to local historical societies and their relation to the State Historical society. Prof. George W. Smith made some further remarks relating to the plan and scope of the proposed Southern Illinois Historical society. The question of local historical societies, their fields of work, limitations and relation to the State Historical society was discussed by Prof. E. B. Greene, Capt. J. H. Burnham and Prof. George W. Smith.

There being no further business before the society, the meeting, on motion of Mr. E. M. Prince, was declared adjourned until 7:45 the same evening, Wednesday, January 27, in the circuit court room of the McLean county court house.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The secretary of the society has to report a most gratifying growth of interest in the Illinois State Historical society. Every day letters are received asking for information about the society and the scope of its work. Societies have been formed in several of the counties, but this will be reported to you at length by the committee on local historical societies.

As secretary of the society I had the pleasure of accompanying the board of trustees of Fort Massac park early in the month of November to Metropolis and the site of the fort. Nature has done so much at Massac that there is not much to be done in the way of beautifying the park. It is situated on a beautiful bluff of the Ohio river and shows undoubted remains of a fortification. The board was met by the leading citizens of Metropolis and taken in carriages to the grounds of the fort. The grounds were carefully examined in company with Hon. Reed Green, the owner, and a surveyor, and the number of acres and the shape of the park decided upon. The gracious lady, the president of the board of trustees, going with the gentlemen of the board (the Secretary of State and Auditor of Illinois) up and down the bluffs and across the ravines, and personally seeing every foot of the ground and planning for its best utilization. I was only a spectator, but was glad to take part in this historic event, in the name of the Illinois State Historical society.

I do not attempt to tell of the workings of local historical societies, but I do wish to say to interested persons, that it is the wish of the board of trustees of the library to have, as soon as the quarters of the library are enlarged, an alcove, or at least a book case, devoted to the history of each county of the State. We wish to ask the local historical societies to help us collect the history of each county. If the local society is able to have its own library we would like to ask them to send to us such duplicates as they can secure. If a rare local book is found, a local society will no doubt wish to keep it for its own library, but suppose, when the book is found to be rare and of interest, another person says, "Why, we have that old book at home," then it is that the secretary of the local society can aid the State society by saying 'We have it, but the State society at Springfield will be glad to have it," and can urge the person to write to the secretary of the State society, or can himself inform the State society of the existence of such a book or other historic article. While it will be interesting and valuable to the counties to have a library collected at their county seats or chief towns, to the student of State history and its phases, it will be of the greatest importance to have a complete history of the State and its counties and towns collected at the capital. The State society will publish valuable matter collected by local societies and

can help them in many ways which will be suggested by the committee on local historical societies. The membership of the society has increased during the year to a very gratifying extent.

The board of directors met in Springfield on Sept. 10, 1903, and considered the new constitution which was offered by the committee on constitution and by-laws. This constitution as amended has been sent to each of you and it will be read to you for your action upon it. The transactions of the society for the last year—1903—have been printed, and though still in the hands of the binder, will be distributed to the members of the society and its friends within the next ten days. The book in a number of respects is a decided improvement upon any of our previous books.

The publication committee has held meetings in Springfield and has endeavored to make the book such as will satisfy the society and meet with its approval. A full report of the meeting of the board of directors is with me. The board of directors will be glad to have the members of the society make suggestions in this meeting or to the board through its secretary.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

RECEIPTS.		
Received of J. McCan Davis, February, 1903	$31 78	
Received for annual dues	55 00	
Total		$86 78
DISBURSEMENTS.		
Paid for postage stamps	$20 00	
Printing bills, Illinois State Journal Co.: Constitution of the society, circular letter accompanying constitution, circular letter accompanying programs to newspapers requesting insertion of program; programs	19 75	
Total		$39 75

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

To the Members and Officers of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Local Historical Societies begs leave to report their action. In the month of December, 1904, we sent out circulars to persons supposed to be interested, a copy of which is hereby attached.

CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Springfield, Ill.

President, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia. First Vice President, Hon. H. W. Beckwith, Danville. Second Vice President, Prof. Evarts B. Greene, Urbana. Third Vice President, Hon. William Vocke, Chicago. Honorary Vice Presidents, The Presidents of Local Historical Societies. Members of Board

of Directors, Dr. E. J. James, President Northwestern University; Hon. George N. Black, Springfield; Hon. David McCulloch, Peoria; Capt. J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; Dr. M. H. Chamberlin, President McKendree College, Lebanon. Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS.

To All Interested in Local Historical Societies:

The Illinois State Historical society, now in the fifth year of its existence, is very desirous of assisting in the organization of county or other local historical societies all over the State. County societies have been organized in Jersey, McLean, Champaign, DeKalb, Logan, Whiteside, Madison and Woodford. A very great work has been accomplished by the Chicago Historical society. The Evanston and Quincy societies also take high rank. This committee fully believes that a large number of other counties are perfectly able and perhaps ready to organize county societies, and begin systematically the great work of gathering and publishing their own local history.

At the last meeting of the board of directors of the Illinois State Historical society, a plan was discussed and laid over for consideration at the next annual meeting of the society, which will be held in Bloomington, Wednesday afternoon, January 27, 1904. The program for this annual meeting will soon be issued, showing what papers may be expected on the 27th, 28th and 29th of January. The board of directors will be pleased to have the society's opinion of the plan, to the end that there may be a close and practicable union between the State and local societies. The plan is as follows:

"The State Historical society shall aid in the organization of local historical societies by giving all practicable assistance through correspondence, or the personal visitation of its officers or agents.

"It shall also assist and stimulate societies already organized, as far as possible. All such societies are invited to co-operate with the State society by reporting annually in January to the State Historical society, giving a statement of their work during the year, with a list of all officers and a copy of all printed publications issued. Such local societies as are unable to publish papers or reports are requested to furnish this society with copies of all papers, reports and documents relating to their local history, from which the State Historical society will make selections, for its own publications, of such documents or papers as may appear to be of special interest to the people of the State of Illinois, and the State society will keep all unpublished papers and documents safely in its own custody, unless their return is requested by the local societies."

Reports from all existing societies are hereby urgently requested, the same to be directed to the chairman of this committee; and persons in other counties interested in the organization of local historical societies are earnestly urged to take action immediately, if possible, to secure county or other local historical organization, in season to report the same before or at the next annual meeting of the State society, Jan. 27, 1904.

For the purpose of assisting in such work, a copy of the latest constitution adopted, that of Woodford county, is hereby furnished.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I—The name of the association shall be the Woodford County Historical society.

Article II—The officers of this society shall be a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, three trustees and an executive committee of five members, three of whom shall be the president, secretary and treasurer of the society.

Article III—The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting and shall serve for one year, except the trustees, who shall be elected as follows:—One for three years, one for two years, and one for one year, after which each shall be elected for three years, one being elected annually.

Article IV—The objects of this society shall be to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the natural, industrial, civil, military, political, social, educational or religious history of Woodford county in particular and

Illinois in general; to maintain a museum and library; to cultivate the historic sense and diffuse knowledge upon these subjects by meetings and publications.

Article V—Any person may become a member of this association by the vote of its members and the payment of $1.00.

Article VI—This society shall hold an annual meeting at the county seat on the first Thursday of December of each year; and the society shall hold a semi-annual meeting on the first Thursday of June of each year. Furthermore, the executive committee may provide for such other meetings as it may think best.

Article VII—This constitution may be changed or amended at any regular meeting of the society, providing that notice, in writing, of the proposed changes or amendments be given at the last meeting preceding the meeting at which the change or amendment is proposed.

Words and arguments from this committee are not needed. The importance of these historical organizations is admitted by all. Action is the need of the hour.

The chairman of this committee, or either of his associates will be very much pleased to correspond with any person interested in this work.

J. H. BURNHAM,
Bloomington, Illinois.

J. O. CUNNINGHAM,
Urbana, Illinois.

O. B. CLARK,
Eureka, Illinois.

From responses received, we are of the opinion that in one or two cases, action has been taken which will lead to the speedy organization of local historical societies.

We have thought best not to attempt too much in this line, until the State society shall have taken more definite action pertaining to the relation which it is intended shall exist between State and the local societies, under our new constitution which will now go into effect.

We would urge that a carefully prepared plan for the future relations between the State and local societies, be prepared as soon as possible, and to this end would recommend that a special committee be appointed, consisting of the standing committee on local historical societies, with an equal representation made up from officers of the local societies now organized, to take this whole subject into careful consideration, and report as soon as practicable.

We would further recommend that in case their report is ready before the next annual meeting of the State society, that the State society hereby authorize the board of directors to take such action as may be deemed to the best interests of the State and local societies, without further action on the part of this society.

There is much evidence that active and efficient work is now being performed by most of the local societies. The following new societies have been reported as organized since our last report: The Meramech Historical society of Kendall county, the Madison County Historical society, the Woodford County Historical society.

The following is the list of the different historical societies in this State as far as reported: The Chicago Historical society at Chicago and the Illinois society at Springfield probably should not come under the head of local societies, although the president of the Chicago society is one of the honorary vice presidents of the Illinois State Historical society, and it is our understanding that for its work in certain lines of historical investigation, this society is willing to act in the utmost harmony with the Illinois Historical society.

Of city societies we have reported: The Quincy society at Quincy; president, Lorenzo Bull, Quincy; corresponding secretary, S. H. Emery, Quincy; Evanston Historical society, Evanston; president, Harvey B. Hurd, Evanston; vice president, Frank H. Grover, Evanston; secretary, J. Seymour Curry, Evanston.

The work of the Evanston Historical society deserves special notice. In 1902 this society issued a beautiful calendar containing a dozen views of historic houses and natural objects, which is a good illustration of the possibilities of such publications, but we desire particularly to notice the report of its secretary concerning the five year's work of this society, which shows such comprehensive efficiency that we urgently recommend its publication in the society's transactions.

Elgin Scientific club. No report.

New England society, Rockford. No report.

Champaign County Historical society, Urbana; president, J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.

DeKalb County Historical society. No report.

Jersey County Historical society, Jerseyville. No report.

Meramech Historical society of Kendall county, Plano; president, John F. Steward, 1889 Sheridan road, Chicago; secretary, Avery N. Beebee, Yorkville.

Madison County Historical society, Alton; president, E. P. Wade, Alton; secretary, Miss Julia Buckmaster, Alton.

Whiteside County Historical society, Sterling; president, Moses Dillon, Sterling; secretary, W. W. Davis, Sterling.

Woodford County Historical society; president, Col. B. D. Meek, Eureka; secretary, Prof. O. B. Clark, Eureka.

McLean County Historical society, Bloomington; president, Geo. P. Davis; secretary, E. M. Prince, Bloomington.

Logan County Historical society, Lincoln; president, J. T. Hoblitt, Lincoln; secretary, Mrs. Leila B. Collins, Lincoln.

Pike County Historical society, Pittsfield; president, Hon. J. M. Bush.

Considering the little effort that has been made to organize these societies, your committee feels greatly encouraged in being able to report so many active organizations. It is our belief that in case the State society should see fit to properly encourage these societies, and provide a popular plan for their affiliation with the parent society, a very large number of efficient and active organizations would soon be formed, each one a local center of great influence, and each one constituting a center around which the parent society can more efficiently perform its own work, and where it could always find sympathetic assistance in carrying forward its future plans.

J. H. BURNHAM,
J. O. CUNNINGHAM,
O. B. CLARK.

REPORT FROM EVANSTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

EVANSTON, Jan. 16, 1904.

Capt. J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.:

DEAR SIR—Being unable to attend the meeting of the State Historical society at Bloomington on the 27th, 28th and 29th of January, I will briefly give some account of the Evanston Historical society, which will possibly be of interest to you and the other members.

Since our orgainzation some five years ago we have laid the foundation for a collection of historical material, which I will briefly describe. As you know a collection of this kind embraces a great variety of written and printed papers, portraits, views, diplomas, charts, maps, engravings, objects, etc., as well as books on local, State and western history. Our attention was first given to making up written accounts, or sketches of the earlier residents, some of whom are still living. We obtained photograph portraits of many of these, also letters and other writings whenever possible. Those who were no longer living or had moved away were described by their descendants or former neighbors. It was necessary to hasten in this work for every year the survivors were becoming fewer. As the settlement of our region on the shore of the lake north of Chicago, which is our field of work, began in the early 30's; we searched the town and country adjoining far and wide for those who were here at that early time, or in the subsequent decade. We had pictures of them taken, pictures of the pioneer houses, such as remained of them, narratives written at their dictation, describing their journeys and arrival in the new country; their experiences, their mode of life, and many other things of interest. We even made a directory of the names of those who lived here 50 years ago. Our amateur photographers found a fresh field for their efforts and worked with great enthusiasm; our literary people coöperated in writing memoirs; and the old residents and their descendants awakened to the fact that they were objects of interest and found themselves famous.

We next turned our attention to gathering information on the physical aspect of the country in the early day and the changes which had taken place since that time. We traced the old roads, boundary lines of Indian treaties, old shore line of the lake (which we found had worn away as much as a quarter of a mile inland at some points); located school houses, roadside taverns, log cabins, (some of which had long since disappeared); took inscriptions from old tombstones; and made written descriptions of them all. We also found a large number of interesting trees—some bent by Indians when they were saplings and made to take strange shapes which they retained after becoming full sized, and so called "Indian trees;" some of immense size and height; and views taken of them and preserved. We also found remains of Indian camping grounds and villages, located an ancient burying ground, and collected flint implements found in the neighborhood. The topography of the region became a most interesting department of study. In two respects our situation is remarkable. First, this region is the southern limit of glacier action in North America, at least in this longitude; and while north of us are the evidences of such action, south of us none exist. Second, our region is on the divide between the waters that flow to the Alantic ocean through the river St. Lawrence on one hand, and those that flow down the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico on the other. Maps are in our possession marking the height of land above the sea level at numerous points, so that the height of bluffs, ridges and undulations of land is accurately known.

Among the narratives of thrilling interest is that of the steamer "Lady Elgin" lost off our shores in 1860, wrecks of many other ships and steamers, thrilling rescues; and the long tale of life saving through many years by the crew located in the United States life saving station at this point.

We have extended our collection of books and pamphlets beyond those on historical subjects, and included the works of all authors who have resided here—now or at any other time. Some have a world-wide reputation, and many are well known in the world of letters. So that we not only have sketches and portraits of a great number but their books as well. This por tion of the collection is now quite incomplete but progress is making, but when one considers that we found the names of 160 authors it will be understood how formidable the task was to collect their works.

A part of our work is the dissemination of historical information. To this end we have had some two or three meetings a year to which the public has been invited. At these meetings lectures have been given on some subject appropriate to the work of the society. On one notable occasion a lecture was given and illustrated with lantern slide exhibition, showing portraits of many of the pioneers, the houses they lived in, diagrams of growth, and views of remarkable natural objects. Publication of the results of our work has not yet been undertaken beyond an annual report on two occasions and a pamphlet on the Indians' occupation. The expense has prevented us from doing more than this, but as the newspapers report our meetings in full, and eagerly print our sketches of persons and places with views and portraits reproduced, we have been able to have a great deal of our own manuscript put in print.

This outline of our activities might be filled out with much interesting detail, such as methods of preservation and care, system in arrangement of matter, classification and indexing.

We desire to tender our best wishes to the Illinois State Historical society, and we hold ourselves always ready to coöperate cordially in their work.

Very truly yours,

J. Seymour Curry,
Secretary of the Evanston Historical Society.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION REPORT.

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

The society, at its last meeting held in Springfield in January 1903, requested me to continue to act as chairman of the committee to wait upon the members of the Illinois Commission appointed by the Governor to act for the State in expending its appropriation for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

The directors of this society, at a meeting held in Springfield, June 17th, also requested me to attend a meeting of the commission at St. Louis on the following day. I was present at the St. Louis meeting and also attended another there on the 9th of July.

Other members of the committee sent letters to the board urging appropriations for the Illinois building, to be expended for the purposes and objects which had been proposed by the officers of the Illinois State Historical society.

Our plans were approved by the members of the Illinois Commission, who appeared anxious to see portions of the Illinois building decorated or ornamented by busts of the great men and women of this State, historic landscapes, photographs of some of our most important monuments or other objects of historic interest and so forth.

But it seemed that the people of the great State of Illinois, represented by various educational, commercial, cattle growing, horticultural and a multitude of other organizations, presented such urgent requests for liberal appropriations, that the commissioners were only able to appropriate $2,000 to be expended by the State Historical society under the direction and control of the commission. This amount is so far below the sum which had been, by our committees, deemed necessary for a fitting exhibit under the auspices of the State Historical society, that, personally, I fear that the public's disappointment at the slenderness of our display would have a worse effect upon our society's good name, than will be felt if we decline to make any attempt to use the appropriation. I have not been able to contrive any plans and specifications to fit the case, and will make no recommendations either for or against the acceptance of this appropriation,

In case it is declined, however, I wish to urge that this declension be couched in language that will fittingly explain our kindly appreciation of the efforts made by the commission to treat fairly all of the different interests applying for portions of the State's appropriation towards an exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

J. H. BURNHAM.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JAN. 28, 1904, 7:45 P. M. AT THE ILLINOIS HOTEL, BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS.

All members of the board of directors present except, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Rev. C. J. Eschmann, J. O. Cunningham, Prof. E. E. Sparks, Hon. Wm. H. Collins and Dr. E. J. James. Dr. J. F. Snyder was elected president of the board of directors. Hon. Alfred Orendorff was elected temporary secretary. On motion of Alfred Orendorff, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was elected permanent secretary and treasurer.

The standing committees as heretofore constituted were continued, subject to the approval of the president. The following committees were appointed:

Publication committee—George N. Black, chairman; Jessie Palmer Weber; E. B. Greene; Alfred Orendorff.

Program Committee—E. B. Greene; chairman; Jessie Palmer Weber; M. H. Chamberlain; J. H. Burnham; E. E. Sparks; Mrs. S. P. Wheeler.

World's Fair committee—Continued.

Finance committee—George N. Black; E. J. James.

Constitution and by-laws committee—David McCulloch, chairman; J. H. Burnham; J. O. Cunningham.

Committee on legislation—George N. Black, chairman; Alfred Orendorff; E. J. James; J. McCan Davis; Wm. H. Collins.

This committee was given authority to add to its membership.

Committee on local historical societies—J. H. Burnham, chairman; J. O. Cunningham; Prof. O. Clark; George W. Smith; David McCulloch; W. W. Davis.

Judge David McCulloch and Gen. Alfred Orendorff were appointed a committee to visit Galesburg and appear before the meeting of the Illinois Press association at its meeting in that city in February, to perfect arrangements agreed upon by the committee of the Press association which had met with the Historical society this day (Jan.

28, 1904,) that editors of papers are to send their papers to the Illinois State Historical library and in return are to be furnished with the publications of the Illinois State Historical library and the State Historical society. An invitation from the Quincy Historical society was read inviting the Illinois State Historical society to hold its next annual meeting, January 1905, in the city of Quincy. The secretary was directed to extend to the Quincy Historical society the thanks of the society for the invitation, but to decline it, explaining that it is the rule of the Illinois State Historical society to meet alternate years in Springfield. On motion of George N. Black, the city of Springfield was designated as the place of holding the next annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical society, the time of the meeting to be the last Wednesday and if necessary the succeeding days of January, 1905. There being no other business presented, the meeting of the board of directors was, on motion, adjourned.

PROGRAM OF EXERCISES.

Wednesday, January 27, 1904.

In the rooms of the McLean County Historical society, in the court house.

2:00 p. m.

Meeting of the board of directors, in conference with Committee of the Illinois State Press association.

3:00 p. m.

Business meeting of the society, secretary's report for the board of directors, treasurer's report, reports of committees, election of officers for 1904, miscellaneous business.

Memorial Address .....Dr. Bernard Stuve, Springfield,
Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia.

Wednesday Evening, January 27, 7:45 P. M.

Circuit court room, McLean county court house.

Music.

Address of Welcome to the Society.....Mr. George P. Davis
President of the McLean County Historical Society.

Response.....Dr. J. F. Snyder, Virginia
President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Memorial—Hiram W. Beckwith. .....E. J. James, Ph. D.
President Northwestern University, Evanston.
(Read by Prof. David Felmley.)

Annual Address—Personal Recollections of Some of the Eminent Statesmen and Lawyers of Illinois .....
.....Hon. Charles P. Johnson, A. M., St. Louis

Music.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 9:30 A. M.

Resolutions of respect for the late Hon. John N. Jewett, President Chicago Historical Society.....
.....Read by Dr. Richard Edwards

In Memoriam—John Mayo Palmer, Chicago.....
..... Hon. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield

Illinois in the War of 1812-1814 .....Frank E. Stevens, Chicago

A Trip from Pennsylvania to Illinois in 1851 ...W. W. Davis, A. M., Sterling

Music.

Newspapers and Newspaper Men of Illinois ..Hon. E. A. Snively, Springfield

In Memoriam—Dr. Robert Boal, Lacon, Ill.....Dr. J. F. Snyder

2:00 p. m.

The Part of Illinoisans in the National Educational Movement, 1850-1862
.....Paul Selby, A. M., Chicago

Music.

Illinois in the Councils of the Nation.....
..Mrs. John A. Logan, Washington, D. C.; read by Mrs. John M. Palmer

The Country Lawyer.....Hon. James. A. Connolly, Springfield; Rufus Blanchard; In Memoriam, F. L. Wells, Chicago.

The Salines of Southern Illinois.....Prof. George W. Smith
Southern Illinois Normal School, Carbondale, Illinois.

8:00 p. m.

Reception to Illinois State Historical society in the parlors of the Illinois hotel, by the McLean County Historical society, the Letitia Green Stevenson chapter Daughters of the American Revolution; the Woman's club of Bloomington; the Bloomington Amateur Musical club, and the George Rogers Clark Chapter Sons of the American Revolution.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 9:30 A. M.

*The Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River.....
..... J. T. Douglas of Chester and Frank Moore of Sparta

Music.

Morris Birkbeck and His Friends.....Daniel Berry, M. D., Carmi

In Memoriam—Major General James D. Morgan.....
..... Hon. W. H. Collins, Quincy; read by Dr. M. H. Chamberlin

The Life of Hon. Gustavus Koerner .....
.....Hon. R. E. Rombauer, St. Louis; read by Prof. J. A. James

2:00 p. m.

The Scotch-Irish in Illinois .....
.....Hon. Robert A. Gray, Blue Mound; read by J. H. Burnham

Music.

In Memoriam—Dr. H. H. Hood, Litchfield....Miss Olive Sattley, Springfield

The Woman's Club Movement in Illinois....Mrs. E. C. Lambert, Jacksonville

McKendree College.....M. H. Chamberlin, LL. D.
President of McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.

Local Committee on Arrangements, with Power to Appoint Associates—Capt. J. H. Burnham, Mr. E. M. Prince, Secretary McLean County Historical Society; Hon. A. E. Stevenson, Mrs. M. T. Scott, Mr. Charles L. Capen, Hon. G. W. Stubblefield, Col. D. C. Smith of Normal, Mrs. W. W. Marmon.

*Omitted.

Literary Sessions—Held in the Circuit Court Room of the McLean County Court House, Jan. 27-29, 1904.

The program as printed was carried out with the following changes: The paper on the life and services of the late Hon. H. W. Beckwith, written by Dr. E. J. James, was, in the absence of Doctor James, read by Prof. David Felmley; the paper of Mrs. John A. Logan, "Illinois in the Councils of the Nation," was read by Mrs. John M. Palmer; the paper of Hon. W. H. Collins on Maj. Gen. James D. Morgan, was read by Dr. M. H. Chamberlin; the paper on the "Life and Services of Gustavus Koerner," written by Hon. R. E. Rombauer, of St. Louis, was read by Prof. J. A. James; the paper of the Hon. Robert A. Gray, "The Scotch-Irish in America," was read by Capt. J. H. Burnham.

At the opening of the morning session Thursday, Jan. 28th, Dr. Richard Edwards read a brief memorial on the life of Hon. John N. Jewett, late president of the Chicago Historical society, and the society passed resolutions of respect for the memory of Judge Jewett. The secretary was directed to spread these resolutions upon the records of the society and send a copy to the widow of Judge Jewett.

Resolutions on Death of Hon. John N. Jewett.

We, the members of the Illinois State Historical society, have learned with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. John N. Jewett, president of the Chicago Historical society, which occurred at his home in Chicago on the evening of January 14, 1904.

He was born in Palmyra, Somerset county, Maine, on the 8th of October, 1827. Raised on a farm and assisting his father in its cultivation until arriving at the age of 18, he then entered Bowdoin college, and, taking a full classical course, graduated in 1850.

During the two years following he taught in Yarmouth academy, at the same time employing his spare hours in reading law. In 1853 he migrated to Madison, Wis., and was there admitted to the bar. There also he was united in marriage, in 1855, to Miss Ellen M. Rountree, and at once removed to Galena, Ill. In 1857 he removed to Chicago and became a member of the law firm of Scates, McAllister, Jewett & Peabody. In 1870 he was elected to the State Senate, and during his term his legal abilities were of valued service to the public, and to Governor Palmer, in the enactment of new statutes to conform with the limitations of the present State constitution then just adopted by the people. As a lawyer, particularly in that branch of practice relating to corporations, he deservedly ranked with the first in the State.

At the annual meeting of the Illinois Historical society at Jacksonville in January, 1902, in response to the invitation extended to him, Mr. Jewett delivered the annual address, taking for his subject "The Sources and Results of Law in Illinois."

Resolved, That in view of these facts, we desire to express our sorrow at the passing away of our departed brother, and also our high appreciation of the value of the able services which he so unselfishly rendered to historical sci-

ence by his able presentation of facts and by his philosophical explanation of law as applying thereto. Such labor as he performed will be of great service to the thoughtful student of Illinois history in years to come.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the members of this association is hereby lovingly tendered to his honored widow and her family.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, properly attested, be sent to Mrs. Jewett.

On Thursday afternoon a paper on the "Life and Labors of Rufus Blanchard," the late historian of the Northwest, was read by Mr. Frederick Latimer Wells, of Wheaton. The paper on the "Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River," prepared by J. T. Douglas and Frank Moore, was not ready for presentation to the society and was omitted.

At the opening of the afternoon session on Thursday, Jan. 28th, the nominating committee reported the following named persons for officers of the society January, 1904–January, 1905:

President—J. F. Snyder, M. D., Virginia.

First Vice President—Paul Selby, A. M., Chicago.

Second Vice President—Hon. Wm. Vocke, Chicago.

Third Vice President—Dr. A. W. French, Springfield.

Board of Directors—J. F. Snyder, Virginia; E. J. James, Ph. D., Evanston; Hon. George N. Black, Springfield; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; M. H. Chamberlin, LL. D., Lebanon; David McCulloch, Peoria; E. B. Greene, Ph. D., Urbana; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; E. E. Sparks, Ph. D., Chicago; Wm. H. Collins, Quincy; J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; Alfred Orendorff, Springfield; Prof. George W. Smith, Carbondale; Rev. C. J. Eschmann, Prairie du Rocher.

The report of the nominating committee was received and accepted by the society and the secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the society for the above named persons as officers of the society for the ensuing year. The ballot was cast by the secretary and the officers as named by the nominating committee were declared duly elected for the year January, 1904–January, 1905, the presidents of local historical societies being honorary vice presidents as heretofore.

On Friday afternoon, at the closing session of the society, resolutions were offered by Judge David McCulloch, and adopted by a rising vote, thanking the McLean County Historical society and the citizens of Bloomington for their hospitality, thanking the ladies and gentlemen who added to the pleasure of the meetings by furnishing the society with choice musical selections, and to the press of Bloomington for the full, complete and satisfactory reports of the meetings of the society.

The secretary was directed to make these resolutions a part of the records of the society and to furnish copies of them to the newspapers of Bloomington and Springfield.

RESOLUTIONS.

The members of the Illinois State Historical society, now in session at Bloomington cannot let the occasion pass without giving appropriate expression to the sentiments called forth by the highly satisfactory treatment extended them during their short sojourn in this city; and would extend their heartfelt thanks to the board of supervisors of McLean county for the use of their spacious and elegant court room, to the McLean County Historical society, for the use of their rooms and for other courtesies extended to us; to the Letitia Green Stevenson chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the Woman's club of Bloomington; the Bloomington Amateur Musical club and to the George Roger Clark chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution for the elegant reception tendered us in the parlors of the Illinois hotel; to the ladies who so highly entertained us with classical music during our sessions; to the citizens of Bloomington for their abundant hospitality extended to many of us and for their generous attendance upon our meetings; and to the newpapers of Bloomington for the full and satisfactory reports of our proceedings.

We also desire to return our thanks to each and every one of the ladies and gentlemen who have at this meeting furnished and read papers of the most valuable character as contributions to the historical literature of the State.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[Mr. George P. Davis, President McLean County Historical Society.]

Mr. President and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society—In the early settlement of a community the people are so engrossed with their struggles for a livelihood, that they seldom keep a full record of their own daily life; and have very little regard for natural curiosities or the remains of a former race, they only pass by those that cannot be utilized for their buildings or business. After the community grows older and more wealthy, it begins to inquire about the natural and artificial objects that were so ruthlessly mutilated or destroyed, and wishes to know more fully, the early history of its own settlers and realizes how careless it was, in keeping such meager records.

Then some public spirited men organize a historical society, its object being: First—to record before it is too late, the recollections of the living. Second—to search out the history of their forefathers. Third—to collect, preserve and study, any of the traces of an ancient race, that may still be in existence.

The object of all this collection is to furnish full material for the specialist to make his work complete and correct. This, the McLean county Historical society has endeavored to do, in the three volumes it has published: First—the War Records of McLean county and other papers. Second—the School Record of McLean county and other papers. Third—the Republican Convention of May 29th, 1856, at which time the Republican party was formed, and Mr. Lincoln made his great speech, called "The Lost Speech"; which his friends consider still lost.

The society has been enabled to publish these volumes, by the aid of the board of supervisors, who have placed a copy in each school house.

But a county society can only occupy a limited territory, a combination of county societies or a State society must be formed to occupy the whole State, and that society must be assisted by the State, to procure books and manuscripts and to make copies of papers that cannot be bought, and also to edit and publish the matter collected.

Most of the states have libraries, that have been supported with fairly liberal appropriations. Some like Massachusetts, New York,

Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, have or are now publishing all their early colonial and state records; and not only printing the books, but in large editions which can be procured at a reasonable cost.

Some of the states have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in such work. New York sent a man to England, France and Holland and had all the accessible papers relating to its early Colonial history copied and published, and these books have numerous references to the French settlement of this state, Illinois.

The Jesuit relations published by private enterprise, give the ecclesiastical history of Illinois down to the expulsion of the Jesuits by the French.

The report of the French military and civil authorities which may still be in existence in Paris, should be copied, translated and published by the State. There may be valuable papers relating to the French, Spanish, British and early American settlements still in existence; these also should be put in print.

It has been generally known, but a comparatively few years that the Spanish marched across this State and captured St. Joseph, Michigan in January 1781, and took possession of all territory drained by the Illinois and its tributaries.

The history of Illinois, since it was known to white men, has been a romance; traversed and explored by Marquette, Hennepin, Joliet and LaSalle; given to LaSalle, who appointed Tonty the first governor of Illinois; then given to John Law of "Mississippi Bubble" notoriety; his "Company of the Indies" had its provincial council at Fort Chartres.

The numerous French and Indian wars are full of interest, but exasperating to the investigator, because of the lack of the French military papers to enable one to fix definitely, locations.

Many are still ignorant that Illinois took a creditable part in the Revolutionary war; Tom Brady of Cahokia, in 1777 with 16 men captured St. Joseph, garrisoned by 21 regulars; and Paulette Meillet of Peoria, in 1778 with a company of French and Indians captured and destroyed St. Joseph.

Afterwards, appears George Rogers Clark with his Virginians of whose doings, the historical library has published a volume written by Judge Beckwith. Then the British and Indians troubled us greatly in the war of 1812, and then our own Indian wars. Is it not full of romance?

The State has also many objects that fill the traveller or student with wonder and amazement; the Rock river valley is covered with curious animal effigy mounds, which interested me greatly when I was at school on the Rock river.

Near Cahokia are immense mounds, the largest in the United States. The stone graves in the southern part of the State indicate a different race from the builders of the mounds. These are all remains of forgotten races.

To quote Dr. Snyder; "the question what has Illinois to invite archaeological research"? may be definitely answered by the single statement, that not one of the vast group of Cahokia mounds has been systematically explored.

Besides these, we have the relics of our own Indians; as in this county: The old trails, and the palisaded Kickapoo town in Old Town township, and the battle ground at the head of the Sangamon, with its riflepits and entrenchments. The State of Ohio, with not as many ancient earth works, has made a complete map of them. This State has done nothing. But we must here give the State credit for purchasing the site of old Fort Massac, and setting it apart for a State Park. How much we must regret that an early legislature did not preserve Fort Chartres, the only stone fortress ever erected in the western country.

In 1889, the State organized the State Historical library, and has supported it since with very meager appropriations. The State Historical library has published several valuable books, the material for which has been furnished mainly by the State Historical society.

There are many historical societies in the State which have done good work; city societies at Chicago, Evanston, Quincy, and the New England society at Rockford; and county societies in Champaign, DeKalb, Jersey, Kendall, Logan, Madison, McLean, Whiteside and Woodford and, I think, in Jackson and Peoria. If I am not mistaken, Chicago and McLean are the only ones which have published books.

In 1899, some lovers of history and our State, realizing that the existing county and city historical societies did not cover all the field, organized the Illinois State Historical society, which, by the valuable papers it has published, has stimulated the study of our State and has encouraged the formation of several county societies.

Realizing the immensity of the field which you gentlemen of the Illinois State Historical society are so capable of covering, and feeling certain that this meeting will be conducive to a renewed interest in the history of this State, we, the citizens of Bloomington, welcome you to our city.

RESPONSE OF DR. J. F. SNYDER

(President of the Illinois State Historical society, to the address of welcome by Mr. George P. Davis.)

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE MCLEAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Responding for the members of the Illinois State Historical society who are present here this evening, as well as for myself, personally, I assure you that we are profoundly grateful for the cordial welcome you extend to us, and for the very complimentary terms in which our organization has been so eloquently mentioned. We would, indeed, be dead to every sentiment of pride and self-respect did this flattering reception of our society by the citizens of Bloomington fail to stir within us emotions of the sincerest thankfulness.

Coming to your beautiful and progressive city as guests of the McLean County Historical society, total strangers—with few exceptions, to all who compose this audience, we cannot attribute your heartfelt greeting to the obligations of formal personal courtesy, but rightly interpret it as an expression of your appreciation of the purpose of our visit, and your estimate of the value of the work in which we are engaged.

We gladly accepted your invitation to hold in this city the regular annual meeting of the State Historical society for 1904, not because of anticipated pleasant social intercourse and entertainment, alone, but because of the certainty that in this community we would meet with learning and culture from which we must profit, and gain inspiration for more diligent efforts to attain the objects our society has in view. Your county, bearing the honored name of that brilliant and talented early statesman of Illinois, John McLean, in the course of its material, industrial and social development well typifies the marvelous growth and progress of our great State. Less than three-quarters of a century ago but a broad expanse of open prairie unmarred save by trails of the buffalo and Indian, with here and there along the timbered streams and isolated groves a few cabins of the more adventurous pioneers, it now presents in its perfect agriculture, its numerous thriving towns and cities, its noble educational and charitable institutions, its busy factories, railroads, mines and other wealth-producing industries, the highest achievements of modern civilization.

Your city made famous, not only throughout our land but beyond the ocean's limits, by the intellectual and moral force of many of its citizens who have gained high distinction and reflected luster upon Illinois, as statesmen in exalted posts of honor in the State and nation, as jurists ranking with the most eminent of the age, as soldiers of renown as scholars, artists, educators, financiers, has for the student of Illinois history an attractive interest unsurpassed by few, if any, other localities in the State. The high prominence attained in the various nobler walks of life by the many residents of this city and county serves to infuse in the young manhood and womanhood of the advancing generation a spirit of creditable emulation and enterprise, and commands the admiration and pride of all our people. With all these pleasant considerations, and the personal gratification afforded us by coming here, endeavoring while enjoying your hospitality to demonstrate to you the character of work we are attempting to do to fulfill the mission of the State Historical society, we recognize in this incident one of the many encouraging evidences of a marked awakening of interest in general and local history everywhere among the educated classes.

This increasing desire to acquire knowledge of the past, to which I refer, is displayed by the increased energy and labor expended by scholars of both hemispheres in prosecuting investigations of oriental antiquities, and in the increasing numbers and strength of agencies employed by governments and scientific institutions to search for reliable facts concerning primitive man in every quarter of the globe. For a long time we, of the United States, were passively content that the monopoly of research in the ruins and records of extinct civilizations in the far east should be held by a limited number of European savants; but within the last several years the systematic exploration of those distant historic fields has been largely shared by American students maintained by American capital. The surprising discoveries of Schlieman in Greece, of Cesnola in Cyprus, of Bliss in Palestine, of Dr. Peters, Haynes and others in Assyria, verifying history of civilized man so old that its meagre records descending to us seem but myths of the poet's fancy, have not been exceeded by those of the most noted archaeologists or historians of the old world. The university of Pennsylvania, an American pioneer in that foreign search, is entitled to the credit of having brought to light, at Nipur, in Assyria, authentic proofs of man's civilization, in ruins of cities and temples, dating 70 centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

Until very recently the activity of Americans in Oriental antiquarian research was limited exclusively to the older institutions and societies of our Atlantic seaboard cities; but the impulse of their amazing discoveries reaching the great prairies of the inland west there stirred one of the wealthy universities of our own State to also enter the lists of relic hunting in ancient Babylonia. It secured, last summer, from the Sultan of Turkey the necessary firman of permission, and ere now its employés are delving in the mounds at Bismaya for remains of the traditional splendors of the first Sargon's

reign. The great university referred to, some years ago erected on its spacious grounds a superb building designed specially for an Oriental museum. The expedition it has now sent to the valley of the Euphrates—supplied with lavish means donated for that pupose by a generous patron—may possibly astonish the world with its recoveries of historic records exceeding in importance or hoary age all yet unearthed at Nineveh, Nipur or Birs Nimrud. But whether it does, or not, it will very probably bring home from old Chaldea genuine antiquites enough to fill the empty shelves and cases of the beautiful building prepared at Chicago to receive them.

Not alone on the classic shores of the Mediterranean, or in Egypt, or in the Bible lands of southeastern Asia, have the institutions of our eastern states pursued their archaeological labors with successful results, but they have conducted similar investigations in every quarter of our hemisphere. They have sent trained scientists to every province of Mexico, Central and South America to wring, if possible, from the strange mounds, sculptures and ruins of those regions the story of their authors and the secret of the puzzling indigenous culture that thus found expression there. Curious discoveries have rewarded the perseverance and toil of those explorers; but none so startling and inexplicable as the written and carved records in an unknown language found in Yucatan and adjoining states. By the intelligent and assiduous efforts of Gell, Champolleon, Bernouf, Rawlinson, and others, in the first half of the last century, the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and the ideographs of Egypt were rendered as legible as the English alphabet; but the grotesque hieroglyphics carved by a little-known race of Indians upon weird monoliths and ruins of vast stone edifices hidden in the dense tangled forests of semi-tropical America have so far defied all attempts at interpretation by the most skilled linguists of the world.

By the munificence of its president, Morris K. Jessup, the American museum, of New York City, has within the late few years sent repeated expeditions to the coasts and bordering territories of northwestern America and eastern Siberia to closely observe the natives of the opposite continents and study their ethnic characteristics, habits, arts and languages, and the archaeological relics of their ancestors, with the hope of solving the sphynx-like mysteries of the American Indian's origin. Not the mainlands only but the intervening islands of the Pacific were rigidly scrutinized for vestiges of their first occupants and earliest traces of human migrations, by sea and land, however, with but negative results, and the original peopling of America is yet an unsolved enigma.

Increasing popular taste for the literature and knowledge of more recent history is keeping pace with the steadily enlarging eagerness of scientists to coerce from remote antiquity elucidation of the many occult problems obscuring the most ancient history of the human race. A proof of this fact is the present phenominal popularity of works of fiction based upon incidents or events of the past. The flood

of historical novels poured upon the reading public within the last few years has had no parallel since the art of printing was invented.

This modern charm of history for the public mind is seen, too, in the rapidly multiplying numbers of statues and monuments, of various kinds to perpetuate the memory of historic events, or of soldiers, statesmen, and others, conspicuous in the past annals of the country. The world's fairs and local expositions commemorating occurrences in the life of nations or states, far surpassing in cost and magnificence of architecture and exhibits those before instituted, are an outgrowth of this sentiment. In America, not our men alone have been infused with eagerness to better know and better perpetuate the story of the conflicts and struggles through which our country attained its present proud position among the nations of the earth, but love of country and ancestral pride, here inherent in the feminine mind, has within recent years been more emphatically asserted by the social organization styled the Daughters of the American Revolution, whose valued patriotic labors have enriched and ennobled the study of American history.

In Illinois there is plainly discernable of late, among all classes of our people, the disposition to learn more of early times in the State, and of the lives and deeds of the pioneers who won and developed this splendid heritage for their posterity.

We see this in the frequent suggestions that the State Historical society should be authorized by the Legislature to prepare an elementary history of Illinois for use as a text-book in our public schools; and by the numerous inquiries we receive from every quarter for information as to the best published histories of the State. The broadening interest in the history of our commonwealth is also manifested by the increasing numbers of local or county historical societies annually organized in it, as well as by the prosperous condition of our State society. It was shown also—but very dimly it must be admitted—by the action of the last Legislature in granting to the State Historical society State recognition—but nothing else.

A most gratifying proof of the public interest in this direction is this cheering welcome by cultured citizens of Bloomington to the members of an organization devoted exclusively to the collection, collation and preservation of Illinois history, and the diffusion of the result of its labors among the people.

The greeting we have received here will inspire us with stronger hope and higher aims, and the impressive assurance it conveys of the confidence and interest of this enlightened community in the important task we have assumed will greatly encourage us to persevere with renewed energy and determination in our efforts for its satisfactory accomplishment.

Hiram W. Beckwith —Late President Board of Trustees, Illinois State Historical Library.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF HONORABLE HIRAM WILLIAMS BECKWITH.

[By Edmund J. James, President of Northwestern University].

Hiram Williams Beckwith, president of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical library, and past president of the Illinois State Historical society, died Tuesday, Dec. 22, 1903, at St. Luke's hospital, Chicago.

Mr. Beckwith was born in Danville, Ill., March 6, 1832. He was the son of Dan Beckwith, for whom the city of Danville was named. His father was one of the pioneer residents of that section of the State, was a government surveyor and surveyed large portions of eastern Illinois.

Hiram W. Beckwith, after completing the curriculum of the local schools, entered Wabash college, but was compelled to leave college on account of his health before completing the course. He began the study of law in the office of Ward H. Lamon, the Danville partner of Abraham Lincoln, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. On Sept. 19, 1857, he was married to Miss Emily Jane Reeder, of Oneida county, N. Y., resident at that time in Danville. Four children were born to them. Two died in infancy, and two sons, Will and Clarence H., both attorneys at law in the city of Danville, survive him.

Mr. Beckwith's success as an attorney was immediate and marked. He was associated, on one side or the other, with nearly all the law suits originating in Danville during the years of his active practice at the bar. He was connected in law suits with Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Leonard Swett and other noted circuit riders. He was actively interested in extending the railway facilities and other public enterprises in his native city. During the latter portion of his career as an attorney, Mr. Beckwith was in partnership with Judge R. W. Hanford.

In 1876 he retired from the active practice of the law, and from that time on devoted great attention to historical research, finally becoming famous as an authority on the history of the middle west and the author of several valuable works on that subject. In 1877, when the Vermilion County Historical society was organized, he was elected one of its managers, and in 1878, assisted by his eldest son, Will, he prepared, for H. H. Hill & Co., a history of Vermilion county, prefaced by historical notes of the northwest. It was really

from his work on this county history that his most active interest in local and State history began. He collected a very valuable library of works relating to Illinois and the northwest, collecting many rare volumes and preparing, from time to time, interesting articles based upon his studies of the early records in this country and Canada especially. He prepared, for the George H. Fergus Publishing company, a number of monographs in their series on the early history of the northwest, and contributed many interesting articles of an historical character to the Chicago Tribune.

Mr. Beckwith was the oldest living past master of the Masonic lodge of Danville, and was one of several to whom were presented solid gold past master's jewels by Olive Branch lodge No. 38 of that city.

Mr. Beckwith's work in the history of Illinois was intimately connected with the foundation of the State Historical Library board, of which he was one of the first members, and of the Illinois State Historical society, of which he was the first president. The Illinois State Historical library at Springfield, Ill , founded by the State and placed under the care of the Illinois State Historical Library board, has become one of the most valuable collections of its size in the United States, and that this result has been attained in such a few years is largely owing to Mr. Beckwith's loving and persistent attention given during the years of his membership in the board without stint. He carried its interests on his mind and heart continually, and even during the period when he was not a member he gave thought and attention as unreservedly as when he was officially connected with it.

The books of the Secretary of State show that Mr. Beckwith was appointed a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical library by Governor Fifer on Oct. 24, 1889, and was commissioned the following day, Oct. 25, 1889. The library was organized a month later, Nov. 25, 1889. Mr. Beckwith was appointed again, his term having expired, by Governor Fifer, on July 31, 1891. He served until Sept. 9, 1893. He was subsequently reappointed by Governor Tanner, May 11, 1897, and served until his decease, Dec. 22, 1903.

One of the last pieces of work which he accomplished was the preparation of a volume published by the Illinois State Historical Library board as "Volume I of Illinois Historical Collections." He took great pride in this work and devoted the last months of his life to its preparation. It was only the beginning of service which he hoped to render to this board and to the community in the line of historic research and investigation. His name will certainly be cherished by all lovers of local and State history, and, as the State Historical society becomes more influential, his name and fame will spread as one of those to whom the origin and first work of this societies owe more than to any other single man.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF SOME OF THE EMINENT STATESMEN AND LAWYERS OF ILLINOIS.

[Hon. Charles P. Johnson, A. M., St. Louis.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Historically speaking, St. Clair county occupies the most prominent position of any of the territorial subdivisions of the State of Illinois. Within its original boundary lines were the two ancient settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. There has been some contention among antiquarian investigators as to which of these places had precedence in settlement. The difference, however, involves either way but one or two years. Their relative historical importance is about the same. The later subdivision of the county placed Kaskaskia in Randolph county It can be truthfully averred, however, without question, that the county, as originally constituted, was the birth place or cradle of civilization in the valley of the Mississippi. And, further, it can be authoritatively claimed that after the division referred to, the county, as now constituted, became the centre of intellectual activity and was associated for years with more of historical interest than any other county in the State. In 1814 the county seat was removed from Cahokia to Belleville, and thenceforth the annals of that place became more intimately associated with the history of the State than either Kaskaskia or Cahokia. It was my good fortune not only to be born in St. Clair county but to be born on the 18th of January, 1836. That year is very generally referred to as marking a new era in the career of Illinois. About that time old ideas, customs and methods were passing away and new ones were taking their places. The people were beginning to realize and appreciate the magnificent opportunities of their possession and location. A foreshadowing of the glorious destiny of their State, the proud and advanced position she now occupies in the republic, stirred their imagination, inspired their patriotic zeal and aroused their energy. Their efforts were guided by able and ambitious leaders with broad views and prophetic visions, who added the stimulus of agitation to the new born spirit of progress. The real birth of the internal improvement system dates from this period. And notwithstanding the many foolish and reckless phases involved in the efforts to carry it into operation on the immense scale projected, it had its decided beneficial effects. From out those efforts was generated that energizing force which has

brought to perfection the splendid system of railroads in the State, as well as the improvements in canal and river transportation. At the Internal Improvement convention of that year recommendations were made which were incorporated into a bill by the succeeding session of the general assembly, and became a law by which the sum of $10,200,000, was appropriated for the construction of railroads and improving the navigation of certain rivers. At the same session this body provided for another loan of $500,000, to be expended on the Michigan and Illinois canal. Stephen A. Douglas was the foremost champion of the cause. They wrestled with the State bank question, increasing the stock of the State bank to $2,000,000, and that of the Shawneetown Branch bank to $1,400,000. They also passed the bill providing for the removal of the Capital of the State from Vandalia, a name closely associated with the events of the State and Territory. Other important enactments were made by the assembly, but these are enough to tell of the active spirit abroad in the land. And, as might be expected, the questions involved in their work produced a wide spread and healthy agitation among the people throughout the State. I have not the time in this incidental reference to note further the importance of this year as an epoch in the State, but to the interested investigator who traces the lines of progress and development from their origin onward, it will be a source of surprise and instruction to learn of the rapid growth and expansion in every department of united human effort. And it is eminently proper on this occasion and a source of pride to refer to the numerious illustrious men in the General Assembly elected 1836. As accurate and reliable an authority as your worthy president has said on this point:

"The legislature, elected in August, 1836, including some of the holdover senators, was, for mental strength and ability of its members, the most remarkable of any yet chosen in Illinois. No previous general assembly of our State, and very few since, has comprised such an array of brainy, talented men, or as many who subsequently gained such conspicuous eminence in the annals of the State and Nation.

In the Senate were Orville H. Browning, Cyrus Gatewood, John G. Hacker, Robert K. McLaughlin, Henry I. Mills, Wm. Thomas, John D. Whiteside and John D. Wood. In the House, Edward D. Baker, John Hogan, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Richard N. Cullom, John Dement, John Dougherty, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Augustus C. French, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, Usher F. Linder, John A. Logan, John A. McClernand, James Semple, John Moore, William A. Richardson, James H. Ralston, Robert Smith. In the list is found one President of the United States; six who have occupied seats in the United States senate; eight congressmen; three governors. three lieutenant governors, two attorney generals, five State treasurers; two State auditors; one superintendent of schools and several judges."

In addition, Joseph Duncan was Governor and Adam W. Snyder represented the St. Clair county district in Congress. In view of the foregoing, it was in many respects fortunate to be born in 1836.

In reviewing the lives of the prominent men, and the associated conduct of the people of the earlier days in Illinois, there is one prominent fact that arrests the attention, and that is the almost universal passion for politics and public life. Whether it came from the wave of patriotic zeal that swept from out the revolutionary conflict with its mighty questions of human liberty, or that the spheres of intellectual activity were more circumscribed, nevertheless it is, a fact that everybody seemed possessed with the idea that upon his individual political action depended the permanency of our new born institutions. No sooner did a man become a licensed lawyer or attain any kind of popularity among the people, then forthwith he aspired to run for some office. People had plenty of spare time to talk politics, and they delighted to hear speeches and listen to the amusing stories told by rival candidates or attorneys traveling on the circuit. Newspapers were few in number, and reading a spiritless method of communication. Individuality counted for much more than at present. Take Lincoln and Douglas, for instance, as a fair illustration of the then social conditions in respect to the time whereof I speak. In Tarbell's life we read: "Although he was but 22 years of age in February, 1832, had never been at school a year in his life, had never made a speech except in debating clubs and by the roadside, had read only the books he could pick up, and known only to the men who made up the poor, out of the way towns in which he had lived, encouraged by his great popularity among his immediate neighbors, as he says himself he decided to announce himself in March, 1832, as a candidate for the General Assembly of the State. His claims for support were found in his belief in "the public utility of internal improvements," a question on which there was more nerve vitality expended by Illinoisans than any other, unless it be the preservation of the Union."

As to Douglas: Politics and public life was the be all and end all of his existence. Refering to these characteristics, I remember setting up as a printer the following from the Providence Journal in 1853. About that time a report was circulated in the press that Douglas had espoused the Catholic faith: "The pope will do well to keep and eye on our friend from Illinois. If he has really embraced the faith of Rome, he will be for making St. Peter's chair elective once in four years and will present himself as a candidate for the next succession," And we all know how the illustrious Governor Reynolds was always "in the hands of his friends" and "willing to serve the people" in any office, and there were few of them to which he did not aspire. These prevalent characteristics and customs made the court house a centre of amusement and instruction. However humble and unprepossessing in its appearance, it was to interested citizens a forum as sacred and inspiring as that of Ancient Rome, clothed with all the splendors of architectural strength and beauty.

Especially prominent among my earliest recollections of Belleville is the old court house. Is was a solidly built brick building square in form, and, for those days, of reasonably large dimensions. It

stood on the north line of the main street, near the centre of the public square, and faced south. On entering a wide front door, there stood on either side to the east and west, stairs leading to the upper floor where the more important county officials had their offices. Passing over a narrow vestibule and through a partitioned door, one stood facing the raised seat of the Judge of the court. It was placed in the centre and against the north wall of the building, and immediately above was painted, in rather an artistic style, the famous coat of arms of the State of Illinois. In front of the judge's seat were arranged chairs and tables for the use of attorneys; the space allotted being closed by a strong wooden railing. On either side of the room were benches for the use of the general public, and on both sides of the judge's stand were seats reserved for the use of jurors. Immediately within the railing, partialy to the north, was a box-like desk, wherein, on a raised pedestal, sat what appeared to my youthful imagination the most august person in the governmental organization—the sheriff of the county I regret to say that this building was torn down some years ago and has disappeared forever; a more stately and convenient one has been erected for the uses to which it was applied in another part of the public square. But I doubt whether the new edifice will ever attain the same relative importance in the history of Illinois.

In addition to the old court house being among my earliest recollections, I must say that, by reason of my personal associations with its precincts—for I was christened therein by an itinerant minister of the Presbyterian faith at a time when the congregation was too poor to have a church, and the illustrious men who I heard in the forensic and political contests, to a period that marked the dawn of my manhood—it is to me one of the dearest and most revered spots on earth. In looking back over the period to which I refer, it strikes me as remarkable when I consider the large number of men more or less prominent in the history of the State and nation who have graced with their presence this old building. Of the local bar I recall as having heard speak on various occasions Lyman and George Trumbull, Gustavus Koerner, James Shields, William H. Bissell, John Reynolds, Jehu Baker, William H. Snyder, Philip B. Fouke, J. L. D. Morrison, Nathaniel Niles and William H. and Joseph B. Underwood and J. B. Hay; of the circuit, Sidney Breese, Joseph Gillespie. Wm. R. Morrison. Outside of that, Stephen A. Douglas, Richard M. Johnson, Edward Bates, A. P. Field, Usher F. Linder, Richard Yates, Uriel Wright, T. G. C. Davis and R. F. Wingate.

Shortly antecedent to the date of my earliest recollections, three illustrious citizens of the town had passed away—ex-Governar Ninian Edwards, Congressman Adam W. Snyder and Lieutenant Governor Kinney.

SIDNEY BREESE.

Though a mere boy, the first time I saw Judge Sidney Breese the impression made was lasting. My mind was more than ordinarily receptive, because of my hearing his name so frequently mentioned in my home life. Judge Breese emigrated from New York and located in Kaskaskia in 1818—the year of the State's birth. At that

time my grandparents and mother were residents of that celebrated town, and the friendly family relations may be surmised from an account of a Fourth of July celebration, as described in the Kaskaskia "Advocate" given in 1823, which was presided over by my grandfather, General Philip Fouke. On that occasion, the report says, Sidney Breese, Esquire, offered as a toast, "Ourselves: we paddle our own canoe, chew our own tobacco and make our own cigars." Perhaps if the occasion had been less public, he would have added "make and drink our own whisky," for, according to certain data of those times there was some indulgence in that beverage There is in the record of this event a smack of youthful exuberance not altogether in keeping with the after modes of thought and expression of the illustrious statesman and jurist. From the relation of events connected with his early career, I already looked upon him in the light of a hero worshipper. I met him afterwards as a judge upon both the circuit and supreme court benches, as chairman of the committee on resolutions in a noted convention, and heard him in public speeches; and, after entering the profession of the law in another state, took especial pleasure in reading his opinions as published in the Illinois Reports. The last interview I had with him was at the Planters house in St. Louis a year or so before his death. The life of Judge Breese from the time of his settlement in Kaskaskia covers the most important period in the history of Illinois, and, in many respects, the most important in the history of the United States. For 60 years he looked upon a panorama of most marvelous events. The title to the Louisiana purchase was but 15 years old, and he saw nearly all of that magnificent, undeveloped expanse subdivided into states and populated with teeming millions of people. He noted the declining power of Spain in the cession of Florida. He read the debates on the Missouri compromise in 1820, and doubtless was stirred, as others were, by the fierce passions they aroused. He saw the independence of the South American republics acknowledged. Within that time came the birth of the Monroe doctrine, the visit of the illustrious LaFayette, whom he met at Kaskaskia, the death of Adams and Jefferson, the destruction of the national bank, the throttling of nullification and the appropriation by congress of $30,000 to erect wires from Washington to Baltimore to test the practicability of the Morse telegraph. By the way, Professor Morse was a relation of Judge Breese. The Indians still warred with the pale faces, and he was one of the army who fought in the Black Hawk war and drove that terror of the early settlers across the Mississippi river. Within his time there came the Mexican war, with its record of brave and heroic deeds, and in which the sons of Illinois performed their share so nobly. Then came the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, championed by Judge Douglas, Judge Breese's associate in the Senate of the United States; the election of Lincoln, the war for the Union, the glorious emancipation proclamation, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, the Wilderness, the march to the sea, Appomattox, the thirteenth amendment, the death of Lincoln, the nation's mourning, the struggles of reconstruction, the development of the fraternal spirit, the unity of the nation.

There never was a greater or grander drama presented to human vision than that witnessed by your illustrious countryman. But what is notable in the career of Judge Breese is the fact that he was in public life almost the whole of that time. He was an indefatigable worker, well educated and ambitious, though he seems to have been timid in the use of his powers as an advocate or speaker. He tells, himself, of his imagined failure in a trial in Jackson county before a jury in a case shortly after he commenced the practice of his profession. He was not aware at that time that such a feeling was the accompaniment in almost every case of successful advocacy. But he possessed a will power to overcome such feeling, and his abilities were soon being utilized on public occasions to perform such duties as his endowments warranted. For instance, we find him on the occasion of LaFayette's visit to Kaskaskia, April 13, 1825, at the banquet given in his honor at the public hotel, again proposing a toast: "Our illustrious guest; in the many and trying situations in which he has been placed, we see him the same consistent friend of liberty and man." A very apt sentiment and felicitously expressed, for, surely, LaFayette had been placed in many trying situations since he had last been in America. In 1820 he was acting as Assistant Secretary of State. Thereafter postmaster, and in 1822, succeeded by appointment John Reynolds as circuit attorney of the Third judicial circuit. He also was for a time under Adams, United States district attorney. Indicative of his early industry and inclination of mind at that time, in 1831, he published the first volume issued of the reports of the supreme court decisions It contained the judicial opinions rendered from the organization of the court to 1831. This was the first book published in Illinois. From a statement made to me some years ago, the author must have had some knowledge of the printer's business, for it contained the information that he helped at the case in the preparation for the publication of this volume. These were all important and responsible positions, and he filled each with ability and honor.

During the interval between his leaving the position of United States district attorney and becoming judge of the circuit court in 1835, he practiced his profession and served, as before stated, as a soldier in the Black Hawk war. After his election in 1835 he removed from Kaskaskia and made his home near Carlyle. In 1841 he was elected to the supreme bench, one of his colleagues being the distinguished commoner, Stephen A. Douglas. His occupancy of this position was short-lived. His popularity had rapidly grown; his eminent capacity was widely recognized, and in 1842, he was elected United States senator. It would be impossible, in the brief time allotted to me, to relate in detail his career in the Senate of the United States. Suffice it to say, it was a distinguished one. During his term of service that body contained as large a number of great debaters and able statesmen as did the parliament of England in the palmy days of Burke, Fox, Pitt, Sheridan and their associates. Great questions were presented for solution and adjustment. The Mexican war was prosecuted, the annexation of Texas was accom-

plished, the boundary of the Oregon line settled, a railroad projected to the Pacific marked out, and its feasibility established, and the grant to the Illinois Central railroad virtually assured. During this time Clay was defeated by Polk, and the war swept Taylor into the presidential chair.

In reading the records of those years it is a source of satisfaction to the Illinoisans to know that in many respects he proved to be the equal of the great men with whom he was associated. Five years after his election, in 1847, Stephen A. Douglas became his colleague, and, notwithstanding his marvelous powers as a debator, his accurate knowledge of the politics of the country, his matchless gifts as a leader, in some respects he was not the equal of Judge Breese. The latter was at least his superior in legal attainments, in scholarship, in strength and felicity of expression and a capacity for thorough and exhaustive study. It was a serious loss to the State when he retired from the senate; for, notwithstanding his unrivalled career on the supreme bench as giving him a lasting fame as a jurist, a continuous senatorial term during one of the most critical eras of our country's history would doubtless have placed him among the most illustrious and patriotic statesmen of the land. To the illustrious senator from Missouri Mr. Benton, is usually given, by those not conversant with the facts, the honor of projecting the idea of the Pacific railroad. It is an undoubted fact that Judge Breese, when senator, gave the first real impetus to that mighty enterprise and elaborated the feasibility of the undertaking. His report on the question from the committee on public lands, of which he was chairman, is a document of invaluable historical importance and its strength illustrative of his intellectual characteristics. That report described the route ultimately taken in the construction of the road. To make this plan comprehensible the report was accompanied by a map of accurate geographical and route delineations. This was not published with the report and was omitted, strange to say, by the action of Senator Benton. History will, with unerring precision, record honor to whom the honor is due for the projection of this great national work, and its assignment will be to Judge Breese. He retired from the senate March, 1849, Gen. James Shields being his successful competitor. After leaving the senate he returned to the practice of his profession. Pressed by his friends to be a candidate for the house of representatives, he was elected and presided as speaker of that body in 1851–1852. In 1853 he was urged to accept the nomination for judge of the supreme court, but declined. It was during this year that a movement was made to induce Gov. Joel A. Matteson to call an extra session of the general assembly, more especially to further certain railroad projects, notably the Belleville & Murphysboro railroad. Judge Breese took a prominent part in the furtherance of this plan. After an extensive discussion among the various counties of southern Illinois, the movement culminated in a convention which met at Salem on the 25th of November, 1853. Zadoc Casey was selected as

chairman and the usual number of men of prominence as vice presidents. Judge Breese was assigned to the chairmanship of a designated committee to draft and report an address and resolutions expressive of the objects of the meeting. He had already prepared the address and resolutions, and, as might be expected, they were both able, instructive and conclusive.

"The object of this convention being to confirm the executive in the necessity and expediency of an extra session of the general assembly, it may be expected that some reasons for this measure should be set forth."

Thus read the opening of the address. It then set forth, at length, the various reasons why a called session should be had, and sustained them with elaborate arguments. But the principal object in the movement is shown in the following:

"The special acts and the general law, so called, for railroad incorporation, demand action that would alone justify an extra session. Restriction upon the accomplishment of useful enterprise might be removed by an act of ten lines opening the way for the immediate construction of works that would bring in capital from abroad and enhance the value of real estate to the amount of many millions. Such as are now restrained by the want of these legislative facilities, if permitted to go on would afford an increased revenue to the State of more than $100,000. Yet, there is no reason to fear that at the proposed extra session a liberal and just policy on the subjects of railroads will not prevail and time and opportunity be afforded the legislative body to carry into effect the recommendations of the Governor as indicated in his just and admired inaugural message."

In this inaugural the Governor had referred to the beneficent effects of railroads in developing the State, and presented decided opinions in favor of giving every facility to works of internal improvement. I was present in this convention as a delegate from Randolph county, where I was publishing a newspaper. The speech of Judge Breese in support of the report was very elaborate, instructive and comprehensive. The subject to him was a favored one. I had heard him before, but noted more particularly on this occasion his style and manner. He was below the medium height, was stoutly built, with broad shoulders and full chest. An inclination to corpulency gave his head, which was large and well shaped, the appearance of being slightly thrown backward. His hair was black and worn short; his face clean shaven; his complexion dark; his features were large and apparently regular, but their effect marred by his being near sighted and having to wear spectacles. His voice was by no means strong, nor did it vary much in intonation. His gesticulation was limited and moved along straight lines. His bearing was especially courtly and dignified. He spoke with fluency, was at times rhetorical and, though not impassioned, he was persuasive, argumentative, logical and forcible.

John A. Logan, a delegate from Jackson county, followed Judge Breese in seconding the motion of the adoption of the report. He was at that time about 26 or 27 years of age, but had already made some reputation in the lower house of the legislature. He He was an ardent supporter of Stephen A. Douglas. He was full of fire and action, spoke in a continuously loud voice and was profuse and vehement in gesticulation. He pleased his hearers, for he was loudly applauded. I heard him on several occasions in after years, when in the zenith of a well merited national reputation, and I was forcibly impressed by his improvement as a public speaker. Study and practice made him a very attractive speaker—impassioned and, at times, eloquent. One trait of the orator, action, that was noticeable in the first speech I heard, was still with him in his maturity. Especially as a soldier, Illinois can well be proud of John A. Logan, for he was unquestionably the ablest civilian general who fought in the war for the Union.

William H. Snyder also addressed the convention. I had heard him previously in the old court house. He was a son of one of the best and ablest men connected with the earlier history of the State—a man whose pathetic and untimely death prevented him from taking his seat in the gubernatorial chair when it was virtually within his reach. I refer to A. W. Snyder.

Young Snyder, for some years, took an active part in politics. He was a member of the legislature, of the constitutional convention of 1870, and was elected to the circuit bench and remained there for a number of years. He was a man of very decided talents, of scholarly attainments; a great reader of the best literature and deeply versed in history, both ancient and modern. He was possessed of a fine presence, was tall, strong and straight, and graceful in deportment. His face was full and expressive, his head large, and he wore his black hair long. He was an effective speaker, rather rapid in declamation and quick in gesticulation. Though genial and affable in disposition, he did not like the coarser associations of politics. He was a good lawyer, an able and conscientious judge.

The Salem convention proved to be of some importance to the State. The address and resolutions were formally presented to Governor Matteson by a large committee selected from the delegates, and eventuated in the calling of an extra session, which met at the capital on the 9th day of February, 1854. A large number of the suggestions for legislation, as urged by Judge Breese in his report, were considered and passed into laws. The declination of Judge Breese to become a candidate for the Supreme Court in 1853, and his subsequent speech in Chicago in answer to Senator Douglas' effort in defense of his course in urging the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, convinces me that he still entertained hopes of returning to the senate of the United States. Though naturally gifted with mental powers that would enable him to become a distinguished jurist, his ambition was to take part in the more active fields of politics. Added to this, he evidently entertained some feeling of resentment as well

as a sense of humiliation that he had been defeated in his aspirations at so important a period in the history of the country by one so far his inferior in all the qualities of learning and statesmanship. His ambition for official position and the opportunity presented finally directed his future along that course he was so well endowed to follow; and, in the year 1857, he was elected to the Supreme Bench. He was re-elected in 1861 and in 1870. He occupied the position nearly 20 years, sitting by rotation twice as a chief justice. From the time of his taking his seat in this exalted position to the time of his death, his public career is written and recorded in the volumes of the Illinois reports, and it is a career replete in the achievements of a great and illustrious jurist. Sixty-seven volumes contain the inscription of his judicial opinions, and their enumeration reaches 1900. Therein is contained the ablest disquisitions upon every department of the law. Therein is raised a monument of immortality as lasting as Time's records shall run. I said that I met him, not long before his death, at the Planters' House in St. Louis. Time had greatly changed him in appearance. He was still apparently healthy and vigorous. His hair was white and very long, as was also his beard. It gave him a reverend look. His mental powers were as strong as ever. He always was a rare conversationalist. He delighted to talk on congenial subjects. On this occasion he referred to his early experiences in Kaskaskia; to the newspapers published there and the stirring events of the Indian wars; his removal of the records of the office of Secretary of State to Vandalia in 1820 in a small wagon, at a cost of $25, and its taking a week to perform the feat; of the divers characteristics of the people and the development from primitive to modern ideas, customs, habits and conditions. Kaskaskia, when he settled there, was comparatively an alien settlement. The impression of the earliest settlers was still paramount; the antique and the modern commingled but were not united. Judge Breese died suddenly in 1878.

Capt. James Shields.

When James Shields came to Kaskaskia he was quite a young man and was seeking a location to make his fortune. He was lucky in the selection of a place. His first occupation was teaching school—a labor that, according to my experience and observation, was what every aspiring young man of education, and some without, undertook to perform. It was either the forerunner or accompaniment to the study of law. In his case it was both, and in 1832 we find him entering upon the practice of law. He had left Ireland in 1826 when but 16 years old. He was every inch an Irishman then and he remained so all his life. He was a young man of fine appearance; a little above the medium height, strong and well-proportioned, with black hair and dark, piercing eyes. He wore a mustache; possessed a military bearing; was gracious and affable in his manner, and by no means timid, and, though somewhat rash and hot-headed, he was brave and courageous. These latter qualities in those days were passports to success. They neutralized in his case an overweening vanity and excessive egotism. His surroundings, experience and the associa-

tion of great and ambition men, made him a good politician. As others of his profession, he soon sought public office. He ran for and was elected to the Legislature in 1836; became State Auditor in 1839, and Judge of the Supreme Court in 1843. He did not remain here long, and it is a reasonable presumption that the position was not altogether congenial to his tastes and inclinations. It was while Auditor of the State that he became angered at Mr. Lincoln, the prominent Whig leader, for writing and publishing, in a Springfield journal, articles of ridicule referring to certain of his vulnerable characteristics and for which he was forthwith challenged to mortal conflict. There is something amusing in Abraham Lincoln fighting a duel, but those were fighting days, and Mr. Lincoln had to recognize the right of challenge. His fine sense of humor, however, came to his rescue and gave to his friends an opportunity to extricate him from the impending danger. Mr. Lincoln being the challenged party had the right to name the weapon, and he drew up the preliminaries. The first clause read:

"Cavalry broadswords of the largest size, precisely equal in all respects, and as now used by the cavalry company at Jacksonville."

Then as to the position he wrote:

"A plank 10 feet long and from 9 to 12 feet broad, to be firmly fixed on edge in the ground as a dividing line between us, which neither is to pass his foot over or forfeit his life. Next, a line drawn on the ground on either side of said plank, and parallel with it; each at the distance of the whole length of the sword, and three feet additional from the plank, and the passing over such line by either party during the fight shall be deemed a surrender of the contest."

Mr. Lincoln's experience as a rail splitter gave him a decided advantage in the proposed duel. To what extent the prescribed conditions worked in causing an adjustment will never be known. But, suffice to say, the friends of the parties brought about an amicable adjustment, and both of the interested ones lived to fight another day.

In 1845 Mr. Shields was appointed Commissioner General of the Land Office. It was while occupying this office that the Mexican war broke out. That memorable conflict was precipitated by the annexation of Texas in March, 1845. The Republic of Mexico had formerly owned that state and still claimed jurisdiction over it. The conduct of our government was looked upon as unfriendly, and a bitter feeling became manifest upon the part of the Mexican government. This was increased by President Polk's order for an army of 4,000 troops to take a station on the Rio Grande. This was in March, 1846, and the command was given to Gen. Zach. Taylor. On April 24, 1846, 60 dragoons from this force on an observation tour were attacked by a large force of Mexican soldiers and forced to surrender after a loss of 16 killed. This precipitated hostilities. Three days after, Congress declared war and authorized the President to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers. The sum of $10,000,000 was appropriated to support the declaration. The war spirit spread with

amazing rapidity throughout the entire west. The recruiting commenced immediately. In every town and city the national flag was unfurled and recruiting officers marched through the streets to the music of the fife and drum In the old town of Belleville, patriotism rose to fever heat. Even the boys organized miniature companies and marched with paper hats and wooden guns and swords. I remember being so far affected as to join one of such companies as a private and the captain of this company was no other than Gen. Wesley Merritt, lately retired from the army after a most honorable and illustrious career in the service of his country. The quota of enlistment assigned to Illinois was three regiments of infantry for 12 month's service. Within ten days 35 companies reported for service and as many more were making application for enrollment. President Polk appointed James Shields brigadier general of volunteers, and the orders were for the troops to rendezvous at Alton. There they were mustered in for service. Col. Edward D. Baker, one of Illinois' most distinguished citizens (for I think she can claim him), was authorized to raise an additional regiment. The Illinois contingent arrived in Mexico early in August The first and second regiments were commanded by Cols. John J. Hardin and William H. Bissell, and were attached to the army of the centre under Gen. Zach. Taylor. To General Shields' brigade were assigned a third and fourth regiment, commanded by Colonels Foreman and Baker. The bravery and discipline of both these regiments in the battle of Cerro-Gordo was such as to call forth universal praise, and commendation. The major general in command in his report says:

"The attention of the general in charge is particularly called to the gallantry of Brigadier Generals Pillow and Shields, who were both wounded at the head of their respective brigades."

The battle of Cerro-Gordo was fought under the generalship of General Scott April 18, 1847. The wound of General Shields was a severe one. The first report came that it was mortal. He recovered, however, soon enough to be in the assault at Chapultepec, where he was again wounded. The accounts received at home of the gallantry and misfortune of General Shields raised him in the estimation of the people to a high pinnacle of glory. His praises were heralded on all sides and his popularity throughout the State increased immensely. So it has ever been with the people of this and all other countries. Military glory arouses an exalted admiration to heights which no achievements in the paths of peace can attain. It carried General Taylor into the presidential chair, made a presidential candidate of General Scott and sent General Shields to the Senate of the United States. After recovering from his wounds he returned to his home at Belleville. He had formed a partnership in that place with Adam W. Snyder and Gustavus Koerner in June, 1837, which had to be dissolved because of his official duties requiring his residence in Springfield. When he left that office he had again taken up his residence in Belleville. The occasion of his return from Mexico was marked by many evidences of public respect

and rejoicing. He was tendered a public reception and addressed a large concourse of people in the old court house. I was present and heard his speech. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, I looked upon him as every inch a hero. The halo of human glory, stronger in the youthful than in the matured imagination, encircled his brow. His address was instructive and entertaining. He gave an account of the causes which led to the war and defended the action of the party to which he belonged. He animadverted upon the course of certain members of the Whig party who had opposed the war from the start. He gave a graphic description of the movements of the troops in his command and the battles in which they and he were engaged. He described very minutely the attack on the battery at Cerro-Gordo where he was wounded, and pointed out on his body where the wound was made. He also extolled very highly the endurance, bravery and daring of the officers and soldiers of his command. The occasion was notable; the speech a popular one, and the audience vibrated with responsive sympathy. In truth, it was an occasion worthy of a great oration, but he did not make it. His bearing was gallant and soldierly; his voice well modulated; his gestures not ungraceful, but there was a lack of that magnetism which is the chief power of oratory. His individuality was continually projected throughout the whole of his discourse and his vanity impaired its effect. However, the subject was of such a character as to cover all blemishes, and he met with continuous applause. The ovation was highly complimentary, and his reception by the warm hearted people of St. Clair county of such a character as that he might well be proud. Not long after this, President Polk, as a recognition of his eminent services to the country, gave him the appointment of governor of Oregon. He retained the position, however, but a short time. He recognized his opportunities and aspired to far higher honors, and in 1847 he received at the hands of the Legislature of Illinois the election to the proud position of Senator of the United States

As before stated, he succeeded Judge Sidney Breese. He retained this position for one term of six years. His record as a senator was in no sense as distinguished as his predecessor, and, besides this, he was almost totally eclipsed by the splendid ability and increasing reputation of his colleague, Senator Douglas. He voted consistently with the pro-slavery party, and took an occasional part in the debates, and devoted most of his time to the work referred to the military committee of which he was chairman.

In 1853 I met him when on a visit to Sparta, in Randolph county. As a conversationalist he was interesting. I remember on that occasion he took especial pains to extol the Czar Nicholas of Russia as one of the greatest statesmen of Europe. The Czar was then engaged in the war against the allies and the siege of Sebastapol and its outcome had not yet been reached.

After the expiration of his term of service he returned to Belleville, but soon thereafter left and located in Minnesota. Good for-

tune politically attended him here in one respect. The first legislature of the state elected him as one of the United States senators, but, in drawing lots with his colleague for the long or short term, he drew the short term, so his senatorial career was limited to two years. He was not re-elected and he then went to California. When the Civil war broke out, his old opponent, President Lincoln, appointed him brigadier general of volunteers. This was in August, 1861. He served with some distinction in the valley of the Shenandoah, and was severely wounded in the battle of Kernstown. He resigned his position in March, 1863, and then became a citizen of Carrollton, Mo. He opened an office for the practice of the law. His passion for politics, however, never forsook him. During the candidacy of R. Graham Frost for a seat in the 46th and 47th Congress he was brought to St. Louis to fire the Irish heart in favor of the Democratic cause. The district contained a large Irish vote, and it would seem that he succeeded, for Mr. Frost was elected both times in a closely divided district. In 1874 he was elected to the legislature of Missouri. By virtue of my office as lieutenant governor I was presiding officer of the joint session on the occasion of the inaugural ceremonies of the newly elected Governor Hardin. General Shields was a member of the house. I had not seen him since my meeting with him in Sparta in 1853. After the adjournment he approached and spoke to me Time had greatly changed him in every respect except in his military bearing and the brilliancy of his eyes. Strange to say, the first sentence he spoke was in reference to Kaskaskia: "And is this the son of Elvira (meaning my mother) whom I knew as a girl in Kaskaskia?" His conversation continued reminiscent and was highly interesting to me.

Lewis V. Bogy, United States senator from Missouri, died Sept. 20, 1877. David R. Armstrong was appointed to fill the vacancy until the meeting of the legislature. When that body convened, an election for the short term was to occur. R. Graham Frost and his friends, anxious to repay General Shields for his assistance in the congressional campaigns in St. Louis, visited Jefferson City and urged the election of General Shields to fill the short term, and, surely, it was a short term. They were successful, and he was elected and bore the name of United States senator from Missouri just 34 days from Jan. 21, 1879, to March 4, 1879. He died at Ottumwa, Iowa, June 1, 1879. What a strange, romantic and eventful career had this wanderer from Ireland, for, surely, he was a wanderer! There was a vein of the nomadic in him—a senator from three states, governor from another, and dying in another. A few centuries earlier he would have been a voyager into new and unknown regions or a warrior fighting wherever his gallantry and adventurous spirit suggested. He was neither a great statesman, orator or jurist, but he possessed high military abilities, coupled with a knightly dash and bravery that specially endeared him to the hearts of the people of Illinois.

Col. A. P. Field.

Considering the number of eminent lawyers living in Belleville and the judicial circuit in which it was located, it is not surprising that it should occasionally have been the arena for notable trials and great forensic contests. I have very distinct recollections of several, but one in particular lodged in my memory and made a lasting impression. In fact, the incidents connected with it had a very material bearing upon my future life. It was a murder case brought by change of venue from Madison county. A man by name Duncan, of an unsavory reputation, had located on a farm in that county and his residence was supposed to be a rendezvous for gamblers, horse thieves, counterfeiters and desperadoes generally. The citizens of the county warned him to leave, but, standing upon the order of his going, he had delayed or refused to do so. Violent means to drive him from his stronghold were resorted to, and, in the riotous demonstration, Duncan was killed. Several citizens were indicted for his murder, and it was in this trial I heard, for the first and only time, Col. A. P. Field. He was assisting the circuit attorney, Philip B. Fouke, in the prosecution. The defendants were represented by Lyman and George Trumbull, Joseph Gillespie, William H. Snyder and some others. The array of lawyers on both sides was imposing. A wide spread interest was manifested in the trial, and a great concourse of people came in from the country and the adjoining towns, and there were a number of representatives from St. Louis. The excitement intensified as the trial proceeded, and a desire to hear the arguments was apparent on all sides. On the day set apart for the forensic display, the seats to the left of the judge's bench were assigned for occupancy to the ladies, and quite a number embellished the proceedings with their presence. Gustavus Koerner presided as judge at the trial. Lyman Trumbull made an able and exhaustive argument during the morning session, only a part of which I could hear. His style of oratory was such as not to be appreciated by one as young as I. The afternoon session was to be given to hearing the closing address for the prosecution by Col. A. P. Field. The court room was packed almost to suffocation. I had played truant that day, and during the noon recess, shortly before the meeting of court, I clambered onto the sill of the north window in the court house and the one looking down on the space between the judge's bench and the seats in which the jury sat. I thought that the place would be secure because I knew that the crowd surrounding the window would keep me from falling out, and I would have a fine position to hear every word that was spoken. The court commenced; the judge was on the bench; the jury in their seats. The struggle from the outside to get in grew tumultuous, and, in some respects, overpowering. One consequence therefrom was important to he who addresses you: The pressure from the rear of the window pushed me from the sill and landed me immediately in the space between the judge and the jury. I was startled and frightened beyond measure. It looked to me as if I was the centre of a million eyes, and I imagined that I

would be subjected to immediate ejectment and perhaps condign punishment. But oh! shade of the immortal and illustrious Koerner. If it be that thy spirit wanders in any sphere of the universe, let me now bow to it in grateful reverence and thankfulness for thy kind consideration and merciful kindness. The judge saw my bewilderment and dilemma and beckoned to me, and, in an undertone, told me to take a seat on the steps leading to the platform on which he was seated. Stationed here, within not over eight or ten feet of the speaker, I heard the whole of the speech of Col. A. P. Field. Time has carried me many years since that event; I have heard many of the greatest efforts of great advocates; yet there lingers in my memory an impression that it was the finest forensic address I ever heard. Colonel Field was over six feet tall, straight as an arrow, well proportioned, with dark hair and large but attractive features. In bearing he was erect, courteous and dignified. On this occasion he was appropriately dressed in dark clothes. He occupied over two hours in the delivery of his speech. He reviewed the testimony in the case at length, and applied it with a remarkable skill to the law involved. His descriptive powers were intensely dramatic. He described the home of the deceased; called it his castle, across whose threshold no one had a right to pass unless clothed with the majesty of the law. Then he vividly pictured the attack made upon the defenseless victim; the malice, rage and wanton spirit of those engaged, with hearts regardless of social duty and fatally bent on mischief. He poured forth a perfect torrent of invective against those whom he described as cowardly murderers; and again melted his hearers into sympathy by pathetically picturing the cries of the dying victim. Throughout, his gestures were in keeping with his address, exceedingly graceful and effective. His voice was well modulated and flexible; his accentuation clear and distinct, and, in his impassioned appeals, of marvelous compass and strength. I remember distinctly when describing the features of the murder he repeated an apt quotation from Macbeth, and other parts of his speech abounded in apt and beautiful, poetical allusions. As a matter of course, his address was listened to with the closest attention and produced a profound effect. At its conclusion he was highly congratulated by the members of the bar as well as others.

For years this trial with all its incidents was frequently recalled in memory, and I wondered at times whether my youthful judgment was correct. To satisfy myself on this point, I took occasion to ask Judge Gillespie, with whom I was intimately acquainted up to the time of his death, as to his opinion of Colonel Field's address on that occasion. He told me I was correct in my estimate; that it was, without doubt, one of the most powerful appeals he ever in his long experience heard fall from the lips of an advocate.

The reason of my gratitude to Governor Koerner on the occasion referred to above is because it gave me an opportunity to hear an argument that confirmed my ambition to become a lawyer.

Col. A. P. Field was at one time quite prominent in Illinois politics. He was in the legislature as far back as 1822, and in the momentous contest of 1823-1824, acted with those who tried to establish slavery in the State. Fortunately that attempt failed, and the incubus of that institution never incumbered the State in its march to greatness and renown. He served again in the legislature of 1826 and 1828, and was then appointed Secretary of State, which office he retained until 1840. He received an appointment to a minor position in Wisconsin territory in 1841, and thereafter, in 1847, located in St. Louis where he resided at the time of the trial, the particulars of which I have just related. From there he went to New Orleans, and, notwithstanding his strong pro-slavery views, was a Union man. After the war, during the Warmouth regime he filled the position of Attorney General of Louisiana. He died in 1877. His splendid opportunities were circumscribed and limited because of his dissipated habits and a consequent lack of moral rectitude and stability.

Gustavus Koerner.

Judge Gustavus Koerner, mentioned above as the presiding judge, was both a patriot and hero in the old world, and when he transplanted those qualities to this country they simply grew and flourished with ever increasing strength. He was an elegant gentleman, courteous, dignified, scholarly and well versed in the law. He was devotedly attached to his profession but took sufficient interest in public affairs as to be assigned to several offices of importance and responsibility. Besides being judge of the Supreme Court, in 1845, he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the same ticket with Gov. Joel A. Matteson in 1852, and accepted the appointment of minister to Spain from Mr. Lincoln in 1862. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he became a Republican and was an active and zealous supporter of the Union cause.

It was my intention to speak at greater length on the life and character of Gustavus Koerner, but I see upon the program an announcement that a paper will be read upon that subject by one who is in every way able to draw and present a just estimate of his character.

Lyman Trumbull.

From a practicing lawyer in Belleville, Lyman Trumbull advanced to fill some of the highest positions in the State and became one of her most distinguished citizens. He was born in Connecticut in 1813, and came from a family of historical renown in the annals of the country. He had an academic education, and, like so many other noted men, commenced life as a school teacher, and then entered upon the practice of the law as a profession. He was elected a representative to the 12th General Assembly, and also held the position of Secretary of State. He then aspired to the position of Governor, but failed to attain the nomination, and was defeated for the nomination for Congress in 1846. In 1848 he was elected to the Supreme Bench, but resigned in 1853. This was the year when the

fierce and impassioned discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was precipitated upon the country. No event in the political affairs of the nation caused such a widespread agitation as the introduction of this measure, and never was there one more far reaching and important in its results. Its final passage, in May, 1854, was fraught with momentous consequences. It violently dissevered the Democratic party; swept from existence the old Whig party; gave birth to the Republican party and eventuated in the war for the Union and the destruction of slavery. Judge Trumbull early took a decided position in opposition to this measure, and became a candidate for Congress in the Belleville district, thoroughly canvassed that district on that issue and was elected. He went to Chicago and spoke in reply to Judge Douglas at the time that distinguished statesman made his speech in defense of his course in introducing and supporting that bill. In the 19th General Assembly, which met Jan. 1, 1855, Judge Trumbull was elected to the United States Senate. In the contest, Abraham Lincoln was his chief competitor, and on the first ballot in the joint session Lincoln received 45 votes and Trumbull but five. The five supporters of Trumbull had agreed to stand together under every circumstance, and their unwavering adherence to that predetermined course finally resulted in his triumph. It is easy to understand the stubborn adhesion of these five supporters of Trumbull when we consider that John M. Palmer, so often honored by the people of Illinois with the highest positions in their gift, headed the voting coterie His Democratic opponent, as selected by the caucus of that party, was Gen. James Shields. When we consider the peculiar condition of the country at that period of time, no more appropriate selection could have been made for this high position than Lyman Trumbull. He was peculiarly adapted to enter the arena of debate on the questions presented at that time in the United States Senate, and for the succeeding years of his service. The whole country was already in a vast political ferment. The spirit of unreasoning partisanship was rapidly rising throughout the length and breadth of the land. The fiery pro-slavery leaders of the South foresaw the ultimate triumph of the Republican party and were already pouring forth their impassioned eloquence in denunciation of the wrongs being heaped upon the people of the South by those they called the fanatics of the North. It was a time to stem the tide that was rushing on to a most calamitous war. It was an hour for caution, for conservatism, for cool and dispassionate debate, backed by rectitude of purpose and great intellectual capacity, extensive legal acquirements and accurate political knowledge. Judge Trumbull possessed these qualities in a high degree. He never was a popular man among the people. He was rather distant and reserved in his intercourse with his fellow-citizens. His successes were obtained mostly through the adherence and support of strong men, who admired him for his great intellectual qualifications and his honesty of purpose. In personal appearance he looked more like a preacher than a lawyer. He was tall, spare made, light of complexion, with clear and expressive features, clear in outline, always wore gold spectacles and was rather condescending in his manner. He was not graceful, rather angular

in motion, and had a voice sharp and clear but not melodious. At times he wore a cynical and sarcastic expression, in keeping with the line of his remarks. He was not eloquent in the general acceptation of the term, but, as a logical and argumentative debator, he was the peer of any public man of his day. He had one decided advantage over most of his adversaries, and that was his splendid abilities as a constitutional lawyer. On questions involving constitutional construction he was clear, precise and forcible, and was always listened to with interest and a certain degree of deference by his senatorial associates. I heard him frequently in other trials than the one I have described, and also in the discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska bill before his election to the Senate, and in after years heard him at his greatest advantage in the debates in the Senate during the winter of 1860-61. His surroundings at that time were indeed critical, and the tenor and character of the discussions foretold the approach of the mighty conflict of civil war. Looking down from the gallery upon the Senators, the sectional condition of the country was apparent, not alone in the debates as heard, but in the seating of the members of the respective parties. The main aisle leading from the door of entrance to the Senate chamber to the seat of the president, John C. Breckenridge, was as a dividing line between two combating forces. The existing antagonism was continuously expressed, notwithstanding the strained effort to observe the rules of senatorial courtesy; and there were times when this barrier of senatorial courtesy was overleaped and vindictive attacks were frequently made on individuals and states. I never shall forget the description of senatorial conditions and attitudes made by Senator Iverson, of Georgia, on Dec. 5, 1860, when, virtually, the debate was upon the state of the Union. "Sir," he said, "disguise the fact as you will, there is an enmity between the Northern and the Southern people that is deep and enduring, and you never can eradicate it—never. Look at the spectacle exhibited on this floor! How is it? There are the Republican Northern Senators upon that side; here are the Southern Senators on this side. How much social intercourse is there between them? You sit upon your side silent and gloomy; we sit upon ours with knit brows and portentous scowls. Yesterday I observed that there was not a solitary man on that side of the chamber who came over here even to extend the civilities and courtesies of life, nor did any of us go over there. Here are two hostile bodies on this floor, and it is but a type of the feelings that exist between the two sections. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile states. I believe that the Northern people hate the South worse than ever the English people hated France, and I can tell my brothers over there that there is no love lost on the part of the South."

The seat of Stephen A. Douglas in the body was suggestive. It was situated on the main aisle I have mentioned, but on the Republican side of the Senate. He was virtually between the hostile forces and was made the target for both sides, but, though he stood virtually alone in the debates at that time, he was as undaunted as any

chieftain who ever entered the lists, and never discomforted or overthrown. I heard his speech on the 5th of January, 1861, and there was one circumstance that I took especial note of. It was that he was rarely interrupted in the progress of his arguments. As illustrative of his remarkable memory, one of the Senators from Virginia—Hunter, I think—who had succeeded him as chairman of the Committee on Territories, interrupted him on one occasion by saying that the Senator was mistaken in a certain statement he made in regard to the action of the Committee on Territories on a given amendment pending before the committee. He immediately turned to that Senator and repeated what had occurred at the meeting, giving every detail and incident, those who were present, called the roll on the consideration of the amendment and the names of those who voted for and against it, and ended by saying: "The Senator from Virginia is mistaken; the Senator from Illinois is correct." The Senator from Virginia listened attentively to the reply, hesitated a moment and then said: "I believe the Senator from Virginia is mistaken and the Senator from Illinois correct."

On Jan. 10 Senator Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, made a lengthy argument on President Buchanan's message, in which was submitted the action of the commissioners of South Carolina, virtually upon the right of that state to secede. His speech was a lengthy one, and at its end resulted a running debate between himself, Senator Green of Missouri and Trumbull of Illinois. It was one of the most entertaining contests that occurred at that momentous session. If I had the time, I should like to give you an idea of the ability displayed by each of these distinguished men. Senator Green's reputation in Missouri especially, rested upon his wonderful dexterity in debate, and the long political career of Senator Davis with his acknowledged gifts as a speaker,made him a foeman worthy of any lawyer or statesman. But the debate involved legal and constitutional questions, and Senator Trumbull in that field was the equal of either of his opponents, and on this as on other occasions became apparent the appropriateness, as I have before remarked, of his selection as Senator. The irritating conditions with which Republican Senators were surrounded in debate is shown in the opening speech of Senator Trumbull, when he said: "Mr. President, it has been very hard for me, and I doubt not my republican associates around me, to hear the many misapprehensions, not to say misstatements, of our position, and to see a perverted state of facts day after day urged upon the Senate and country by gentlemen of the other side We have listened to the Senator from Mississippi, and one would suppose in listening to him here that he was a friend to the Union and that he desired the perpetuity of the government. He has a most singular way of proving it and a most singular way of maintaining the constitution. Why, sir, he proposes that the government should abdicate." This was a rather calm and deliberate way to commence an argument against a speech permeated with treason against the government; but such was his style, and if such qualities as distin-

William H. Bissell.—First Republican Governor of Illinois.

guished his course had been predominant in the Senate at that session,it might have resulted in staying the approach of war and desolation. To the glory of his memory it can be said that he used his highest and best ability to its fullest to avert the disaster. Nor should it be forgotten that in another critical period in the history of the country his calm and dispassionate judgment, together with his conscientious rectitude of purpose enabled him to raise a barrier against the waves of party partisanship and passion when an attempt was made to impeach the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, and revolutionize the government. His course in those proceedings added additional glory to his career as a patriot and statesman.

The characteristics of Senator Trumbull that I have referred to, extended through his entire term as Senator. On Jan 12, 1865, he introduced the civil rights bill with the specification: "There shall be no discrimination in civil rights * * * * * on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." It will be impossible for me to dwell further on his splendid work in the 18 years of his service as United States Senator. After retiring from the Senate he returned to the practice of law, and took up his residence in Chicago. There he enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. His alienation with the Republican party barred the way to further political preferment. He made one attempt to enter politics again, and became a candidate in 1880 for Governor, running on the Democratic ticket. In the Liberal Republican movement he supported Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown for President and Vice President. On the death of Jehu Baker, a lifelong friend and one of his strong supporters, he visited Belleville to attend the funeral. At the grave of Mr. Baker, he delivered an appropriate address extolling the many admirable qualities and distinguished services of the deceased. He had intended further to visit St. Louis, where I expected to meet him, but was taken sick and returned to his home in Chicago, where he died on the 25th day of June, 1896. He belonged to the army of great men who have shed luster and glory upon the State of Illinois.

William H. Bissell.

Of all the great men whom I met in my youth, the one most prodigally dowered with eminent qualities was William H. Bissell. At his birth nature lavished upon him nearly all of her choicest gifts of both brain and heart, but envious fate prescribed a cruel limitation to their matured use and enjoyment. Death claimed him when in the prime vigor of his remarkable endowments.

I first remember him in the trial of a case in the Belleville court house, when he was defending a negro charged with some felonious offense. The case had within it certain elements which aroused a sympathy in behalf of the defendant, and he handled these with such constant skill and pathetic effect as to acquit his client. It was not a case of such importance nor did it involve such striking dramatic incidents as the case in which I heard Colonel Field. Nevertheless

it left a vivid impression in my memory. I heard him frequently after that in the trial of cases, in his political campaigns, and on the notable occasion when a barbecue was given by the citizens of St. Clair county to the officers and soldiers of the Second regiment of Illinois volunteers in honor of their return, on the 29th of July, 1847.

William H. Bissell was born in Yates county, in the western part of New York, in April, 1811. His earliest associations led him to choose the study of medicine as a profession. He already was possessed of a comparatively good education as a basis, and, after reading medicine for a time, he attended the Jefferson Medical school in Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1834. With most young men of the east in those days, the great west was the field in which to seek and strive for fortune and fame. That region to the young and aspiring easterner was a fancied Eldorado, although of a somewhat more practical kind than that sought by the famed Spaniard. As a matter of course, he was poor. The truth is in those days most every young man was of limited means; to be otherwise, was an exception to the prevailing rule, and, when we read the biography of all the most illustrious men of the State, it leads one to believe that it was a blessing, rather than otherwise, to have been possessed of limited means. He decided to try his fortunes in Illinois, and left for his destination in 1837 or 1838. He first went to Jefferson county, and shortly after his arrival was attacked with a severe illness, which not only used up his small supply of money but so discouraged him that he decided to enlist in the United States army. He then went to Jefferson barracks to carry out his intention, but fortunately could not pass the required examination because of his physical debility. Failing in his purpose to become a soldier, he returned to Illinois, but stopped in Monroe county. He became acquainted with Colonel Jones, of that county, who was so favorably impressed with his appearance that he induced him to remain and teach school for a while. He soon abandoned this and embarked in his profession, and shortly thereafter was the recipient of a lucrative practice. The social conditions in Illinois, as I have before remarked, were such as to tempt any ambitious young man to take part in politics and aspire to official position. Mr. Bissell was not an exception to the rule, and we soon after find him associating with prominent politicians, speaking at public meetings and increasing his acquaintance and popularity among the people. His gifts as an orator soon gave him precedence over other aspiring men, and in 1840 he was made the Democratic nominee for the lower house of the General Assembly. He was duly elected, and this position gave the first opportunity to exhibit those remarkable qualities for political leadership, which, in after years, gave him a national reputation and raised him to some of the highest positions of honor and trust. The county of Monroe was a Whig stronghold. His carrying it for the Democracy, notwithstanding the enthusiastic campaign conducted by the Whigs in the State and Nation, attracted the special attention of party adherents and was looked upon as a remarkable achievement. At the end of his term in the legislature he returned home fully determined to abandon the profession of medicine and study law. He had discovered the pos-

session of powers better adapted to that profession than the other, and he saw the advantage the profession of the law gave in furthering his ambition for active political life. During his course of study he attended lectures at the law school in Lexington, Ky., and after graduating he located in the town of Belleville. Here he was thrown in contact with a number of the ablest men in the State, and their association proved of lasting benefit to him in his illustrious career. The first office he held after he began his residence in Belleville was that of circuit attorney. No state office presents a better opportunity for an able and aspiring man to increase his popularity and political strength; at the same time, it being in the line of his profession, it enables him to increase his legal knowledge and experience and practice the art of public speaking. This office was ably filled by Mr. Bissell. To this day there are residents in St Clair county who will tell of his success in his prosecutions. He would only prosecute when convinced that an accused was guilty, and his powers of oratory were such that the closing address overcame the efforts of the ablest attorneys. But he was soon to play another part in the drama of life—soon to display such capacities as a soldier as would exalt him to a place among the great patriots and heroes of the nation and reflect honor upon the State and his citizenship.

In my sketch of General Shields, I referred to the causes of the Mexican war; how it broke upon the country, and the rapid rise and spread of the war spirit. I told of the prompt response made by Illinois to fill the quota assigned to their state, and the brilliant achievements of the third and fourth regiments commanded by Colonels Foreman and Baker at Cerro Gordo, and their after participation in the campaign against Mexico. As soon as the call was made, Mr. Bissell promptly enlisted. He joined the ranks as a volunteer, and marched behind the fife and drum of the recruiting officers alongside of those who afterwards fought so nobly as privates in the regiment he commanded. The military spirit was strong in Mr. Bissell. He was a natural born soldier. In the days of his early struggles, as we have seen, his inclination led him to Jefferson Barracks. At that time the horizon was clear of war clouds; peace reigned throughout the land, and it looked as if the temple of war was closed for an indefinite period. The paths of peace, of profession and politics, seemed to be the only ones for achievement and fame. Yet still he was tempted to the soldier's life, with all its sacrifices and hardships. When, in addition, we take into consideration his lofty spirit of patriotism, it is easy to account for his prompt enlistment and his future brilliant conduct. After enlisting as a private, he was soon elected to the captaincy of one of the St. Clair county companies and was subsequently chosen as Colonel of the Second Illinois regiment. His services in the war are known to every reader of the history of the country. His associate regiment was the first, commanded by Col. John J. Hardin,—a name dear to the heart of every Illinoisan, and both of these regiments were under the command of Gen. Zach Taylor. The greatest glory has been accorded to these two regi-

ments and their respective colonels for their brave and desperate fight at the battle of Buena Vista. This battle stands in the annals of warefare conspicuous for its desperate and bloody character, and furnished a rare record of stubborn endurance, daring bravery, and patriotic sacrifice. The attacking army under Santa Anna numbered 20,000. The opposing force numbered but 4,500. The battle lasted all day, and, in resisting the final charge of almost overwhelming numbers in the afternoon, the gallant Colonels Hardin, McKee and Lieutenant Colonel Clay were killed. Though in the hottest of the fight Colonel Bissell escaped without injury, and blackened with powder and smoke and worn and exhausted by the fierce struggles of the day, when he threw himself upon his rough couch at night his brow was encircled with the halo of an immortal name. Transportation was slow at that time, and the full particulars of the battle were not received for several days. The first authentic accounts came through the St. Louis newspapers, and there is an amusing incident, personal to myself, connected with their arrival and distribution. The connection between St. Louis and Belleville was by means of a hack which, owing to the wretched state of the roads, usually took several hours to traverse the distance between the two places. At the time of the Battle of Buena Vista I was a carrier of the old Missouri Republican and the St. Louis Reveille to Belleville subscribers, and always had a certain number to sell. I usually stood at the post office waiting for the arrival of the above mentioned vehicle to procure my bundle of papers. On that day I received my bundle, tore off the cover and handed the first copy to Mr. Murray Morrison, a lawyer who afterwards became a member of the Supreme court of California. The head lines of the Battle of Buena Vista arrested his attention. Every person in town was expecting the account. As I delivered the paper to him I was in the act of starting on the run, when he stopped me and said: "Here, Charlie! There's an account of the great Battle of Buena Vista in the paper, and General Taylor has badly defeated the Mexicans. Do not sell your papers for less than a long bit". I started down the street with the cry of: "Here is all about the battle of Bu—", but I stopped, looked at the paper, then tried again: "Here is all about the battle of Bu—", balked, and then changed my call to: "Here is all about General Taylor's whipping the Mexicans". And I followed Mr. Morrison's advice; there was a "corner" on newspapers that day.

BATTLE FIELD AT BUENA VISTA NEAR
SALTILLO, MEXICO, Feb., 24, 1847.

FRIEND KOERNER—A tremendous battle was fought here on yesterday and the day before between our forces on the one side and Santa Anna's, commanded by himself, on the other. We had less than 5,000 men, our enemy over 20,000. The battle was long-continued and dreadfully sanguinary, but the result is most glorious, glorious for our own beloved country. We routed the enemy and drove him to seek safety by flight under cover of night. His loss in killed and wounded is immense—we cannot conjecture what. And our own,

alas! is too severe. Cols. Hardin, Tell, McKee and Clay were killed upon the field, in the most dreadful conflict, and fell almost within my reach.

My own brave regiment, which has won for itself eternal honor, and which did more hard fighting than any other regiment or corps on the field, has suffered most severely—about 65 killed, 80 wounded, 9 or 10 missing. I sent a list of the killed in the two St. Clair companies to Mr. Kinney in another letter. Engelmann acted most gallantly upon the field, and was severely but not dangerously wounded in the shoulder. He is doing well and has every attention and is in good spirits. Our whole loss in killed, wounded and missing will probably be between four and five hundred.

We are all perfectly prostrated—worn out. You will get the particulars from other sources. I have not a moment to spare.

Good-bye.

(Signed.) WILLIAM H. BISSELL.

To Judge Koerner.

The news of the outcome of this battle and the bravery displayed by the Illinois regiments produced the wildest enthusiasm throughout the State. In every city, town and village, public meetings were held, speeches made, gun-powder exploded and the nights brightened with bon-fires and illuminations. It was a time of general revelry and rejoicing. In after years, during the Civil War, I had occasion to contrast the universal transports of joy visible upon the reception of this news over a victory of a foreign foe and the divided exultation when news came of a victory of American over American. If there is anything in the movements of men that will stir to its depths the feelings and emotions, it is to look upon the returning veterans of a successful war and one in which they have borne a brave and heroic part. And so the people of St. Clair county were stirred upon the return of the Second regiment and its noble Commander. The reception was one never to be forgotten. There be a few old men yet living whose eyes will moisten at the mention to them of the occurance. One form of expression of public admiration and affection took the shape of a barbecue given on July 28, 1847. An immense crowd assembled on the occasion. The address of welcome to the regiment was made by Judge Gustavus Koerner in his usual felicitous, able and eloquent manner. The response was made by Colonel Bissell. It was a masterpiece of oratory. In opening he said:

"The volunteers, officers and men on whose account this splendid pageant has been gotten up are effected with feelings of deep sensibilty at the honors they are receiving at your hands. In the immense concourse of people here assembled, in the fervid and eloquent address by the orator of the day, and in the warmth and enthusiasm of feeling manifested all around us, we recognize an approbation of our conduct and joy at our return which entirely surpass our expectations and leave us without language to express our gratitude.

Twelve months ago we went forth from among you to do service; to die, if need be, in our country's cause. Many an eye was dimmed at our parting and many a bosom pained. Heavy was the sacrifice which many of you were then called to make, but our country required it, and, upon her altar, that sacrifice was cheerfully offered up. We went forth cheered and encouraged by you and followed by your blessings. In all out wanderings you never forgot us, nor did we for a moment forget our country or her honor. We never forgot that we had the credit of our own Illinois to sustain, nor did we cease to remember that we had cherished friends at home whose eyes were ever upon us, and whose hearts were always with us."

He then referred to the characteristics of the volunteer soldiers from Illinois; spoke of their lack of experience and discipline, but explained how it was that by constant attention and practice they so soon overcame these drawbacks and fought as trained veterans. In this connection he paid them a splendid tribute for moral worth. It is worthy of quotation as showing, aside from his style of speech, the social condition of the times. He said:

"Of the officers and men of the Second Illinois regiment—concerning whom I can speak from more intimate knowledge—of them I take occasion to say that the high tone of moral character which they always and under all circumstances maintained was alike creditable to themselves and honorable to the State which claimed them as her sons. They were not of the class found upon the wharves of our seaports, and gathered up there—men who have no character to sustain and no friends or country to love. They were chiefly the well taught youths of our farming communities and our quiet, moral country towns. The moral sentiments they had imbibed at home, and the high sense of personal honor and personal respect they had there learned to cherish, they carried with them, and these were a panoply and a shield against temptation. Honor! All honor to you, ye mothers! And you, ye fathers! for so forming the character of your sons as to enable them, by the force of that character alone, to draw down honors upon their State."

He then entered into a detailed account of the battle of Buena Vista. It was intensely interesting, and remains a valuable acquisition to the history of the war. His recital in its plain and simple force and beauty reads like a chapter from Cæsar's Commentaries.

In speaking of Colonel Hardin, he said that the meditated charge of the Mexicans in overwhelming numbers which might have resulted in defeat instead of victory, was prevented by the charge so gallantly led and so heroically sustained by that officer. And in the magnanimity of his nature asked: "May we not say, then, that that brave officer and noble-heated man sacrificed himself on that occasion to secure our victory?"

He described his death: "He fell battling manfully for his country's cause, on foot, armed only with his sword, a dragoon sabre; he

lefended himself with heroic firmness against the crowd of lancers which pressed upon him, and only fell when overpowered by their greatly superior numbers."

He then explained the great advantage obtained in the victory of Buena Vista, and pointed out the terrible consequences that would have ensued in case of defeat. After expressing the joy at meeting friends once more, and the deep feeling of gratitude for the magnificent ovation, he closed in the following beautiful words:

"But alas! Our joy, like yours, is checked by the recollection of familiar faces which are not here! By the remembrance of familiar names, which we may call in vain; names, too, some of which there are no prouder ones even in our own proud Illinois. Not a few of the brave men who went with us have yielded up their breath in resisting the foes of their country, and have found amid the mountains of Mexico their last resting place. They will return no more, but mourn them not! They fell in their country's cause! They fell, where they would have chosen to fall, in the arms of victory upon a glorious battlefield, with their county's banner streaming o'er them! Mourn them not! For though with their life-blood they have moistened the soil of Buena Vista, and left their honored remains to mingle with the dust of that famous battlefield, yet they are not dead! No they are not dead! They still live! They live in the spirit which animates our patriot bosom here! They live in the feeling which thrills with electrical influence the hearts of this vast assembly! They live in the memory of a grateful country! They live! They will ever live in a fame as extended as this vast republic and as lasting as time!"

The splendid services of Colonel Bissell in the Mexican war, together with his well known ability, made him the most popular man in the Congressional district in which he lived, and, on his consent to accept the candidacy, he was elected without opposition, in 1848. He was again elected, without opposition, in 1850. The session of Congress of the winter of 1849-50 was one of the most exciting that had yet occurred in the history of the nation. The debate on the admission of California as a free state was bitter and acrimonious in the extreme. The domineering spirit of the pro-slavery party was such that threats of secession and civil war came from the lips of several Southern senators and congressmen. In this body the debates were remarkable for both violence and ability. "At no time in its history" says Mr. Blaine, "has its members been so illustrious, its weight of character and ability so great." Webster made his great speech against his anti-slavery friends, and declared that the South had monopolized three-fourths of the places of honor and emolument under the Federal government ever since the Union was formed. He was charged by his former Southern friends with treason. Jefferson Davis and his associates tried in vain to have a journal entry made of their protest against the wrong done to the slave-holding states in giving the entire Pacific coast to freedom, and Henry Clay succeeded in his great compromise measure which, for a time, stayed the waves of passion and treason. It is easy to premise

the effects these debates had upon a man of the patriotism of Colonel Bissell. He foresaw the consequences of the continued triumph of a party controlled by such leaders as then represented the South, and he foresaw the futility of any attempt on the part of the more reasonable and conservative members of that party from the North to control its policy or direct its destiny. When the time came for the Congressional election of 1852, he refused to submit his name to the Democratic nominating convention and ran as an independent against Philip B. Fouke, Jr. (Democrat) and Joseph Gillespie (Whig) and was triumphantly re-elected. The fierce warfare for slavery extension continued. Douglas reported the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1853, and, after a giant struggle, it passed in 1854. It drove forever from the Democratic party many of its adherents, and among them Colonel Bissell. He was prevented by severe illness, from taking part in the House debates on that notable measure. That illness attacked him in the winter of 1851, a partial paralytic stroke, and continuously affected him to such an extent that he was unable to take his seat in the summer of 1853, when the debate was progressing. His decided opposition was manifested, however, in the declaration that if his vote would defeat the measure he would insist on being carried to the House in order to cast it even if the effort caused his death. It was during his first session in Congress that he ran counter to the fire-eating spirit of the South. A vindictive attack had been made by a Congressman from Virginia against the North, and an indiscriminate arraignment made against her people for immeasurable wrongs against her rights under the slave code. It was customary, in such efforts, for Southerners to extol the people of the South as the possessors of higher qualities of manhood than those possessed by the people of the North. Unfortunately, the member from Virginia, illustrating his argument, made the historically inaccurate statement that a regiment from Mississippi had met and repulsed the enemy at a most critical time in the battle of Buena Vista, and after the Northern troops had given way. Colonel Bissell was peculiarly sensitive to any adverse reflection on the conduct or character of the brave Illinoisans under his command and he resented the mis-statement and imputation with characteristic indignation and scorn. His speech, in which he incorporated his reply to the statement of the gentleman from Virginia, gave an insight into the trend of his mind and opened the way to the future distinction of being the first Republican nominee for Governor of the State of Illinois. He entered the lists as an advocate of the people of the North against the unjust charges of aggression and spoliation; showed the weakness of the material on which they based their accusation and the distortion and misapplication of facts to sustain their arguments. In regard to the statement about the Northern troops giving way, he replied in the following eloquent strain:

"I affirm distinctly, sir, that at the time the 2nd Indiana Regiment gave way, through an unfortunate order of their colonel, the Mississippi regiment, for whom the claim is gratuitously set up, was not within a mile and a half of the scene of action, nor yet had it fired a

gun or pulled a trigger. I affirm further, sir, that the troops which at that time met and resisted the enemy and thus, to use the gentleman's own language, 'snatched victory from the jaws of defeat,' were the 2nd Kentucky, the 2nd Illinois and a portion of the 1st Illinois regiments. It gives me no pleasure, sir, to be compelled to allude to this subject, nor can I see the necessity or propriety of its introduction in this debate. It having been introduced, however, I cannot, sir, sit in silence and witness the infliction of such cruel injustice upon men, living and dead, whose well earned fame I were a monster not to protect. The true, brave hearts of too many of them, alas! have already mingled with the soil of a foreign country, but their claims upon the justice of their countrymen can never cease, nor can my obligations to them be ever forgotten or disregarded. No, sir! The voice of Hardin—that voice which has so often been heard in this hall as mine now is, though far more eloquently—the voice of Hardin, yea, and of McKee, and the accomplished Clay, each wrapped now in his bloody shroud, their voices would reproach me from the grave had I failed in this act of justice to them and to others who fought and fell by my side."

His reference to the Mississippi regiment brought a challenge from Jefferson Davis. He was not to be cowed, nor did he propose to be uselessly sacrificed. He accepted the challenge and chose as weapons the army musket, to be loaded with a ball and three buck shots; the parties to be stationed only 40 paces apart, with liberty to advance to ten. The acceptance meant death to both parties. This his opponent had not been anticipating. There was no humor in this proposed duel. Colonel Bissell's conduct in battle argued that he would be the first to advance from 40 paces to ten. It required the intervention of President Taylor to extricate his son-in-law, Mr. Davis, from the terrible dilemma. He succeeded in adjusting the difficulty and there was no loss of honor to Colonel Bissell.

Before the close of the last session of his service in Congress, Colonel Bissell had attained a national reputation as a skillful debator and accomplished orator, a trusted leader and an able statesman. Colonel Bissell returned home at the end of his last Congressional term with the intention of retiring from a further active participation in the political arena. The character and continuance of his illness caused him to doubt the propriety of his again accepting public office, but his intellect was unimpaired, and the part he had taken in the political affairs of the country made it an impossibility for him to become a silent spectator of the great drama. The formative processes of the reorganization of parties were at work. The zealous advocates of a united and undivisible union and an advanced freedom, regardless of divers views on minor questions, were, by the force of events and conditions, being gradually drawn into cohesion and union. In most of the border states the contest was assuming phases of dangerous antagonisms. Especially was this so in Missouri where Benton, Blair and Brown were waging a bitter war on behalf of free soil. Colonel Bissell took great interest in the Missouri conflict and was constantly in correspondence with the

leaders named, and, at times, met them in consultation. No man in Illinois was held in higher estimation by the early workers for free soil in Missouri than Colonel Bissell. The final trend to a consolidation of all elements in opposition to the pro-slavery and disunion party culminated in the convention at Bloomington, Ill., on the 29th of May, 1856. One of your ablest historians records the event in these words:

"It was a famous gathering, and marked the commencement of a new era in the politics of the State. All those who subsequently became leaders of the Republican party were there; Whigs, Democrats, know-nothings and abolitionists. Those who had all their lives been opposing and fighting each other, found themselves for the first time harmoniously battling side by side, consulting and shouting their unanimous accord."

John M. Palmer was made president of that convention, and among the delegates were such men as Lincoln, Browning, Wentworth, Yates, Lovejoy, Oglesby and Koerner. This convention recorded the real birth of that party which so successfully carried on the war for the preservation of the Union and destroyed forever the institution of slavery. Without solicitation, without even an anticipation on his part, Colonel Bissell was unanimously nominated for governor of the State. No higher compliment could have been extended; no greater evidence of the exalted estimation of the man could be given. It was the recognition on the part of great men, sincerely earnest men, patriots and leaders of men, that he possessed those pre-eminent abilities required in the leadership of so great a cause. And he fulfilled the trust faithfully as long as life was given him. During his administration he had to contend against the unreasonable attacks of partisanship, but so bore himself as to carry through measures important to the interests of the State and enforced respect and support for his acknowledged statesmanship.

In person Governor Bissell was of the soldier's standard height. In form, finely proportioned, he bore himself with becoming dignity but without the least semblance of vanity or ostentation. His countenance was frank, open and prepossessing. A finely shaped head, in harmony with his body, was crowned with dark brown hair lining a high and broad forehead. His features were prominent, with a large Roman nose, a square but not protruberant chin; a mouth indicating firmness, with full lips and closely trimmed mustache; small tufts of hair grew just in front of his ears. Eyebrows almost straight, shaded his eyes; these were dark gray and very bright. The muscles of his face were remarkably flexible and expressive. His manners were exceedingly courteous and impressive, and his conversation animated and interesting. His canvassing methods were entirely different from most politicians. There was nothing of the demagogue about him and he never resorted to subterfuges or schemes for success. His habits were regular and temperate, and he never courted votes in the precincts of the saloon. One of his prominent traits, that of modesty, was in marked contrast to many of the public men with whom he associated. I have given some idea of

his powers of oratory in the quotations read from his speeches, but they can convey only, in limited measure, the beauty, strength and power of the spoken words. A clear and well modulated voice, with gestures graceful and appropriate and the fire and fervor of conviction embellished his every effort, and, on occasions, when deeply moved and an inspiration seized him, he rose to the highest flights of eloquence. In daily life his course was in keeping with the noble impulses that marked his public career. He was a kind and affectionate husband and father; a just and upright citizen; a staunch friend and a devoted believer in the faith of immortality, and, lastly, he was a type of the founders of the Republic. His ambition was pure and exalted. He cared not, neither did he strive, for the wealth of earth, but, dying, he left what was greater, "the imperishable heritage of a lofty reputation and a spotless name." It is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to accomplish the good he might have done. He did not live to finish his term of office, but died on Sunday, the 18th of March, 1860. His death was pathetic in the extreme. He retained his faculties until the last. His last hours are described in one of the journals of the day:

"On Saturday morning Governor Bissell had himself a consciousness of the approach of death and about 5 a. m. called his family to his bedside. One or two other persons, attendants during his illness, were present. The scene at the last parting was only referred to that it may place in its brightest light the character of the deceased. Calling each member of the family to his bedside, he gave them a last embrace—the wife and weeping daughters all sharing alike in his affection. A brief address was made to each. Then followed farewells to other members of the household. Of the faithful servants among these was a colored domestic who nursed Mrs Bissell while an infant. Following this, during the forenoon of Saturday, Messrs Lincoln, Hatch, Dubois and Herndon had a brief farewell interview with him. He passed a painful night and on Sunday morning the death struggle commenced at 7 o'clock. At intervals he would rally; his eye would kindle as its wont and his failing powers by the force of his indomitable will would be roused and carry him through some sentences uttered clearly and distinctly, when the ebbing tide would sink back again. About the middle of the forenoon he made a brief prayer to the Deity, as a dying man to his Maker and Judge. It was clearly and distinctly uttered and full of feeling. For an hour or two preceding his death he did not speak, but sank gradually, and so passed from earth."

The voice of mourning—deep, sincere and reverential—was heard in every part of the State on the announcement of the death of Governor Bissell. Nor was it confined to the limits of Illinois. The advocates of the perpetuity of our government, the friends of freedom, the brave, the true and the patriotic throughout the length and breadth of the land mourned the death of the illustrious soldier and statesman. The funeral procession at the capital was by far the largest and most imposing that ever attended the obsequies of any citizen of the State, save one, in later years. It was composed of

military officers of high degree, judges of the Supreme, Circuit and Federal courts, United States senators and members of Congress; governors and lieutenant governors of various states, members of the State Senate and House of Representatives, members of the bar, numerous civic societies, a great concourse of illustrious citizens, and, last though not least, the officers and soldiers who served under him in the Mexican war. Among the chief mourners was his distinguished friend and political associate, Abraham Lincoln. Conjecture asks—What were his reflections on that solemn occasion? As he heard the measured footsteps of the citizen militia, the boom from out the distant battery and the noise of the platoon firing over the grave of his friend, did his prophetic mind hear from out the future the solid tramp of armed legions, the thunder from thousands of hoarse-mouthed cannons, the wild tornado of rattling musketry and the mighty rush of contending hosts in the yet unfought war for the Union? Did his eye far down the vista look upon the terrible panorama of war and desolation, of triumph and victory? Did he see the full fruition and outcome of the work so devotedly commenced by the illustrious dead and his associates? If so, then his sad face on that day wore a more sombre tinge, and the tears that he shed for his friend and co-worker in the cause of justice and human freedom were commingled with those he shed for the coming woes and calamities of his beloved country.

In conclusion, let me say that it was my desire and intention to refer to other distinguished citizens of this State with whom I was acquainted, but I find it impossible to attempt to do so in the circumscribed time allotted for this address. I regret it, for there are several others whose memory I fondly cherish with sentiments of esteem, admiration and affection. When I read the history of my native State, my heart swells with pride and satisfaction at the marvelous work of her people and her long line of great and illustrious characters. Other states have produced great and distinguished men, but in the world's annals of human action is recorded that in the greatest achievements performed in behalf of humankind in the 19th century. Illinois stands pre-eminent.

AN INQUIRY.

Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Among several old newspapers I secured at Jacksonville a short time since, was a copy of the *Illinois State Journal* of Nov. 25, 1857, published at Springfield, Ill., by Bailache & Baker, in which appears the following communication written by Prof. John Russell, dated "Bluffdale, November, 1857."

"For the *Illinois State Journal*—The School Advocate—An Essay on the Human Mind and its Education.

"Such is the title of a work of 118 pages, fresh from the pen of our fellow-citizen, ex-Governor Reynolds. He and his writings are too well known to the people of this State for it to be needful to offer a single comment upon that little volume. Deposit a letter in any postoffice of Illinois, however remote or obscure, with no other superscription than these three words—"The Old Ranger"—and it would go straight to him at Belleville. As an author, his great personal popularity has rather been a drawback to him, than otherwise, for few are disposed to give to his writings the severe but salutary criticism which other writers find so beneficial, though not always very agreeable.

"There is hardly an office within the gift of our people which he has not filled, and with distingished honor. For several years past he has declined all public employment, and with an ample fortune retired to the shades of private life, but not of idleness. The mind of Governor Reynolds, both by nature and habit, is much too active to content itself with listless inanity. During the period of his retirement he has written and published several valuable works, of which the one whose title is placed at the head of this article, is the latest. Space in which to analyze the contents of that volume can be afforded only in the ample pages of a monthly or quarterly *Review*. It is useless to attempt it in the columns of a newspaper. The title itself, however, discloses the scope of the author. It is philosophical as well as practical, and rich in well matured and original thoughts. No one will read the work without feeling himself abundantly paid for its perusal.

"It is said that Governor Reynolds is already engaged upon another work, which will appear in the course of a few months. With his "*Life and Times*," the reading public is already familiar. Notwithstanding the haste with which it went through the press, un-

avoidably carrying along with it many typographical and other not very important errors, that volume of 600 pages has been pronounced by competent judges the best work that has yet been written upon the early history of Illinois.

"It is a remarkable fact, that St. Clair county contains the only two living writers of the State, whose productions have the slightest chance to outlive the passing hour, and descend to other times. The Rev. Dr. Peck and ex-Governor Reynolds, each in his own appropriate field, has collected, and in part published, a series of important facts connected with the history of this State, which, but for their labors would have perished forever. For this, if for nothing else, the future sons and daughters of Illinois will hold them in grateful remembrance."

A native of St. Clair county, Ill., myself and reared in Belleville, the home of Governor Reynolds, I was intimately acquainted with him from my boyhood until his death in 1865. Familiar as I am—or imagined myself to be—with his writings I never, before reading this communication of Professor Russell's, heard of the book he calls public attention to, and his account of it is the first I have yet seen in print. That book, or essay, is not mentioned by any of Governor Reynolds' numerous biographers. My inquiries of his few remaining contemporaries in St. Clair county have failed to discover anyone there who ever saw, or before heard of it. It is not in the public library at Belleville, or in what is left of Professor Russell's library, though his son, Mr. S. G. Russell, of Bluffdale, thinks his father must have donated the book, after writing this notice of it, to the Chicago Historical society whose collections were later all destroyed in the great fire of 1871.

My object in transcribing and calling attention to this communication of Professor Russell's is to institute a general public inquiry for this forgotten work of Governor Reynolds, and, if it is not completely out of print and lost, to secure, if possible, a copy of it for the Illinois State Historical library.

Mr. Edward W. West, a resident of Belleville for 80 years, suggests that Professor Russell may have been mistaken in attributing the authorship of the book to Governor Reynolds. That, however, is not probable. This "School Advocate, or Essay upon the Human Mind and its Education," appearing in 1857, was doubtless written by the Old Ranger, and perhaps for an ulterior purpose, as less than a year later he was nominated, in 1858, by the anti-Douglas wing of the Democratic party—of which he was a conspicous champion—as its candidate for the position of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Or, in justice to the Governor, it should be presumed that his treatise on Schools and Education of the Human Mind, disseminated in the fall of 1857, made so profound an impression on his party, without design on his part, as to influence his nomination the next spring.

The Douglas faction of the Democracy at that time nominated for the same office ex-Gov. A. C. French. At the election following both

ex-Governors were defeated by Newton Bateman, the Republican candidate, whose majority over Reynolds, however, was only 2,143 in the total of 252,100 votes cast.

Anyone knowing of the existence of a copy of the book referred to in this inquiry will confer a valuable favor by communicating that fact to the librarian of the Illinois State Historical library at Springfield, Ill.

ILLINOIS IN THE WAR OF 1812–1814.

By Frank E. Stevens, author of the "Black Hawk War."

IMPROMPTU.

At this moment, with the United States and England united by ties of closest friendship, it may appear highly impertinent to disturb their tranquil contemplation by turning over pages of the past to a time when English subjects on this side of the Atlantic found their greatest gratification in inciting Indians to lift the scalps of our forefathers. But I shall not use unfortunate complications of former days malevolently. They are past and forgotten and the man of today cares very little about them anyway. In fact, I may say that the average man of today bothers his busy brain very little with affairs which concerned his forefathers, or even his father. They are "charged off" his mind, if he ever had them there, pretty much as he charges off his bad accounts at the end of the year and, apparently, he does not care to get them back.

The events which I am called upon to relate have been set down by others at different periods, but in books, periodicals and pamphlets now so rare as to be practically obsolete; therefore, I am constrained to admit that this paper is little more than a collation of those recondite items.

In general, where quotations are used with no note of reference, the item should be credited to the "American State Papers."

At the conclusion of our war for independence, it was stipulated in the treaty that all frontier posts* of the northwest then occupied by British garrisons were to be surrendered, but they were not The Jay treaty followed, and even that did not secure their evacuation until 1796.†

Had the British remained tranquil‡, the occupation of those posts, though unlawful, had not materially injured the officers of the United States in arranging their Indian policy; but neither British officers nor traders remained tranquil. From the moment the war terminated, those individuals offensively meddled with the Indians and the schemes introduced to keep them peaceful and contented—a most delicate task when environments were most auspicious.§

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*Michillimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Oswegotché, Point Au Fer, Dutchman's Point and Prairie du Chien.

†Burnet's "Notes on the early settlement of the Northwest Territory."

‡The conduct of the British up to this date, and during all the long years which followed, may be said to have had a three-fold object—resentment, a desire to retain the trade already established with the Indians, and a desire to keep the American settlements confined to the Atlantic seaboard by making life west of it as uncomfortable as possible.

§Armstrong very aptly mentions the treaty of Paris, 1783, as "virtually a truce, not a pacification; a temporary and reluctant sacrifice of national pride to national interest; not a frank and honest adjustment of differences."

MAP—ILLINOIS IN 1812-1814.

Longitude West from Greenwich.
Pecatonica R.
Sacs
Foxes
Winnebagoes.
Pottowatomies.
Rock River.
Ft. Dearborn.
The Massacre.
Ft. Armstrong
Sac Village.
Fox River.
Campbell's Battle.
Taylor's Battle.
Starved Rock.
Pottowatomies.
Pottowatomies.
Kankakee River.
Little Vermillion
Ft. Madison.
Peoria Ft. Clark
Kickapoo Village.
Grand Kickapoo Village.
Illinois River.
Fort Howard.
Kickapoos.
Kickapoo Village.
Ft. Edwards 1812
Ft. Johnson 1814
Crooked Creek.
March of U.S. 1813
Salt Creek.
Vermillion River.
Kickapoo Village.
Sangamon River.

During the French and Indian wars, the Indians had been engaged with one side or the other; fed and pampered by both until new and exaggerated wants had been engendered to such an extent that nothing much short of genius could bring them back to peaceful habits and simple needs. Coming to us intractable, sometimes belligerent, against their will in a measure, the difficulties of the situation may be readily imagined. No one appreciated those difficulties more than the British, and, resentful at their recent failure to conquer, they lost no time in multiplying the perplexities of this nascent country with its new wards.

Naturally, a receptive mood was needed to secure the adoption of American measures, but the Indians did not receive without objection. On the contrary, they returned to their old friends for advice. Every real or fancied grievance was carried direct to British headquarters, and, instead of referring the matter back to the Americans where it belonged, the grievance was magnified and the Indians urged to resent it. No opportunity was lost to impress upon the minds of the susceptible Indians that they had lost a good provider when they lost the English father, and that they probably would suffer to an uncomfortable degree with the new father. Presents of whiskey and food were added at the same time, to cause the dissatisfaction to spread and to make the Indians believe they were to be systematically defrauded every time the Americans offered an innovation. If a tranquil state were sought, the British exultingly pointed to the fact as the entering wedge for something sinister to follow, and so, from disquietude to alarm and from alarm to hostility, those red men were brought until the Indian war of 1790-95 followed, which was supported by the British; covertly at the start, but gradually increasing in boldness until, at the battle before Fort Recovery, British soldiery was conspicuously active in the attempt (unsuccessful) to reduce it. From prisoners* taken in that engagement it was learned that Colonel McKee was the organizer and sponser for the 1794 campaign, and that Governor Simcoe, Brandt and others equally prominent had been exerting every influence to make the same as barbarous as possible. Specific instances were cited by the Indians in such numbers that denial was never attempted. It was only after General Wayne had whipped the Indians into submission, Aug. 20, 1794, that anything like submission was offered. The truth of British activity was corroborated immediately by the examination of prisoners by General Wayne, which may be found in Burnet's "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory," page 179 *et seq.*, foot note; so careful and exhaustive that reference to it must prove his conclusions to be incontrovertible. On Dec. 23, 1794, the facts were reported to the secretary of war. The treaty of Greenville followed,† after nearly five years of savage warfare. In 1796, after the Jay treaty, the British finally surrendered the then important northwestern posts to the United States.‡

*Burnet, 165 *et seq.*
†Burnet.
‡Aug. 3, 1795.

Feeling assured of safety by that treaty, the Americans commenced an unusual migration into the Northwest territory in such numbers as to attract the attention and likewise the envy and opposition of British officers and traders, who feared the influence of the movement would force the Indians further to the west, beyond their influence and to their great loss.

In 1808, Little Turtle, who had formerly acted with the English, was one of the first to notify the Americans of the perfidy of the English agents and traders in the following talk:

"Brother—At the time we were making bright the chain of friendship at Canandaigua, the commissioner on your part told us that the time might come when your enemies would endeavor to disturb our minds, and do away with the friendship we had then formed with you. That time, brother, has already arrived. Since you have had some disputes with the British government, their agents in Canada have not only endeavored to make the Indians at the westward your enemies, but they have sent a war belt among our warriers, to poison their minds and make them break their faith with you. This belt we exhibited to your agents in council and then sent it to the place from which it came, never more to be seen among us. At the same time we had information that the British had circulated war belts among the western Indians and within your territory. We rested not, but called a general council of the Six Nations and resolved to let our voice be heard among our western brethren and destroy the effects of the poison scattered among them. We have twice sent large deputations to the council fire, for the purpose of making their minds strong in their friendship with your nation, and in the event of war between the white people, to sit still on their seats and take no part on either side. So far as our voice has been heard, they have agreed to hearken to our council and remain at peace with your nation.

"Brothers, if war should take place, we hope you will inform us of it through your agents, and we will continue to raise our influence with all the Indians with whom we are acquainted, that they will sit still upon their seats and cultivate friendship with your people."

By 1809, Illinois had acquired enough of that population to be erected into a territory; far to the west and feebly protected, and to it those agents and traders turned their attention, provoking friction, subsidizing influential Indians, stimulating hatred and furnishing munitions to be used against the inhabitants. The Prophet of the Wabash, brother to Tecumseh, became one of their personal representatives so early as 1808, by sending emissaries, and individually penetrating to the remotest tribes of Illinois, haranguing some, promising others, and all the while seeking coöperation to drive back the Americans to the seaboard.

So far as the mouth of Rock River, emissaries were lodged to urge such malcontents as Black Hawk, who lived there with his hirelings, styled "the British band," to thefts and murders. If this statement be doubted, the following authority should convince:

"ST. LOUIS, April 30, 1809.*

"I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a letter which confirms my suspicions of British interference with our Indian affairs in this country. Extract from the enclosed letter: 'I am at present in the fire, receiving Indian news every day. A chief of the Puant† nation appears to be employed by the British to get all the nations of Indians to Detroit, to see their fathers, the British, who tell them that they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game; that they must *join* and send them from their lands. They told the savages that the Americans could not give them a blanket, nor anything good for their families.

" 'They said they had but one father that had helped them in their misfortunes, and that they would assemble, defend their father, and keep their lands.' It appears that four English subjects have been at Riviere a la Roche‡ this winter, in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together, and send them on the American frontiers.‖ Other Indians are pushed on by our enemies to take the fort of Belle Vue."§

To the east as far as Sandusky, it was found, June 9, 1809, that, contrary to all regulations of the United States, British traders were introducing liquor among the Indians of that locality and seeking recruits among them.

On June 28, 1809. Nicholas Jarrot, of Cahokia, made affidavit that Messrs. Portier and Bleakly, of Prairie du Chien, were inciting Indians to hostility and furnishing them arms and ammunition, with the result that the Indians along the Mississippi became audacious and warlike.¶ In fact it may be said that by reason of such conduct, in conjunction with the influence of the agents stationed at the mouth of Rock River, Ft. Madison was threatened during the winter of 1808-9, and on April 19, 1809, Lieut. Alpha Kingsley, commandant, reported rumors of a contemplated attack upon him and wrote: "The sooner the British traders are shut out of the river, the better for our country."

By July, the influence of those Rock River traders had fructified and a large band of Sacs had started for Amherstburg, reaching that point in conjunction with other bands from the Vincennes country, July 27th, where they received quantities of arms, ammunition

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* From General Clark.
† Winnebago, meaning "The Stinker."
‡ Rock River.
‖ Black Hawk and his followers enlisted.
§ Ft. Madison.
¶ The affidavit made those two traders so uncomfortable that it became necessary for them to deny it with much vehemence.

and provisions from the English agents. To add to our embarassment thus created they invariably took advantage of the disappointments and dissatisfactions found among the Indians after the signing of a treaty wherein some Indian might have received more than his neighbor, or some other inequality, real or imaginary; at each of which there always were found British agents to magnify the injuries, until the disgruntled became numerous and outspoken and finally added new enemies to the States. The climax appears to have been reached Sept. 30, 1809, when the treaty of Ft. Wayne had been concluded with the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Kickapoos, Wea and Eel River Indians, at which Tecumseh resented the alienation of the Indian title with all his power, claiming that lands were given the Indian by the Great Spirit, never to be transferred for any consideration. His hatred was aroused and never thereafter quieted, and without delay his influence was secured by the British and his hatred fanned to a fury which raged until his death. Through *that* chief, the British secured the co-operation of the Wabash Indians, while they in turn were supposed to assist Tecumseh in his scheme for a great Indian confederation.

At once, irregular thieving was inaugurated by Indians who before that time had been on good terms with the whites; then followed bolder acts and larcenies of greater magnitude, and, being apparently immune from punishment, by reason of the sparsely settled country, murders were added here and there.

Thus we are brought down to the year 1810, when Illinois Territory had a population of but 12,282, scattered over a great area—between the Mississippi and the Wabash and south of the present northern boundary line of St. Clair county, extending across the State, with a deflection allowed for the Peoria village and Ft. Dearborn. There were then but two counties, St. Clair and Randolph and while the Territory had no recorded militia laws, until June 22 and 26, 1811, which we can find, yet so early as May 1, 1809, Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Territory, as acting Governor, began preparations for the erection of a military department by appointing Abram Clark "captain of a militia company in the regiment of militia in St. Clair county during the pleasure of the Governor for the time being." And so on day by day threreafter, companies formed in the little settlements and for them the Governor appointed officers, conspicuous among them being William Whiteside, William B. Whiteside, Shadrack Bond, James Moore, Baptiste Saucier, Enoch Moore and John Moredock. Elias Rector was appointed Adjutant General.

Stout hearted men they were, indeed, but to cover such a breadth of country, under the circumstances, and in face of odds which we shall see confronting them, was a superhuman task; yet they managed it as well, perhaps, as was possible, restraining the Indians from great engagments, the Ft. Dearborn massacre excepted, because it was beyond their jurisdiction. On July 19, 1810, a band of Pottawatomies, who had been to war against the Osages, without result, were returning home. Arriving at the Loutre settlement at the upper part of the Loutre island, opposite the mouth of the Gasconade

river,* they stole a number of horses. Owners of the property and friends to the number of six, to wit: Stephen Cole, William Temple Cole, Larshal Brown, Cornelius Goooh, Abraham Patten and James Murdough, immediately pursued the thieves for a long distance, or as stated by Murdough in an affidavit dated Aug. 17, 1810, to be found on page 55 of "Memorial of the State of Missouri and documents," etc. published by order of the United States Senate in 1826, as follows: "made ready and pursued the trail, in order to get the horses, until next day about 1:00 o'clock, when the company came in sight of a party of Indians in a prairie, between the waters of Cuivre and Salt river. I did not see the Indians, but the men in front of the company saw them, as they allowed, about four or five miles distant in the prairie, and the company followed the trail until they came to where the Indians had left some of the plunder, together with two sides of leather (Brown's); here I allowed the Indians discovered the company after them, which was the cause of their leaving the plunder. The company followed on until themselves and horses were so much exhausted that they could not overtake the Indians, and all concluded to return, and that night went back and lifted the Indian plunder which they had passed, and traveled about three miles back on the trail, and encamped on a small branch of Salt river. Here three of the company agreed to go home, and the others, Murdough,Gooch and Brown, were to take the Indian plunder on the next morning and go and leave it with one Lagoterie, so that he might try and get the horses, or find out what nation of Indians it was. After this resolution the horses were turned out, and the company lay down, and about 2:00 o'clock on the morning of the 21st,the company was fired on by the Indians,(supposed then to be Sacs)." The Indians suddenly opened fire, and before the men could rouse themselves, William T. Cole, Goooh, Brown and Patten were killed and Stephen Cole was wounded.

Cat-Fish, a Pottowatomie, was subsequently identified as the leader of the band, having with him other Pottowatomies and a Sac.

On the 22d Stephen Cole returned to the settlements and gave the warning, when a party the following day went to the battlefield and buried the dead.

Stephen Cole was said to have killed four Indians and wounded a fifth with his own hand. The survivors were unable to reach the settlements again to tell their story, until the 22d; then a party returned and recovered the bodies, but the horses, blankets, guns, ammunition, etc., belonging to them had been stolen and by that time probably had been lost irretrievably.†

At Vincennes, on July 18, it was ascertained that the Rock river Sacs had prepared to strike, the moment they should receive the signal. The motive which prompted it being another pilgrimage to

*Annals of the West, 728. Edwards' Hist. p. 37, places the robbery at Portage des Sioux; but affidavits made at the time all place them at a settlement called Loutre settlement, Fensure township, in the district of St. Charles.

†Annals, 628-9, Edwards' Hist. of Ill., 37.

see the British agent, at Malden to receive presents, most of which could be used against the Americans in unprotected localities, the Indians passing Chicago July 1st. A friendly Miami who was present when those Sacs received their presents, afterwards informed the Americans that the agent told him as he had the Sacs these words: "My son, keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up; be you ready, but do not strike until I give the signal." For Indians of a peaceful frame of mind, the following inventory may be said to reflect many hypothetical interlineations:

"FORT WAYNE, Aug. 7, 1810.

"Since writing you on the 26th ultimo, about 100 men of the Saukies * have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with everything they stood in need of. The parties received 47 rifles and a numer of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

"JOHN JOHNSON,

"*Indian Agent.*"

(Annals of the West, page 577.)

On May 13, 1811, the government was notified from Chicago that an assemblage of Indians was to take place on a branch of the Illinois, inspired by the Prophet of the Wabash and from which, hostilities might be expected to spring in the event of trouble with the English. On June 2, 1811, a party of savages fell upon a family named Cox, near the forks of Shoal creek. There were present at the time but two members of it, a young man, who was instantly killed, his body was mutilated in a shocking manner, and a young woman, who was made a prisoner. With the prisoner and all the live stock stolen, the Indians followed a northward course for home. When the Coxes returned and found the desolation left by the murderers, a party commanded by one Preuitt, with Henry Cox, Benjamin Cox and others to the number of eight or ten, started in pursuit, northwesterly, and continuing to a point seven miles from their home and 50 miles north of the present site of the city of Springfield, where the Indians were overtaken and an engagement followed. No lives were lost, but the property was recovered, and during the excitement of the engagement, the girl escaped, receiving a cruel tomahawk wound in the hip while she ran. On the 20th of the same month, a man named Price was killed near the spring in the lower end of what was later the city of Alton.† Price, a relative of the Whiteside family, and another man named Ellis were plowing corn when they saw the Indians approaching them at the spring, where a small cabin was located. As the Indians approached, the whites asked if they were for peace or war. One of their number, a large

* The same referred to in the paragraph above.

†Davison and Stuve, 249, Reynolds' Pioneer Hist., 404.

and powerful fellow, replied by laying his gun upon the ground and extending his hand to Price, who innocently grasped it. But the Indian held him as in a vice while the other Indians murdered him in cold blood. During the fight, the man Ellis escaped after receiving a wound in the thigh, by flying to his horse and making for home.

Murders became so numerous and the unfortunate victims were mutilated so frightfully, that a mass meeting of St. Clair county citizens was held to consider the state of the country, demand protection by the government and in the mean time, protect themselves as well as their numbers and means would permit. At that meeting, "Col. William Whiteside was conducted to the chair and Samuel D. Davidson, Esq., appointed secretary:

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the following memorial be presented to Ninian Edwards, governor of the territory aforesaid, as the joint sense of the meeting, to be signed by the chairman; which humbly sheweth, that we are highly gratified with the prompt, speedy and prudential manner in which your Excellency has issued your orders for the defense of the exposed frontiers of said country, to oppose the repetition of Indian hostilities and that we have the utmost and incontrovertible confidence in your abilities and patriotism for our safety in the present alarming times, as the constitutional channel between the general government and us:

"WHEREFORE, we confidently request of your Excellency to forward the annexed memorial to the President of the United States, with such statements as may appear reasonable and just to gain the object prayed for, as we are confident your Excellency must feel and see with us, that one or more garrisons, established and defended by the regular veterans of the United States, would be of the utmost safety to the extensive and exposed frontiers of both the Louisiana and Illinois territories in a more particular manner as the great and numerous tribes of Indians, who had the hardihood and insolence to make war against the United States, (and in some instances with effect) a few years since, that by the treaty of Greenville and other subsequent treaties, have relinquished their title to their former hunting ground, which is now transformed into substantial plantations and are changing their habitations fast from the lakes and waters of the Ohio down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, where undoubtedly it would be necessary to establish a fort, in order to set reasonable bounds to their savage fury and unprovoked disturbance; we beg leave to refer your Excellency to a view of the great and manifest benefits lately obtained by the garrisons established far up on the two great rivers, several hundred miles above their junction, when, before the establishing of these strengths, there did not a season pass by but some innocent person fell a victim to savage barbarity on both sides of the river and we confidently believe it would have the same salutary effect, in establishing one fort or block house on the first eminence above either the mouths of the Missouri or the Illinois rivers and another in the seditious village of Peoria, the great nursery of hostile Indians and traitorous British Indian traders. We

hope it will not be thought superfluous to mention, that the above request is not to gratify our pride or avarice in obtaining military pomp to decorate our streets, or the expenditure of public money to buy our produce, but it is to keep the improving citizen in peace in a remote region from the United States, who is now working to convert the fertile and extensive plains of the Mississippi into the fairest portion of the Union.

"From different circumstances the inhabitants of this country are not in possession of a sufficiency of arms to repel any attack that may be offered; owing to the present alarm, it is not in our power to buy any, and a considerable portion of the militia are not circumstanced to buy. If your Excellency will be pleased to make use of your good offices to obtain from the general government the use of what rifles and muskets may be thought in your wisdom needful, it certainly would be of great service to this frontier country.

WILLIAM WHITESIDE,
SAMUEL D. DAVIDSON."

"At a numerous meeting of the militia officers, and other inhabitants of St. Clair county, Illinois territory, at the court house, the ....day of....1811, to take into consideration the alarming situation of the frontiers of this county, from the numerous and horrid depredations lately committed by the Indians; Col. William Whiteside was conducted to the chair, and Samuel D. Davidson appointed secretary.

"*Resolved*, That there be a memorial immediately signed by the chairman of this meeting and countersigned by the secretary, stating to the President of the United States the necessity of his ordering what number of regular troops he, in his wisdom, may think requisite, to be stationed for the defence of said county.

"*Resolved*, That the said memorial be sent to the Governor of said territory, requesting him to forward the same to the President of the United States and make such statement (to accompany said memorial) as the urgency of the subject does require.

"*To James Madison, President of the United States, Greeting—*

"The memorial of the inhabitants of the aforesaid county, humbly sheweth: That the inhabitants residing on the frontiers aforesaid, have sustained frequent and repeated damages from the different and numerous tribes of Indians on and in the neighborhood of the Illinois river, these five or six years past, by stealing their horses and other property, as well as the cruel murder of some few of the citizens. In lieu of retaliating, the said citizens curbed their passions and restrained their resentment, lest they should be so unfortunate as to draw a stigma on the government by punishing the innocent for the transgressions of the guilty; and in one instance, restrained the vindictive spirit, by taking two Indians prisoners, who were in possession of stolen property, after a chase of 100 miles, and gave them up to the law.

"We are become the victims of savage cruelty in a more hasty and general manner than what has lately been experienced in the United States. Last spring, there were numbers of horses stolen. On the second of June, a house of Mr. Cox was robbed of valuable effects, five horses stolen, a young man massacred and his sister taken prisoner; sad and conclusive presages of war. There was likewise a man severely wounded, when following the aforesaid Indians.

"On the 20th of the same month (June) a man was killed and scalped and another mortally wounded, which can be more fully stated by the executive of said territory. Those who have suffered are not intruders, but are living on their own farms, on the northwestern frontier of said county. From our knowledge of the danger we are in, and our long suffering, we think we ask nothing but what is reasonable and what will be advantageous to the United States when we implore you to station what number of soldiers you may think sufficient to establish a garrison at the village of Peoria, commonly called Opea, on the Illinois river; and one other on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, at or near the place once viewed and adopted by Captains Stoddart and Bissel, six or eight miles below the mouth of said Illinois river, both sites being covered by treaty. We beg to refer you to the governor of said territory concerning the urgency and necessity of the case, not doubting but that you will grant our request if you think it will be for the welfare of the Union.

WM. WHITESIDE,
SAM'L D. DAVIDSON."*

Which resolutions, with letters, were forwarded by Governor Edwards to the President, Feb. 15, 1812.

At once (July, 1811†) a company of mounted rangers was raised in the Goshen settlement for the protection of the locality. Another was raised in Missouri.‡ An act of Congress followed, authorizing the enlistment of ten companies of mounted rangers, to be styled the 17th regiment, of which Col. William Russell, of Kentucky, was given command, and over each of which companies a captain was elected by the men. Four of those companies, recruited from Illinois, were assigned to the defense of Illinois, towit: The companies of Capt. William B. Whiteside, Capt. Samuel Whiteside, Capt James B. Moore and Capt. Jacob Short. Four of them were assigned to Indiana and two to Missouri.

Over toward the Wabash five companies of mounted rangers were organized, to-wit: The companies of Capt. Willis Hargrave,§ Capt. William McHenry,§ Capt. Nathaniel Journey, Capt. Thomas E. Craig (of Shawneetown) and Capt. William Boone of the Big Muddy.‖

Forts, block houses and stockades were erected over the State wherever settlements were to be found, and, so far as known, are included in the following list: Journey's fort, a short distance above the site of the town of Aviston; one on the site of the present town

*Indian Affairs, American State Papers.
†Annals, 731.
‡Annals, 729, and Davidson and Stuvé, 249.
§Both of White county.
‖Moses Illinois, Vol. I, p. 247.

of Carlyle; two (in the present county of Bond) on the east side of Shoal creek, one known as Hill's fort and the other as Jones' fort; one a few miles southeast of the present site of Lebanon, in St. Clair county, on the west side of the Looking Glass prairie, known as Chambers' fort; one on the Kaskaskia river, called Middleton's fort, and another on the same stream called Going's fort; one on (Goshen) Doza creek, a few miles above its mouth, known as Nat Hill's; two in the Jourdan or Jordan settlement, built in 1811 by Thomas and Francis Jordan, with the assistance of the militia from the U. S. Saline, on the road to the salt works in the eastern part of Franklin county, eight or nine miles from old Frankfort; one at the mouth of the Illinois river; one, a small block house, on the west bank of the Illinois river (Prairie Marcot), 19 miles above its mouth, erected by Lieut. John Campbell, U. S. A; Fort Clark at Peoria; one on the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Missouri; one on Silver creek, northeast of Troy; one called Ft. Johnson, on the site of the present town of Warsaw; Ft. Edwards; one, and by far the most important, called Camp Russell, in honor of Colonel Russell, was established about a mile and a half northwest of Edwardsville; Ft. Massac was also used as a base of supplies. Also the following over in White county: One on the Tanguary land, the northeast quarter of section 16, in township No. 5 south, of range 10 east, built by Capt. William McHenry in the summer of 1812, and from which Captain McHenry's company ranged; one on the Starkey place, built by Hardy Council in 1813; one on the east side of Big Prairie, built by Aaron Williams in 1813; one on the ground a little south of George Hanna's house, built by John Hanna, upon which spot there now stands a Methodist church; one about 200 yards east of where Mathew Land now owns, built by Robert Land, who lived in it during the war, about half a mile south of the Hanna fort last above named; one east of Thomas Logan's farm, built by John Slocumb; and one in the northern part of the county, built by Daniel Boultinghouse near the prairie since named for him. He was killed by the Indians out on that prairie, near the house, in 1813.

On March 20, 1813, a gentleman, writing to the Missouri Gazette, referred, among other things, to the forts of Illinois in the following manner: "We have now nearly finished 22 family forts (stations), extending from the Mississippi, nearly opposite Bellefontaine (the mouth of the Missouri), to the Kaskaskia river, a distance of about 60 miles. Between each fort spies are to pass and repass daily and communicate throughout the whole line, which will be extended to the U. S. Saline and from thence to the mouth of the Ohio. Rangers and mounted militia, to the amount of 500 men, constantly scour the country from 20 to 50 miles in advance of our settlements, so that we feel perfectly easy as to an attack from our red brethren (?), as Mr. Jefferson very lovingly calls them."

In general, those forts were block houses, built of logs, a story and a half or two stories in height, with corners closely trimmed; the walls of the first being provided with port holes and doors, the last named being made of thick puncheons, strongly fastened together

and as strongly barred on the inside. The upper story projected over the lower some three feet, through the floor of which were port holes commanding a range on the territory below. They were generally built in two diagonally opposite corners of the stockade; sometimes one was built in each of the four corners, and yet again one was built in the middle of the enclosure. These stockades were built by setting endwise into trenches, logs, trimmed on two sides, 12 or 15 feet high, through which port holes were cut high enough to be above the head, and under which platforms were built to bring the soldier near enough to use his gun. They were expected to enclose sufficient ground to contain the person and much of the property of him who sought shelter within. Cabins to contain all were generally erected, and in many cases a high degree of comfort for those times was to be enjoyed in those cabins. Usually two heavy gates were built to admit the teams and other stock. Wells were generally dug to provide water and, in fine, nothing needed to resist a long siege was omitted. Those posts usually afforded ample protection and few accidents were reported to those who "forted" themselves.

Fort Russell, in 1812, was provided with the single piece of artillery of Louis XIV, brought from Ft. Chartres. It was made the depot for military stores and virtually became the seat of government of Illinois territory when Governor Edwards and his suite removed thence. No regulars were quartered there save the small detachment under Captain Ramsey early in the spring of 1812.

All the evidence at hand tended to prove conclusively to Governor Edwards that thus far all the mischief to the settlements had been conceived in the villages along the Illinois river, to which the Prophet had directed his genius for a considerable time. The following dispatches bear upon the point:

"VINCENNES, July 2, 1811.

"We were informed four weeks ago, that it was the intention of the Prophet to commence hostilities in the Illinois Territory in order to cover his principal object, which was an attack upon this place. These events require no comments; they merit and no doubt will receive the immediate attention of the government. The people are in great alarm and have talked of collecting in stations. A dispatch has also been received from the Illinois Territory informing of hostilities and murders."

Note as follows:

"ILLINOIS TERRITORY, July 6, 1811.

"An express has been received, with information of several other murders having been committed by the Indians on the frontiers. In fact, I consider peace as totally out of the question; we need not expect it till the Prophet's party is dispersed and the bands of Pottawatomies about the Illinois river are cut off. Hostilities with them has grown into a habit. There is no reason to believe that they will make sufficient satisfaction for the murders they committed and the goods and horses which they stole last year, or for the very aggravated and increased instances of similar hostilities in the present year. Energetic measures would lessen his power of forming coali-

tions with other tribes; but we have not the power of taking any effectual means to arrest his progress. If we do not make preparations to meet him, an attack is certain. If we make preparations formidable enough to deter him, though no war actually take place, we have to encounter all the expense, inconvenience and injury to which a war with him would subject us, and there seems to be no reasonable ground to hope for a change for the better, whilst he is permitted to increase his strength with impunity."

"BELLE FONTAINE, July 22, 1811.

"On the 11th instant I detached a subaltern, sergeant, corporal and 15 privates, with a month's provisions, to the Illinois river to choose a proper site for a block house, for temporary accommodations and defense, with orders to scout and reconnoitre the country and to watch every movement of the Indians."

"FT. WAYNE, Aug. 18, 1811.

"It appears that the fruit of the Shawnee Prophet and his band is making its appearance in more genuine colors than heretofore. I have lately had opportunities of seeing many of the Indians of this agency from different quarters, and by what I have been able to learn from them, particularly the Pottawatomies, I am induced to believe the news circulating in the papers respecting the depredations committed in the Illinois Territory by the Indians, is mostly correct, and is thought by them to have proceeded from Marpoc and the influence of the Shawnee Prophet. Several of the tribes have sent to me for advice."

It was therefore thought best to apply moral suasion to the Indians of that locality, with the hope that they would, upon discovering the intentions of Governor Edwards, desist from further schemes of murder and robbery. Governor Howard had made a requisition on Governor Edwards for the Gasconade murderers which the latter desired to honor as well as to capture the murderers of the Cox boy and Price, and to recover, if possible, the stolen property. Accordingly on July 24, 1811, he commissioned Capt. Samuel Levering to undertake the mission which would carry him to the Peoria lake country.* On that day Captain Levering left Kaskaskia for the Peoria village, reaching Mr. Jarrots', in Cahokia, about 11 o'clock the following day, where he received his full quota of men, his boat for their conveyance, equipment, provisions, etc. That same night he shipped for Ft. Clark with his crew, consisting of himself, Captain Ebert or Hebert, Henry Swearingen, Nelson Rector, a Frenchman called an interpreter, but really a spy, Wish-ha, a Pottawatomie Indian, and eight oarsmen named Pierre St. John, Pierre LaParche, Joseph Trotier, Francis Pensoneau, Louis Bevanno, Thomas Hull (alias Woods), Pierre Voedre and Joseph Grammason, all of whom signed articles as boatmen and soldiers for the expedition, and each of whom was armed with a gun.

* Suspected of harboring the culprits and the locality from which all trouble originated.

On the 28th of July the boat reached Portage des Sioux, where it was met by Captain Whiteside with the men of his command, who had just arrived from the block house near the mouth of the Illinois river, and who informed Captain Levering that his party had fired on some Sacs under Quash-qua-me, a few days previous, while they were ascending the river.

While it may distract the attention of the reader from the main narrative to relate the details of that incident, it must be admitted that no better moment will appear than the present to insert it in full.

"ILLINOIS RIVER BLOCK HOUSE, July the 24th, 1811.

"CAPT. WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE:

"Sir—I conceive it my duty to give you a statement of an affair that took place here since you left the block house. All passengers, either ascending or descending the Mississippi, both Indians and whites, came *too* at our block house and have been treated with civility, until the 23d instant. In the afternoon we discovered two canoes on the river near the Louisiana shore. Agreeable to your orders, I hailed them, in order to bring them *too*, but they did not come, and slipt alongside of the island. I took two men with me and went across to the island; one of them was a Frenchman who speaks the Indian language very well. I hailed them again, as the distance was not so great, and could hear them speak distinctly, and told them it was my orders to know what Indians passed.

"There was a Frenchman who spoke from the canoes and gave me very insulting and abusive language, and continued going up the river. I then told them if they did not stop and come *too*, I would certainly fire on them, and was answered by the Frenchman, "Fire and be damned!" Then I fired off my gun for to strike about 20 or 30 feet ahead of the canoe, which I seen the bullet strike and skip along the water above the canoe. Immediately after I seen a stout-looking man that we took to be a Frenchman, jump out of the foremost canoe onto the sandbar and fired at me, and was very near hitting me. I then was irritated, knowing they must have seen I did not aim at them. I then loaded my rifle and done my best at the Frenchman who shot at me, but done him no damage that I know of, as the distance was 200 or 300 yards. There was two more guns fired at us from the canoes, but done us no damage and went on. The day before the affair took place, a Sac chief called on me and told me he had some Indians behind that would be along in the evening and would stop. It appears to me that it was the Frenchman's fault, as we told the Indians very civilly, in their own language, what we wanted with them, and that we would not detain them. I shall be extremely sorry to have done anything that may have the least appearance of an unfriendly disposition towards Indians that is in friendship with the United States.

A man that called his name Blondo came down the river and had met several canoes of the Sac Indians this morning, not far above this place, who told him they had been fired on the evening before

by the people of this block house, and that they were very angry in consequence of it. I, not being acquainted with the nature of Indians, may have done wrong, but I have this consolation, if I have, it was with an intention of doing right. Myself and the men are all in good health. We have no provisions come on yet. I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL WHITESIDE."

LETTER OF GOVERNOR HOWARD.

ST. LOUIS, July 29, 1811.

"SIR—I have just been informed that some of the militia of Illinois, stationed on or near the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Illinois, a few days ago fired on a party of Sac Indians ascending the river from this place to Fort Madison with their women and children. I cannot believe that this act can be justified by any instructions from you. The white man who was with the chief and ahead of the party, when this affair took place, says that when they came up they appeared much irritated. I expect every day some chiefs from the Sacs here, and I think it important that the transaction should be satisfactorily explained to them. These people are powerful and now very friendly towards us, and 'tis possible that this affair may have a tendency to change their disposition in regard to the Americans. When those chiefs arrive, it will afford me pleasure to be furnished by you with the means of removing any unfavorable impression which this affair may have made. I enclose you an extract from a letter of Capt. Levering on the subject. I am sir,

Your humble serv't,

BENJA. HOWARD.

His Excellency, Ninian Edwards."

GOSHEN, the 4th of August, 1811.

"*His Excellency*, NINIAN EDWARDS.

SIR—I have the honor of receiving yours of the 2nd instant in which I am informed that Governor Howard has made a communication to your Excellency expressing a dissatisfaction with respect to an affair that took place at the Block House, on the Mississippi river between our men and some of the Sac Indians on the 23rd. of last month, and wished an explanation of the same. I have written to Governor Howard and given him all the information in my power, and that will be satisfactory to him, I hope. I do enclose to your Excellency a copy of a communication made by the officer to me, giving the whole narrative of the transaction that took place with respect to firing on the Sac Indians. I can only observe that I think the boys was rather too forward, but I believe it was done by the officer without considering what the consequences that might result from it, would be. Although I know him to be a deliberate man and one as zealous for the safety of his country as perhaps any one in it. I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WM. B. WHITESIDE."*

*The Edwards papers, pp. 63-68.

On July 29th, the Levering boat reached Prairie Marcot, 19 miles above the mouth of the Illinois river, where Lieut. John Campbell U. S. A was stationed with 17 men. That officer reported recent trails indicating the presence of 15 Indians. Nothing further occurred between that date and the arrival on August 3rd of the expedition at Ft. Clark where it was met by Mr. Thomas Forsyth the Indian agent there, who reported to Capt. Levering that he had already delivered Gen. Clark's* letter of a previous date, requesting the surrender of the murderers and the stolen property, to Chief Gomo at his village 24 miles further up the river and that the chief had manifested an apparently honest desire to comply with the requests; but that he, Gomo, stood almost alone for the Americans.

On August 4th, Jacques Mettie, of Peoria, reported that one of the Shoal Creek murderers was Nom-bo-itt, a Pottawatomie, at that moment in the Yellow Creek village of Chief Mat-cho-quis, about 90 leagues from Peoria, and that another Pottawatomie named Me-nac-queth, was at Latourt or White Pigeon, on the route to Detroit; and that the third one of the Cox murderers was Es-ca-puck-he-ah, or Green, then 10 or 12 miles beyond White Pigeon, probably at the apple orchard on the Kick-kal-le-ma-seau.† (Kalamazoo.)

Immediately on arrival, Mr. Fournier was sent forward to visit Gomo and notify him of the presence below of Captain Levering with a message from Governor Edwards, but before reaching Gomo's village, an Indian had preceded him with the report that an armed party of 50 men had arrived at Ft. Clark. In face of such numbers, Gomo concluded to take with him an escort of 14 armed warriors, with which he at once marched down the river, floating the United States flag, to a point about 80 rods above the quarters of Captain Levering. At that point the chief received a message from Levering to the effect that he, Levering, desired Gomo to call at his quarters and receive a letter sent from Governor Edwards. Gomo called, and after learning of the contents of the letter, at once complied cheerfully and also agreed to return at once to his village and send his young men out to call in the following Pottawatomie chiefs: Neng-ke-sapt, or Fire Medals, at Elkhart, Ind.; Topenny-boy, on the River St. Joseph; Mo-quan-go, on the Qui-que-que river; Wi-ne-mange,‡ or Cat Fish, on the Wabash. That Marpoc and his principal chiefs had gone to Detroit and probably would not return till autumn. The chiefs of the towns on Fox river were at Milwaukee; Little Chief on the Au Sable or Sand; Masseno, or Gomo, about seven leagues above Peoria; Black Bird, chief of the Ottawas, on the Au Sable. At the conference Gomo displayed willingness to render every assistance to the Americans in running down the murderers and recovering the stolen property.

With him was a cross bred Menominee-Pottawatomie, named Me-che-ke-noph, or Bittern, who stated that the Price murderers were five Menominee brothers, whose names he repeated.

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*Gen. William Clark was then the superintendent of Indian affairs for the entire locality.
†Edwards, 39.
‡Winnemec.

Bring furnished with tobacco for distribution among his absent chiefs, Gomo then left for his village.

In his absence, a difference arose in relation to the policy that should be pursued by the council of Indians. Speculation on Gomo's probable policy was discussed and its result imagined, out of which it was evolved that the Indians in all probability would adopt the prevalent policy, supposed to be the one recommended by the English, of sending some talkative or boisterous Indian like Little Chief to make promises from time to time until the affair had blown over. Thereupon Captain Levering resolved that he should attempt to make a serious impression upon the Indians by demanding a joint council from the tribes in the territories of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Louisiana to hear his grievances and act on them unitedly, so that thereafter, no individual chief could say, "it is none of my particular business, but my neighbor's." With this policy in mind, Levering's party the next day proceeded up stream until dark when a village, 20 miles from Ft. Clark was reached. At that point, the crew refused to go further, insisting that they were not employed to work after dark, and Captain Levering was compelled to employ two Indians to take him and Mr. Fournier by canoe four miles further up the river to a creek. From thence they were conducted through "a moist and thicketty bottom" to Gomo's village, reaching that place about 11:00 p. m. Gomo and his Indians were awakened from their sleep without bad humor and the embassy invited to a lodge, a large building built of bark, 25 by 50 feet inside, occupied by about 30 persons Scaffolds 6 to 7 feet long, 6 feet wide and 5 feet high, extending all around the building afforded a space upon which to sleep and sit. Upon this, Levering and Fournier were invited to mount and sit next the family of Gomo himself. Though late and inconvenient, Gomo's wife prepared and served a dish made from new corn, which was eaten by the whites while Gomo sat by and silently smoked. Two fires were smoldering near the center of the room, about which the men had gathered to sit in silence; a mark of respect to their guests.

The following morning, Gomo and another chief returned to Peoria, from which point and hour, it has been thought best to repeat the narrative in full from Edwards' History of Illinois.

"Captain Levering introduced the conversation by saying to Gomo that he wished a private talk with him, which he hoped would be useful; that he would not then speak the words of our father who sent him; that they were more interesting, and particularly concerned all the nation, and that he was reserving them for the council of chiefs who would be convened in a few days.

"Gomo replied that he would, was rejoiced that he had been sent on this errand, and wished that the chiefs could attend and hear for themselves, our father's words; for no communication which he or any other Indian might make would be believed. They would, he said, call him sugar mouth, and charge him with being excited by fear or moved by treachery.

"For that reason, Captain Levering wished the presence of as many chiefs and leading characters, from as many villages as could be collected, that none should be left in a state of ignorance that might and probably would be the means of involving the whole nation in a war. He stated to Gomo that our great father desired that peace and friendship should exist between the red and the white man, yet one chief might and could, from want of the proper information, frustrate all these blessings; that it was important for the Indians all to know that, although the whites wished peace and friendship, some of the Indians had committed outrages, which, if not satisfactorily explained and atoned for, would end in their destruction. "His father, before sending him, had advised with their fathers on the west of the Mississippi and on the east of the Wabash, and he now spoke agreeably to their united deliberations. Although our fathers did not resent the first injury, it was only through a disposition of forbearance, hoping that it was an act of some unruly individual, which the chiefs would correct; for the whites cannot conceive that individuals among the Indians can continue to perpetrate outrages without the countenance and encouragement of the chiefs. They believe that the chiefs can restrain their people from the commission of acts which will be injurious to their nation. The most forbearing, the greatest patience may become fatigued and worn out. Though friendship, on our part, should be abundant as the waters of a great river, yet, interrupt it till you choke it and it will be converted into a flood of destruction, and in its course it could not discriminate the innocent from the guilty—while any good man would lament the sufferings of the innocent.*

"Gomo wished that all the chiefs could attend and hear the words of their father, and expressed a wish that Captain Levering should also tell them the words he had spoken. He said that he would send for them, although he thought it probable that the chiefs of the St. Joseph and Qui-que-que rivers and Yellow creek were absent from their homes, for there were a number of runners from the British among them, with talks and messages, which was probably the occasion of Marpoc, and many Indians from this and other towns, traveling lately towards Canada. In order to lengthen the conversation, Captain Levering continued as follows: "At about my age past, the British and the Americans had a seven years war. Washington, the man that handed you the papers which you showed to me before leaving your village, was our Great Father, that had conducted our warriors to the war. He is now dead, but we love him, for he was a good and brave man and fought for our rights against the unreasonable pretensions of the British. They would not allow us to be full men, able to manage our own affairs; but, under Washington, we fought them for seven years. They were worsted and asked for peace. We love peace and happiness; and Washington became our Great Father. But, ever since, the British cannot be our generous friends; they are jealous of our growing strength, yet they know that

*It must be stated that by reason of the many vicious Indians, mixed up with the few good Indians of the Illinois river country, the whites found it impossible, finally, to distinguish and separate them.

in case of war they cannot stand before us, and they are continually striving to get the Indians into trouble with us, in order to resent their enmities. They offer the Indians protection while they are unable to protect themselves. If they could protect themselves, they would wage open war on us. If they could have beaten us my life-time ago, they would have done it, and Washington, who gave you those papers, would have been hung. But they were conquered, and General Washington, 18 years ago, made a treaty with the Indians, declaring that we will be friends with the Indians; and they made a law that if an American should kill an Indian, that it should be the duty of every governor of our different States and Territories to catch that man and put him to death; and that if any one should settle on any of your lands he should pay $1000 and be imprisoned for twelve months. Such are the papers which that great and good man put into your hands, and which you have shown to me. All of our fathers, ever since, would treat you as children. They would also remain at peace with the British; but for our kindness they must at least treat us with justice—not insult us, not murder our people, nor steal our horses."

"Gomo's elder brother spoke of a time when the British put the Indians in the front of the battle. Gomo said he saw Washington in Philadelphia, when they made the treaty of 1793; that there were two of the horses in the possession of his tribe, and a third in his own possession which he had bought, saying that at the time of the purchase he did not know that it had been stolen. He said that they should be delivered up.

"On the 8th of August, 1811, Captain Levering delivered, at the Governor's request, two commissions—one to Thomas Forsyth, as justice of the peace for the town of Peoria, and the other to John Baptiste Dupond as captain in and for the same place, both of whom took the oath of office.

"Mr. Dupond said the Indians would expect him, now that he was a chief, to give them some meat and tobacco, and that some unpleasantly disposed persons would instigate the Indians to worry him, and that he hoped the Governor would notice such; that he did not wish to accept the commission but that, as there were unfavorable reports of the place,* he was willing to let it be known that there is a person well disposed to the government.

"On the 15th of August, Miche-Pah-ka en-na, the Kick-a-poo chief and 11 of his warriors arrived and called on Captain Levering, who told the chief that as he was the only chief he had seen whom our father knew to be friendly with his white children, he was particularly pleased to see him. He gave them some refreshments, and the chief remarked that he had always heard that our father was kind and good and he was happy to see an evidence of it in his sons, and more particularly as some of his young men were present to witness the friendly disposition. Captain Levering told him that their father and his greater chiefs were all known, some of them through the papers, some of them from the word of mouth, and they all desired to live in friendship with their red children.

*Peoria was reputed to be the breeding ground of all the Indian conspiracies and troubles.

"On the same day Gomo, Little Chief and others waited on Captain Levering. Little Chief said that he had come to hear the words of his father and he hoped that they would be all told to them as they were written. Forsyth replied, with much warmth, that if they apprehended any deficiency they must get another interpreter. Little Chief said if they had come to his village he would have furnished them with a cabin and plenty to eat, and, as he had come to hear the words of his father, he wished to know where he should go. Captain Levering replied that the white men were aggrieved and had sent him to talk with the Indians; that he was a sojourner among them, but, being in a strange place and unprovided, he could not give them the kind and quality of provisions equal to his wishes. Little Chief then showed him a paper and asked him what it was. Captain Levering informed him that it was a pass from Captain Heald of Chicago, dated July 11, 1811, stating that Little Chief, a Pottawottomie, was on his way to St. Louis; as a further protection he gave him a flag. The chief replied that he had given him a piece of coarse cloth; and said that he was in the habit of speaking loud, but when they came to the council they must not mind it. Captain Levering replied that their white brethren used different kinds of cloth for different purposes; the kind put into the flag was the best to flow in the wind, being light; and, when it was made into a flag, their white brethren respected it and would hurt no one under it; he carried it to war, and before he would lose it he would lose his life. 'The loudness of your voice will make no difference if you only talk of the business of the nation.' In the evening, about dusk, Captain Levering walked up the bank of the river, intending, if a suitable occasion should offer, to deliver his address to the Indians. He observed the flag on the fence, flying with the Union down; and, Mr. Fournier standing near, he requested him to tell the Indians that they had hoisted their colors wrong, for the stars should be upward. The Indian that Fournier addressed himself to, replied that he knew it but it was not he that had put it so. Captain Levering walked on a few steps and, seeing Little Chief coming out of the gate, he walked back a few steps, carelessly, and desired Fournier to say to Little Chief that the flag was hoisted wrong; that the stars should be above. Little Chief replied that he knew it; he was not an American—he was an Indian. Some person must have made it in the night, for it had large stitches and the sewing was very coarse.

"Captain Levering prepared the following address, to be delivered to the Indians on the next morning:

" 'Brothers, Chiefs and Warriors—On yesterday I told you how much we respect the flag of the United States; that, through an act of friendship, one has been given to some one of you to guard you in safety to St. Louis. The hoisting of the flag with the stars downward is considered as degrading the flag, and an insult to the United States, and our white enemies, whenever they take one from us, hoist it so with the intention of insulting the government of the United States, nor can the circumstance be less insulting when

it is done by the Indians, after they are duly acquainted with the mode and etiquette.

" 'Myfather, a part of that government, feels himself aggrieved in his children, by some persons from this quarter; yet, being unwilling to use hasty measures, that are apt to injure the innocent with the guilty, and hoping to find you disposed to be friendly, has sent me to talk with you—yet I can not, nor will not, while you are insulting the government. You must turn your flag and have it placed properly, or I will immediately leave here without delivering our father's talk.'"

"At a very early hour on the next morning, the Indians had raised the flag, Union up.

"Being informed, on the morning of the 16th of August, that the Indians were ready and on their way to the council room, Captain Levering invited the inhabitants of Peoria to attend, and, accompanied by Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Rector, Mr. Swearingen and Captain Hebert, met the Indians in the council room. He then proceeded to address the Indians as follows:

" 'Brothers, Chiefs and Warriors—The weather is cloudy. In the region south and west of this, you will see none moving—all having drawn toward their cabins, in apprehension of a storm. But our father, who presides over the tribes between the Mississippi and Wabash, being a good man, has sent me to invite you under this shelter to smoke a pipe in profound meditation—having our ears open to the voice of the Great Spirit, and our hearts disposed to obey its dictates—to see whether all may not subside, be calm, fair and cheerful. But first let us smoke a pipe, and then attend to the talk of our father."

"The following is Governor Edwards' address to the Pottawattomies, delivered in council at Peoria, on the 15th of August, 1811:

"Illinois Territory, July 21, 1811.

"To the Chiefs and Warriors of the Tribes of Pottawattomies, residing on the Illinois river and its waters, in the territory of Illinois—My children, you are now met together, by my desire, on a very important occasion. You are now to be asked to do an act of justice. Should you refuse it, it may once more involve the red and white brethren in all the horrors of bloody war. On the other hand, if you should perform what justice itself calls for, it will brighten the chain of friendship, which has for a long time united the red people with their white brethren of the United States.

"My children, ever since Wayne's treaty, our Great Father, the President of the United States, has faithfully fulfilled all his treaties with you. He has endeavored to make his red and white children live as one great family, loving and obliging one another, and he has always strictly forbidden his white children from doing harm to their red brethren.

"My children, for a long time the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife have been buried. The sun of peace has been upon us, blessing us with his light and giving gladness to our hearts. The red

people have enjoyed their forests and pursued their game in peace; and the white people have cultivated the earth without fear. But, my children, these bright prospects are darkened. A storm seems to be gathering which threatens destruction, unless it should be dissipated by that justice which you, as good men, ought to render.

"My children, while we trusted to treaties with you—while we believed our red brethren to be friendly—some of our people, fearing no danger, have been plundered of their property and deprived of their lives by some of your bad men.

"My children, last year a perogue was cut loose on the Mississippi and a considerable quantity of goods was taken out of it, and carried off, by some of your people. A great many horses have been stolen from this Territory, both during the last and the present year, many of which have certainly been carried off by some of your people. Other horses have been stolen from the neighborhood of St. Charles, in Louisiana. I demand satisfaction for these outrages.

"My children, on the 19th day of July, last year, in the district of St. Charles, and territory of Louisiana, a party of Pottawatomies stole several horses. On the next day they were pursued by the white people, who lost the trail and quit the pursuit. On that night those Pottawatomies fell upon those white men, in their camp, killed four of them, wounded a fifth, and carried off several horses and other property. Among those Indians were Cat Fish, O-hic-ka-ja-mis and Mis-pead-na-mis. I demand that these bad men, and all others who were of the party, together with the property they stole, shall be delivered up to Captain Levering and his party, or that you yourselves shall deliver them and the property to me.

"My children, on the 2nd day of last June, on Shoal creek, in St. Clair county, in this Territory, three of your bad men went to the house of a Mr. Cox, plundered his property, took two guns, two mares and colts, and a stud horse, barbarously killed his son and took his daughter a prisoner. A few days after this outrage, near the Mississippi, in the same county and territory, others of your bad men killed a man by the name of Price, and wounded another by the name of Ellis. I demand that these bad men, together with all the property they took off, shall be delivered to Captain Levering, or that you shall deliver them and the property to me.

"My children, the blood of those innocent men who have been wounded and murdered, cries aloud to the Great Spirit for vengeance. The hearts of their relations and brethren bleed with sorrow. The fire of revenge flames in their hearts, and they thirst for blood.

"My children, I have found it almost impossible to prevent the white people from rushing to your towns, to destroy your corn, burn your property, take your women and children prisoners, and murder your warriors. But I told them that those who have done the mischief were bad men; that you would disapprove their conduct and

deliver them to me as enemies both to you and your white brethren. I commanded your white brethren not to raise the tomahawk or go to war with you, and they obeyed me.

"My children, now open your ears to hear my words, and let them sink deep into your hearts. If you wish for peace with us, you must do us justice. If you disapprove those murders and other outrages that have been committed, you must deliver up the offenders; for if your harbor among you such deadly enemies to us, you cannot be our friends, and you ought not to expect our friendship.

"My children, Governor Harrison demanded some of those bad men, when they were within his territory, and they fled to the Illinois river and took up shelter among you. I now demand them, and you must not say that they are fled elsewhere. They murdered our people—they are our enemies—and if you have protected them, and they belong to your bands, you must find them and deliver them up, or we must consider you as approving our enemies.

"My children, liars and bad advisers are among you; they profess to be your friends, and they deceive you; they have their interest in view, and care not what becomes of you, if they can succeed in their designs. Avoid such people.

"My children, you can remember when such men pursuaded you to make war upon your white brethren of the United States. They promised you great assistance, but they left you to fight your own battles, and you found it necessary to sue for peace. At that time you were stronger than you are now; the woods were then full of game of all kinds; large numbers of you could collect together and traverse the country without fear of wanting meat. But this cannot be done now.

"My children, when we were at war with you, we were then weak; we have now grown strong—have everything necessary for war, and are your near neighbors. Our Great Father's dominions extend over vast countries, bounded by the great waters; his great towns and cities are hardly to be counted, and his white children are thick and numerous like the stars of the sky.

"My children, your Great Father, the president of the United States, has nothing to fear from wars, but he wishes to be at peace with you, because he loves you and wishes to make you happy. You ought to try to merit his kindness and avoid his resentment.

"My children, your Great Father asks nothing but justice from you. Suffer not bad advisers to persuade you to refuse it. In kindness, none can exceed him; but if you should determine to treat him and his white children as enemies, storms and hurricanes, and the thunder and lightnings of heaven, cannot be more terrible than will be his resentment.

"My children, Capt. Samuel Levering will deliver you this talk; he is authorized, by me, to demand of you the property that has been

stolen, and those bad men who committed the murders, and all who were of the party. You will confer with Captain Levering, and come to as speedy a determination as possible.

"My children, let justice be done, let all cause of quarrel be removed, and let us live like brothers.

"Your affectionate father,

"NINIAN EDWARDS."

The council again met on the 16th of August, to receive the answer of the Pottawattomies. Gomo spoke as follows:

"We have listened well to your information, and hope that you will give the same attention to our words.

"I am very glad that you have come among us, and that you have delivered the words of the Governor to all the chiefs and warriors in hearing. I intended to have gone to see the Governor, but it is much better as it has occurred, that he has sent his talk here.

"You see the color of our skin. The Great Spirit, when he made and disposed of man, placed the red skins in this land, and those who wear hats on the other side of the big waters. When the Great Spirit placed us on this ground, we knew of nothing but what was furnished to us by nature; we made use of our stone axes, stone knives and earthen vessels, and clothed ourselves from the skins of the beasts of the forest. Yet we were contented. When the French first made large canoes, they crossed the wide waters to this country, and on first seeing the red people they were rejoiced. They told us that we must consider ourselves as the children of the French, and they would be our father; the country was a good one, and they would change goods for skins.

"Formerly we all lived in one large village. In that village there was only one chief, and all things went on well; but since our intercourse with the whites, there are almost as many chiefs as we have young men.

"At the time of the taking of the Canadas, when the British and the French were fighting for the same country, the Indians were solicited to take part in that war—since which time there have been among us a number of foolish young men. The whites ought to have staid on the other side of the waters, and not to have troubled us on this side. If we were fools, the whites are the cause of it. From the commencement of their wars, they used many persuasions with the Indians; they made them presents of merchandise, in order to get them to join and assist in their battles, since which time there have always been fools among us, and the whites are blamable for it.

"The British asked the Indians to assist them in their wars with the Americans, telling us that if we allowed the Americans to remain upon our lands, they would in time take the whole country, and we would then have no place to go. Some of the Indians did join the British, but all did not; some of this nation in particular, did not join them. The British persisted in urging upon us that if we did not assist them in driving the Americans from our lands, our wives and children

would be miserable for the remainder of our days In the course of that war, the American General Clark came to Kaskaskia, and sent for the chiefs on this river to meet him there. We attended, and he desired us to remain still and quiet in our own village, saying that the Americans were able, of themselves, to fight the British.

"You Americans generally speak sensibly and plainly. At the treaty of Greenville, General Wayne spoke to us in the same sensible and clear manner.

"I have listened with attention to you both. At the treaty of Greenville, General Wayne told us that the tomahawk must be buried, and even thrown into the great lake; and should any white man murder an Indian, he should be delivered up to the Indians; and, we on our part, should deliver up the red men who murdered a white person, to the Americans.

"A Pottawattomie Indian, by the name of Turkey-foot, killed Americans, for which he was demanded of us; and although he was a great warrior, we killed him ourselves in satisfaction for his murders.

"Some of the Kickapoos killed an American. They were demanded, were given up, and were tied up with ropes around their necks for the murders. This was not what the chief who made the demand promised, as they were put to death in another manner. Our custom is to tie up a dog in that way, when we make a sacrifice.

"Now, listen to me well, in what I have to say to you. The red-skins have delivered up their offenders.

"Some time ago one of our young men was drunk at St. Louis, and was killed by an American. At another time some person stole a horse near Cahokia. The citizens of the village followed the trail, met an innocent Kickapoo, on his way to Kaskaskia, and killed him. Last fall, on the other side, and not far from Ft. Wayne, a Wyandot Indian set fire to a prairie; a settler came out and inquired of him how he came to set fire. The Indian answered that he was hunting. The settler struck the Indian and continued to beat him, till they were parted, when another settler shot the Indian. This summer, a Chippeway Indian, at Detroit, was looking at a gun; it went off accidently, and shot an American. The Chippeway was demanded, delivered up and executed. Is this the way that General Wayne exhibits his charity to the red-skins? Whenever an instance of this kind happens, it is usual for the red-skins to regard it as an accident.

"You Americans think that all the mischiefs that are committed are known to the chiefs, and immediately call on them for the surrender of the offenders. We know nothing of them; our business is to hunt, in order to feed our women and children.

"It is generally supposed that we red-skins are always in the wrong. If we kill a hog, we are called fools or bad men; the same or worse, is said of us if we kill an horned animal; yet, you do not take into consideration the fact that while the whites are hunting along our rivers, killing our deer and bears, that we do not speak ill of them.

"When the French came to Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw and Chicago, they built no forts or garrisons, nor did the English, who came after them; but when the Americans came, all was changed. They built forts and garrisons and blockades wherever they go. From these facts we infer that they intend to make war upon us.

"Whenever the United States make the Indians presents, they afterwards say that we must give them such a tract of land; and after a good many presents they then ask a larger piece. This is the wa y we have been served. This is the way of extending to us charity.

"Formerly, when the French were here, they made us large presents; so have the English; but the Americans, in giving their presents, have always asked a piece of land in return. Such has been the treatment of the Americans.

"If the whites had kept on the other side of the waters, these accidents could not have happened; we could not have crossed the wide waters to have killed them there; but they have come here and turned the Indians in confusion. If an Indian goes into their village, like a dog he is hunted, and threatened with death.

"The ideas of the Pottawattomies, Ottaways and Chippeways are that we wish to live peaceably and quiet with all mankind, and attend to our hunting and other pursuits, that we may be able to provide for the wants of our women and children. But there remains a lurking dissatisfaction in the breasts and minds of some of our young men. This has occasioned the late mischiefs, which, at the time, were unknown to the chiefs and warriors of the nation. I am surprised at such threatenings to the chiefs and warriors (old people) who are inclined entirely for peace.

"The desire of the chiefs and warriors is to plant corn and pursue the deer. Do you think it possible for us to deliver the murderers here today?

"Think you, my friends, what would be the consequence in case of a war between the Americans and the Indians? In times past, when some of us were engaged in it, many women were left in a distressful condition. Should war now take place, the distress would be, in comparison, much more general.

"This is all I have to say on the part of myself and the warriors of my village. I thank you for your patient attention to my words."

"After Gomo had finished, he laughingly said that we have had long talks: will not a little whisky enable us to sleep? Captain Levering understood him by lulling their fears.

"On the next day, being the 17th day of August, Little Chief spoke as follows:

"Listen to me my friends, if you wish to know the ideas and sentiments of the chiefs and warriors here present today. Give the same attention to my words that I did to those of yesterday.

"At the conclusion of the American and Indian wars, the Americans asked us to remain at peace and in quietness. I and my warriors have always observed the advice.

"One of the promises of the Americans to the Indians, at that time, was that whenever murders should be committed on either side, the murderers should be delivered up to the opposite party. We have delivered up offenders; the Americans have delivered none.

"The intention of the Pottawattomies, Ottaways and Chippeways has been to remain peaceable and quiet, as they always have done, and still wish to do; and when that is observed, there will be nothing to fear, as you will see today.

"At the peace of Greenville, it was agreed on both sides to deliver up all the prisoners; I myself ran from town to town gathering all; and General Wayne said, 'now all is completed and hereafter we will see which of us (red or white) will first take up the tomahawk. It shall now be buried.' But from your talk of yesterday you threaten to make war against us; to cut off our women and children.

"You astonish us with your talk. When you do us harm, nothing is done; but when we do anything, you immediately tie us up by the neck; some time ago we brought in a number of Osages, prisoners of war; you demanded them, and we delivered them up. There is no recompense for us.

"You may observe the ideas of the chiefs and warriors of the Illinois river. Listen to their talk and see whether it is not right. We wish that the Governor at Kaskaskia may hear our words.

"You see how we live—our women and children. Do not my friends suppose that we are accomplices with murderers. Take courage and let us live in peace and quietness, as we have heretofore done. You said that we, our wives and children, should live in peace. You hear what the chiefs in council say: they cannot interfere in the demand you have made. They cannot interfere in any bad business of the kind. You see the situation of the Pottawattomies, Chippeways and Ottaways today. The Shawnee Prophet, the man who talks with the Father of Light, blames us for not listening to him You do the same. We are like a bird in a bush, beset, and not knowing which way to fly for safety, whether to the right or to the left. If our young men behave ill today, you blame the Shawnee Prophet for it.

"The chiefs are reproached by the young men generally, They say to us, 'you give your hand to the Americans today, and in the future they will knock you in the head.' This is the occasion of their late unruly behavior.

"Remember what you told us on yesterday. Among other sayings, you threatened to kill our women and children. Do not think that those young men that committed the murders belong to this place. They came from the village of the Shawnee Prophet. All the mischiefs that have been done have been committed through the influence of the Shawnee Prophet, and I declare this to you for the truth.

"Behold the Shawnee Prophet, that man who talks with the Great Spirit and teaches the Indians to pray and look to God! But for us, we do not believe him. We wish to chase our deer and live in peace with the Americans.

"Ever since the Shawnee Prophet has been on the Wabash river he has been jealous of the chiefs and warriors of this river. He suspects that we give information and a favorable ear to the Americans, and says that the Americans will act like traitors to us.

"For my part I suspect no wrong. I do not listen to the bad advice of the Prophet.

"Our great chiefs of the Pottawatomies, Chippeways and Ottaways command us to observe the alliance between us and the Americans, that we and our children may live in peace and comfort. These are the reasons for not listening to the Shawnee Prophet.

"My dear friends, do not believe us accomplices in the mischiefs recently committed; we wish peace.

"Observe the chiefs and warriors in council. We think of nothing but to live in peace and quietness. We would have been very much surprised if the Americans had come and made war on us, feeling ourselves perfectly innocent of these offenses.

"We think nothing of what is past, as we are innocent. These are also the sentiments of the Kickapoos; and we, the chiefs of the several tribes now in council, join our hands together and hold them as fast as I now hold the wampum in my hand

"See, my friends, how matters stand today. If you wish for war with us it lies altogether with yourselves. It is better to avoid it if possible.

"If the Americans should commence war with us, we should have to fight in our own defense. The chiefs are of the opinion that it is best to remain at peace.

"I have finished, my friends. Perhaps you take us for little children We whip our children, but men will defend themselves.

"For myself, I am indifferent. It would be the same with me to raise or bury the tomahawk. I can but die at last.

"Observe, my friends; since our peace with the Americans we have been and still are a poor people. We have not even a piece of ribbon to tie our speech.* I have finished."

"After Little Chief had concluded, Captain Levering spoke as follows:

"Brothers, Chiefs and Warriors—I have listened with close attention to your words, and I shall be careful to convey them to our father. It is for him to say what shall be done. But, being among you, with my ears and eyes open to things that could not be known to the distance of my father's cabin, I think that he will not disapprove of my speaking to you in my own words, for I shall hold fast to his mind. I discover that you harbor a number of incorrect opinions, that render you dissatisfied with your white brethren; and I am really so far your friend, that in case I saw you and my white brethren about rushing each other into destruction through want of

* A sarcasm on Governor Edwards' speech which had about it, a ribbon.

light, if I was able, I would inform you of it. But if I thought you were acting with your eyes open, you might abide the consequences; I should not push myself in the way.

"As you have spoken on many subjects, I wish to have time to look over them, and I also wish to put my words on paper, that I may show them to my father at Kaskaskia. I shall hope to meet you here again in the morning."

After the council adjourned, the chiefs, in behalf of their respective nations, offered him the hand of friendship.

On the next morning Captain Levering continued his address as follows:

"Brothers, you have offered me your hands of friendship. If there was not something sincere within, to give your offer a cordial reception, I should not have requested this opportunity of speaking to you.

"The brave and generous chief can show himself in his village at at all times, and that, too, with his head loftily erect! Honesty, still prouder can traverse the globe naked, and that through the glare of day.

"Our fathers' mind and words to the Indians being as pure as sterling silver, they have no fear nor objection to their sons talking to them, so that their words are open and as clear as your native fountains; yet they wish you to be careful about listening to every one.

"Red men never injured me or my relations, and having grown up far from their paths, I can have no prejudices or resentments against them; and as all men, both red and white, understand how to estimate honesty, I may say that I have no inducement to deceive you. The very nature of my errand must assure you that the welfare of my white brethren commands that I shall speak the truth. I shall be no false prophet. I am not endeavoring to be a chief among you. No generous man would ever be offended with the free, open, decent candor of another, even though it should come from an enemy. Now brethren, listen to the facts—all the white people can tell whether I lie, for we have it down in black and white, and the most of them can read.

"The first white people that came across the waters, and settled on this side of them, were Spaniards, and they settled on islands further distant than the mouth of the Mississippi. These people, seeing flattering hopes in the west, gave the news, and encouraged many people to come over from many nations, residing on the other side of the great waters. The English were the first to settle on any part of the land on this side of the mouth of the Mississippi,and all around the east and north to the end of walking. After them came the French, who settled on the other end of Canada. Then came the Dutch, on another part of the large shores; and many people came from numerous nations, on the other side of the waters, that perhaps you never heard of. The Americans were formerly the British; our forefathers

were British; the British king owned us as his children, and we obeyed him like dutiful children. When he made war against the French in Canada we went with his young men to fight his battles; and we were proud to be and remain his children, until about 40 years ago, when he began to ask things of us that were unreasonable.

"Although we had at that time regarded him as our father—believing that he had a right to ask it of us, we as dutiful children gave him money and warriors, and both he and his big council acknowledged that his childen had done more than their duty. But in course of time he and his council thought that we were growing too rich; that riches would give us the desire of leaving them, and that we would become a nation of full strength. To prevent this, they endeavored to take our money from us without asking, and that too, whether we were willing or not; just as though your chiefs should hamstring your young men, through fear of their leaving them. This is exactly the case, for we never refused his requests, but when he began to draw by force large quantities of honey from a small, poor tree, we complained, but our complaints found a deaf ear. We preferred nakedness, cold, hunger and all the horrors of war, to such degradation. We fought him for seven years, under poverty and hardship. The Indians did not know how much we were injured, or they would not have increased our hardships. But under Washington—a man now dead, yet we delight in remembering him, for he was good and brave—our warriors fought our battles and led us to well earned victory. The English asked for peace and acknowledged us to be a separate nation.

"This was the beginning of the American nation, when we chose Washington, our victorious chief, to be our Great Father. Since then, the British cannot be our generous friends, although they dare not come to open war with us. As a chief once said to me, "They tell half lie, half truth—firing big gun into our canoe, and saying it was a mistake!" They set the Indians on us to resent their own enmities, and for the purpose of engrossing all the profit of the Indian trade.

"Can you not see, brothers, that the British offer you protection, when, in case of open war, they cannot stand in Canada? when they cannot protect themselves? If I had sucked the same breasts with your chiefs and warriors, I would tell you this.

"Now, brothers, attend, and you will begin to learn that your complaints against the Americans are founded in error.

"Was it the present Americans that crossed the water to your land? We were then British, and governed by a British king, whom we had to fight as an enemy to our rights and welfare. The English settled here some 210 years ago; the present American nation is not of my age; and our government and Great Father, in their disposition, are as different from the British king, as the summer from the winter day. The present Americans were nowise instrumental in crossing the ocean; the first coming of their forefathers was owing to the British king, who rules his sons far more imperiously than you suspect. If wanted, they must go and fight, and cannot say

nay. Even then, although we were British, and under their king, we, like you, found ourselves here, and from necessity we must be near neighbors. It is, therefore, our interest to cultivate friendship, unless we intend to destroy each other.

"I must have proven to you by this time, that your prejudices to the Americans, at least in one instance, are unfounded. I could, in a little time, make it appear that nearly all of your supposed grievances are owing to a misunderstanding of our nation. If it is true, you will find it agreeable as well as our interest to nourish and water the friendship of the red and white men.

"Although our father constructs forts outside the settlements of his white children, he does not, as you seem to think, act differently from the French or the British. I have seen and have heard of forts all along the British line in Canada. I have seen other forts along the lakes and elsewhere, that were built by the French; and let me tell you, chiefs and warriors, that the most of the forts in this country were built by the British and French. When we have the Spaniards on one side of us, and the British on the other, in forts, and they are endeavoring to make our red brethren discontented with us, is it not advisable for us to keep up and garrison those forts that came to us by the chance of war? Does the garrison at Chicago, Detroit, Defiance, Ft. Wayne, or that at the mouth of the Missouri, or any other within your knowledge, come out to war with the Indians? Those forts are intended and are kept up merely to protect our friends; and to suppose that they presage or threaten war, when they have never committed any, is rather an overstrained idea.

"You say that the whites first led the Indians to acts of outrage, by inviting them to join in war against the whites; and, consequently, the white people are to blame for the bad practice among the Indians! But, I ask, have the Americans even solicited the Indians to join them in war against the British, or against any nation? I answer, no. Our forefathers, even while we were yet fighting to become a nation, advised the Indians to lay on their skins at home, raise corn and kill deer, but not to engage in war on either side; and such has been the advice of our fathers to the Indians ever since. It is true that some Indians, since then, have offered to join us, and certainly you would not object to our receiving and taking sides in favor of our friends. Your ideas of the treaty of Greenville are alike inaccurate. You suppose that our fathers promised that all murderers on either side, should be delivered up to the opposite party. That cannot be the case; for our laws would not allow our Great Father, General Wayne with him, to make such a stipulation in a treaty. All offenders against our laws must be tried by our laws and by a jury of 12 of our citizens. This is the way an Indian would be tried under our laws, and in the same manner would a white man be tried for killing an Indian. I know this to be true (although you have said that there is no recompense for an Indian,) that when I left Kaskaskia, there was a man in jail, fastened with irons by the wrist, for having abused an Indian; and this was done by order of the Gov-

ernor. because he thought it just. The treaty of Greenville requires of each of our governors to catch a murderer of an Indian and to have him tried for murder, and if found guilty, to see that he was hung.

"In answer to your complaint in the case of an Indian that was killed at St. Louis, I must tell you more of our laws, and you will learn that the whites equal the red men in their conception of justice. I cannot hinder the belief that somebody told you wrong in the case of the Indian at Detroit; but I know something of this at St. Louis. Whenever a man makes an attempt to kill another, a third party coming up, may kill the first to save the life of the second; and our laws do say that the third was right in so doing—for the act of the first makes the supposition strong that he was an unruly and bad man; the second might have been a good man, and his life should be saved. All this is like the case in St. Louis. The Indian was drunk, flourishing his tomahawk, and threatening to kill. Judge Meigs (a chief), without weapons, stepped up to the Indian for the purpose of persuading him to be quiet; the Indian drew his tomahawk on the judge, and the young man, coming up and seeing him in danger, killed the Indian to save the judge's life. Judge Meigs told me this. He is now governor of Ohio.

"You must not think, from my words, that I am unfriendly to the Spanish, French or English. They are my brothers, and they, as well as we, are here from like circumstances. They, as well as others, who have come from over the waters, are equally under the same care and protection of our Great Father.

"Let us acquaint ourselves with times past, and with things that do not immediately concern us, with the view of improving our minds and dispositions, and not strain our brain to find out causes of discontent and quarrel. Let us consider and find out what will promote our mutual benefit and harmony.

"You have looked more to the threatenings of our father's words than to the justice of them. Let us think of them for a while; and in turning to them I would not now, or at any other time, make them appear worse against you than the plain talk of truth, and neither of us, I hope, are so far worse than children as to be frightened at facts. It is true as our father also tells you, that the head chief of all our tribes would, like the sun, bestow his genial blessings on all —the weak and the strong—on the mole hill as well as the mountain; and even when his goodness should be obstructed, he is yet mild and forbearing for a season, hoping that a sense of right and wrong will correct and restore the evil; but when he finds that forbearance and kindness fail—like the sun, when fogs and poison threaten, the fire of his justice will dissipate and destroy the evil. Before I left our father's cabin with his words for you, a runner of his had returned from our father and chief on the west of the Mississippi and one from our father to the east on the Wabash, and our father knew that their minds and determinations were in unison with his, and also with that of our Great Father of all the tribes. Our father told you

of the murder of five whites and of the horses that were stolen at the same time between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; this summer one has been murdered on one of the creeks that empties into the Kaskaskia, and an attempt was made to carry off a woman; since then, one has been wounded and another murdered near Piasa rock, on the Mississippi; and I myself have heard of 35 horses having been stolen by the Indians, during this summer."

"Little Chief said: 'My friend, I request you now, to take the names of chiefs and warriors, that you may show to your father in Kaskaskia how ready we have been to attend his words.'

"On the 18th of August, the Sac chief, Little Sturgeon, called on Captain Levering, who explained to him the circumstance and cause of Captain Whiteside having fired on some of his nation on the Mississippi.

"The council assembled again, and after Captain Levering had given his advice, Gomo said: 'We have listened with patient attention, and I hope that the Great Master of Light was noticing it. When the Master of Light made man, he endowed those who wear hats with every gift, art and knowledge. The redskins as you see, live in lodges and on the wilds of nature.'

"The council then adjourned. Gomo delivered up two of the horses, and Little Chief agreed to deliver to Captain Heald, at Chicago two more; and Gomo said he would endeavor to have them all returned as soon as they could be found.

"The two chiefs told Captain Levering that the murderers of the Coles party were two Indians by the name of Esh-can-ten-e-mane and O-at-che-cum-mich, and that they were both at the village about 20 miles on this side of the Prophet's village. After the departure of the chiefs, Little Chief returned and said that he wished to tell Captain Levering, in private, that the murderers of the Coles party could be taken without out any trouble, by inviting them, among others, to a meeting at Fort Wayne next fall, when their names being known, the commandant could seize them."

This was the first of many talks with Indians in an effort to secure the property and murderers mentioned, and it came to nothing but promises, a feature of diplomacy which they used successfully during all of the campaign of 1812-14. As a matter of fact some of the murderers were sitting in that council at the time and the "loud talking Little Chief" knew of their presence. Gomo must have known the fact too, but, presumably fearing a loss of influence with his people, who largely favored the English, he dared not expose them.

So far no Indian had been punished for the frequent murders of the region, which omission had more to do with subsequent troubles than any other cause. They feared no punishment, and if, as in this instance, a fair promise could tide over the evil day, no Indian was so abandoned or undiplomatic as to refuse it. Therefore, the fine promises here—and no prisoners. Captain Levering returned to Governor Edwards with them and soon after died from the exposures of his trip.

Meantime Joseph Trotier of Cahokia, a sagacious Frenchman who had been sent among the Kickapoos along Sugar creek, in the northern part of Logan county, returned, bringing the same story of innocence and fine promises for the future.

This period of hostility (1811, and indeed until 1813,) was taken so seriously by the War Department as to be denominated the "Indian war," projected by the British and such restless spirits as the Prophet, Black Hawk, and others. The council at Peoria, from which so much was expected, developed no present relief and no prospect for the future, for the moment it was dissolved, most of the tribes represented there, posted off to Malden for British advice and supplies, as may be seen:

"VINCENNES, Sept. 17, 1811.

"——— states that almost every Indian from the country above this has been or was then gone to Malden, on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our desired point at the moment of their return. If, then, the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages.

"——— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Ft. Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel rivers, for they are all Miamies,) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States. Lapousier, the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by ——— what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood, whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not, but he would give no answer.

"——— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or are now, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He had never known one fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing, He examined the share of one man (not a chief) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, three blankets, three strands of cloth, ten shirts, and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by £20,000 sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians."

"VINCENNES, Oct. 6, 1811.

"The Indians have again been plundering our citizens. They took eight horses from a detached settlement in the Illinois Territory about 30 miles above Vincennes, in open daylight."

"VERMILLION RIVER, Nov. the 2nd, 1811.

"A letter from Colonel Miller (whose indisposition was such as to oblige me to leave him at the new fort), announces that an attack has been made upon a boat loaded with corn, which was ascending the river from the fort to this place. It was fired on four miles above the fort and one man killed."

Following the battle of Tippecanoe, one would naturally look for a cessation of hostilities, but under the influence of English agents and the Prophet, hostile acts were spread over a much greater extent of country than before. The focal seems shifting from the Wabash to the Illinois.

News from St. Louis, dated Nov. 23, 1811, came to Governor Edwards that a band of Illinois river Pottawatomies had killed, just before, about 20 head of cattle and many hogs, the property of the inhabitants of Peoria, which acts were accompanied with threats of indiscriminate death should the inhabitants take part with the Americans. Peoria, the spot where Captain Levering had received such fair promises!

Prairie du Chien, then in Illinois Territory, was likewise threatened by Sioux and Winnebagoes, and it may be said with truth that not one settlement was immune from the scourge of the red men's ravages.

The campaign of 1811 closed with no advantages gained by the whites, unless knowledge of the certain issue of war with England in the very near future may be called such, which would give time for the preparation of invasion or defense. Congress had called for information concerning the acts of the British, and so far as those acts concerned Illinois at this period, the following correspondence may shed some light:

"FROM CAPT. H. STARKE:

"FT. MADISON, Jan. 1, 1812.

"Mr. George Hunt has arrived from the mines, and brings the melancholy intelligence that all the Americans of that place have been massacred by the Puants and Winnebago Indians. His life was spared only on the supposition that he was an Englishman."

On Jan. 5, 1812, N. Boilvin reported from Prairie du Chien, to Governor Howard, that Indians were rising. About the same time Maurice Blandeau, from the Spanish mines (Dubuque) reported that he entertained fears for the frontier.

"FROM GEN. WILLIAM CLARK:

"ST. LOUIS, Jan. 12, 1812.

"I have this moment heard, by an express from the commanding officer at Ft. Madison, to Colonel Bissell, that a party of Winnebagoes (part of them of the Prophet's party) did, on the 1st instant, rob and kill several American traders, near the Spanish mines, on the Mississippi."

"From Gov. Benjamin Howard:

"St. Louis, Jan 13, 1812.

"I have the honor to enclose you the copy of a letter from Mr. Johnson at Ft. Madison. The information it contains proves clearly that our difficulties with the Indians are not at an end; and, my own opinion is, that as soon as the winter is over, we have much danger to apprehend from them. I feel no hesitation in recommending a campaign to be carried on in the spring against the hostile Indians on the Illinois; for, until some of those tribes are punished, we shall not have a durable peace with them."

(Copy of the Letter.)

"Ft. Madison, 7th Jan., 1812.

"Sir—I am sorry to inform you that on the 1st instant a party of Puants, about 20, arrived at Mr. George Hunt's house, lead mines, etc., killed two Americans, and robbed Mr. Hunt of all his goods. Mr. Hunt, bearing the name of an Englishman, saved his life; at the same time, another party went to Nathan Pryor that was, and killed him, after killing all the Americans there, as they thought, the head men observed, the Americans had killed a great many of their people, and that they intended to kill all they saw.

"I expect they went upward, in search of more. Hunt and his interpreter, Victor Lagotery (Lagotiere) arrived here last night. Mr. Hunt on his way here, was informed by the Foxes, that a large party of Puants had set out for this place. The Foxes showed every disposition to be friends, and promised to save all his goods they could. On the 3rd your express left here afoot; poor fellow, I fear he will meet the Puants.

"Yesterday the express left here with Mr. John McRae for St. Louis, with many letters and public papers. Will you do me the favor to show this letter to Gen. William Clark and ask him to write General Mason, informing him the goods I furnished Hunt are all lost? Every hour I look for a war party, and God only knows when it will end. I hope you will cause immediate relief, by increasing our number of men at this post. In haste,

"I am your very humble servant,

"John Johnson."

"His Excellency, Gov. B. Howard, St. Louis."

"From Capt. H. Starke:

"Ft. Madison, Jan. 26, 1812.

"I omitted to mention to you, that about the 6th instant, there was a very general council held by the Sac Indians, relative to peace or war, when their decision was for peace."

"This would indicate that notwithstanding the statements of Black Hawk to the contrary, his party of 200 or 300, which was always influenced by British influence, was alone in traveling to Canada for presents, and finally enlisting in the British service after war had been declared against England."

"Chicago, Feb. 7, 1812.

"Capt. N. Heald:

"An express arrived here on the first of the month from St. Louis, sent by General Clark, Indian agent at that place, for the purpose of finding out the disposition of the Indians between here and there. This express is a Frenchman, who is well acquainted with the Indians; and he is of the opinion that there are many of them determined to continue the war against the whites."

The further fact was announced in the letter: "He (the Frenchman) told me that the Indians on the Illinois were hostile disposed towards the United States, and that the war between the Indians and white people had just commenced, alluding to the late battle on the Wabash."

"St. Louis, Feb. 13, 1812.

"General Clark:

"On the 8th. instant, a party of that nation (Winnebagoes), some of whom were known, fired on my express, about 40 miles above the settlements, who was on his return from Prairie du Chien, the mines, and Ft. Madison. On the 9th, an American family of women and children was killed on the bank of the Mississippi, a few minutes before the express passed the house."

"Ft. Wayne, 1st March, 1812.

"From Wm. Wells (of Ft. Dearborn fame:)

"In my letter of the 10th ultimo, I informed you that the Indian chief, Tecumseh, had arrived on the Wabash. I have now to state to you that it appears that he has determined to raise all the Indians he can, immediately, with an intention no doubt, to attack our frontiers. He has sent runners to raise the Indians on the Illinois and the upper Mississippi; and I am told has gone himself, to hurry on the aid he was promised by the Cherokees and Creeks.

"The Prophet's orator, who is considered the third man in this hostile band, passed within 12 miles of this place on the 23rd. ultimo. with eight Shawnees, eight Winnebagoes and seven Kickapoos, in all 24, on their way as they say, to Sandusky, where they expected to receive a quantity of powder and lead from their father, the British."

"Chicago, 11th March, 1812.

"Capt. N Heald:

"I have been informed, and believe it to be true, that the Winnebagoes have lately attacked some traders on the Mississippi, near the lead mines; it is said they killed two Americans, and eat them up, and took all their goods; there was two French traders whom they robbed of all their goods, and suffered them to go alive. This news came to me from a Frenchman at Millwaike, who has been to the Winnebago nation. The Winnebagoes who escaped from the Prophet's town are still in this neighborhood."

Penetrating the interior of Illinois, a band of marauding savages ascertained the presence of one Andrew Moore and his son who were returning from the Jordan block house. While encamped near the

crossing of the old Massac road over the middle fork of the Big Muddy, they were attacked and killed after a bloody struggle; after which the horses were stolen. In Jefferson county, Moore's prairie, perpetuates the names of the murdered men.

At Tom Jordan's fort, on the road to Equality, about eight or nine miles east of old Frankfort, three persons named Barbara, Walker and James Jordan, stepped outside, after dark, to secure some wood Some Indians who lay concealed in the brush, opened fire and killed Barbara, wounded Jordan in the leg, while Walker escaped.

"St. Louis, March 15, 1812.

"General Clark:

"I this moment received an express from Fort Madison, with letters from the agent at that post which informs me that on the 3rd. instant, a war party of five Winnebagoes killed one of the corporals of that post, a short distance from the fort. By express I received a talk from a band of the Sacs, nearest our settlements, declaring their determination of continuing in friendship with the United States."

"St. Louis, March 22, 1812.

"General Clark:

"The Winnebago bands, part of the Kickapoos, and some of the Pottawattomies are yet friendly to the Prophet, and may join him again in the spring. His brother, Tecumseh, returned from the southern tribes in December last; he made great exertions to get the Shawnees and Delawares of this territory to join the Prophet's party, but without success. He proceeded to the Sacs and Sioux country, where his counsels have been more attended to. The Prophet's combination is not the only one we have to watch in this quarter. I strongly suspect a coalition of the Pottawattomies will take place under that vile fellow called the Marpock, who has been all the winter at Fort Madison, and no doubt has received his lesson, as he has sent runners to his nation, informing them, among other excitements, that he will play a new game with the Americans. The point where they are to build their town is at some small lakes, 60 miles northwest of Chicago; I am informed through the Indians that some of the Senacas of upper Canada are coming over, either to join the Prophet or reside with the Sacs, whom they have applied to for lands."

"Illinois Territory, March 23, 1812.

"Advices from Chicago, Peoria and Fort Madison, all confirming the hostile intentions of the Indians between the lakes and the rivers Illinois and Mississippi; the Sioux supposed to have joined the hostile confederation; more murders committed."

In April, three families over in the Wabash country, were murdered. One, the Huston family, on the Wabash; another, the family of Mr. Harriman, on the Embarras, and the third, the family of Mr. Hinton, on Driftwood fork of White river.

On April 6, 1812, a party of ten or eleven Winnebagoes attacked the little settlement of Mr. Lee at Hardscrabble, about three miles up the south branch of the Chicago river from Fort Dearborn, near the present junction of the canal with that river, and killed two men, one named Liberty White, the other a Frenchman. Following is the report of Captain Heald on the affair:

FT. DEARBORN, AT CHICAGO, 15th April, 1812.

"The Indians have commenced hostilities in this quarter. On the 6th inst. a little before the sun set, a party of eleven Indians, supposed to be Winnebagoes, came to Messrs. Russell and Leigh's cabin in a field on the portage branch of the Chicago river, about three miles from the garrison, where they murdered two men; one by the name of Liberty White, an American, and the other a Canadian Frenchman, whose name I do not know. White received two balls through the body; nine stabs with a knife in his breast and one in his hip; his throat was cut from ear to ear, his nose and lips were taken off in one piece, and he's skinned almost as far round as they could find any hair. The Frenchman was only shot through the neck and scalped. Since the murder of these two men, one or two other parties of Indians have been lurking about us, but we have been so much on our guard, that they have not been able to get any scalps."

One would think from reading that letter that Captain Heald would have doubted the expediency of leaving Ft. Dearborn on his ill-stared trip four months from that day.

As these troubles continued to come from the Peoria Lake country, Governor Edwards made a final effort to pursuade the Indians to stop them, as well as to live up to their promises made to Captain Levering, to which end he invited them to call upon him for a final talk.

In April a deputation of them, Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Kickapoos, headed by Gomo, came down the river to meet him at Cahokia. While journeying down, an inconsiderate action on the part of the whites nearly caused the mission to fail. Following is General Clark's account of it:

"ST. LOUIS, April 12th, 1812.

"Some of the chiefs, considerate men, warriors, women and children from the bands on the Illinois River, in all, sixty, are now here. They came down by the invitation of Governor Edwards, to council on the differences existing between these bands and our citizens, etc. Near the mouth of the Missouri, on the way to see the Governor, they were fired on by a party of the inhabitants of the Illinois Territory, fortunately no one killed. They are now under my protection and I believe so much alarmed that they will not visit the Governor at Kaskaskia. Those chiefs have informed me that a large party of Winnebagoes are out on a war party intending to attack the frontiers of this territory."

The foolish act created some excitement and might have interfered with the subsequent council, had not the Indians been assured by General Clark and Governor Edwards of their regret at the unfortunate affair and the irresponsibility of the parties committing the

indiscretion. Gomo readily believed them and with his associates proceeded to Cahokia on his mission.

"Council held at Cahokia, April 16, 1812, between Gov. Ninian Edwards, and the following chiefs and warriors:

Of the Pottawatomies—Gomo, Pepper, White Hair, Little Sauk, Great Speaker, Yellow Son, Snake, Mankai, Bull, Deman, Neck-keeness-kee-sheck, Ignace, Powtawamie, Prophet, Pamousa, Ish-kee-bee, Toad, Man-wess, Pipe-Bird, Cut Branch, The South Wind, and the Black Bird.

Kickapoos—Little Deer, and Blue Eyes (representative of Pamawattan), Sun Fish, Blind-of-an-eye, Otter, Mak-kak, Yellow Lips, Dog Bird and Black Seed.

"Of the Ottawas—Mittitasse (representative of the Black Bird), Kees-kagon, and Malsh-wa-she-wai.

"Chippewas—The White Dog.

"Governor Edwards addressed them as follows:

"CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE POTTAWATOMIES, KICKAPOOS, CHIPPEWAYS AND OTTAWAYS:—My desire to preserve peace and friendship, if possible, between the red and white people, induced me to send for you; and I am glad you have come to see me, according to my request, because it shows a desire on your part as well as mine, to keep the tomahawk buried.

"My children, your Great Father, the President of the United States, has given many proofs of his love for the red flesh, and the red skins will always find him a kind protector so long as they act with pure hearts. He loves both his red and white children, and does not wish either to do hurt to the other.

"My children, for a long time the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife have been buried. The red people enjoyed their forests and pursued their game in peace; and the white people cultivated the earth without fear. We were all then happy, and your Great Father was glad to see it. For some time past, a storm has appeared to be gathering. Injuries have been done, anger has been produced, and war has appeared to be almost unavoidable.

"My children, that great deceiver, the Shawnee Prophet, has been hired by the British to tell you falsehoods and to cause you to raise the tomahawk against your white brother. He pretended to hold talks with the Great Spirit, to impose upon the weak and foolish. He promised many things. He promised his followers victory at the battle of Tippecanoe; but the American chief, Governor Harrison, proved that he was a liar.

"My children, before the Shawnee Prophet began to work with a bad heart, you were all happy; but he has distracted the red skins and their happiness is gone.

"My children, those who listened to the Shawnee Prophet have gained nothing but misery; many of them were wounded, and others lost their lives and left their friends to mourn over their folly.

"My children, the British have had other bad birds flying among you. I am not surprised that some of your young men should have been deceived by them. But there are some of you, great chiefs, who are old warriors, and wise enough to know them better. Some of you know the horrors and folly of war well enough to wish to avoid it.

"My children, you can remember when the British advised the red skins to make war upon their white brethren of the United States. They then promised you great assistance; but they deceived you and left you to fight your own battles, and you found it necessary to sue for peace. At that time you were stronger than you are now; the woods were then full of game of all kinds; large numbers of you could collect together and travel through the country without fear of wanting provisions. But this cannot now be done.

"My children, when the red and white people were formerly at war, we were then weak; we are now grown strong—have everything necessary for war—and are your near neighbors. Our Great Father's dominions extend over vast countries, bounded by the great waters; his towns and cities are hard to be counted, and his white children are as thick and numerous as the stars of the sky.

"My children, your Great Father has nothing to fear from war with you, for if it were possible for the red skins to conquer one army, he could soon have another, ten times as strong to oppose you. But he does not wish for war. You have nothing to hope from it, and you can have peace if you will do justice and comply with your treaty.

"My children, we are about to engage in a war with the British. I wish you to see how different our condition is from theirs. We do not wish you to take any part with us in the war; we do not wish you to fight for us, because we know we are able to whip them without your help; when we were as little children we fought, conquered them, and took the whole United States away from them; and if we fight them again, we shall whip them and take the Canadas away from them. For this purpose our Great Father now has an army of 185,000 men.

"My children, the British pretend to be your friends, but their object is to get you to fight their battles; and they care not what becomes of you afterwards. They tell you of the power of their king over the great lake. They say to you, that he can conquer us, but they know this is not true. If they thought they were able to fight us, why are they so anxious to get you to assist them?

"My children, the British would now load you with presents, if you would engage in the war, but remember these presents would last you but a little while and would cost you very dear; for if you join them in the war against us, remember now my words: We shall take Montreal and all Upper Canada. British traders and English goods will never be suffered to go among you again. Our own traders will all be recalled. War will be waged against you. Your country will be taken and strong garrisons will be built in order to retain it.

Consider how you are to live without any trade, when, at the same time, you will be so harassed with war, that you can hunt nowhere with safety.

"My children, your young men may not believe these things, but your old warriors and brave chiefs have sense enough to know they will come to pass. I tell you these things, because I am so much your friend, that I do not wish you to bring those evils upon yourselves, your wives and helpless children.

"My children, we do not wish to afflict you unless you raise the tomahawk. When you do this, you may not get peace as soon as you may want it; for if your Great Father, the President of the United States, is obliged, by your bad conduct, to go to war with you, he will strike such a blow as will be sufficient to prevent the red people from ever going to war with us again.

"My children, remember it is easy to get into war, but hard to get out of it again with advantage.

"My children, I am satisfied that many of you have too much sense to listen to all the Prophet's lies, and hate him in your hearts, because he deceived your friends and has brought trouble on you all. But some of your people have listened to him, or other bad advisers, and they have done us injuries which cannot be overlooked.

"My children, guilty as the Prophet has been, he has not done all the mischief; others have done mischief, hoping they would escape punishment by laying the blame upon him; but this must not be suffered. While some of your tribes have been professing peace, your men have been committing depredations upon us. This cannot be suffered; unless such bad men shall be given up for punishment, the tribe must be answerable for their conduct. Your Great Father has been waiting to see if justice would be done in those cases by yourselves, and this has led you into an error; for you suppose that because he has not made war upon you to revenge himself, that he does not mean to have satisfaction, and you do not seem to think yourself bound to deliver up such bad men; but even protect them, knowing their guilt, and they are encouraged to do more mischief. If this conduct should be suffered, our people might be murdered every day, and we never could get satisfaction—because we could not distinguish the guilty from the innocent.

"My children, while we trusted to treaties with you—while we believed our red brethren to be friendly—some of our people on this side and some on the other side of the Mississippi, fearing no danger, have been plundered of their property and deprived of their lives by some of your bad men; many horses have been stolen, for which no satisfaction has been made, although it was promised. On the 19th day of July, 1810, four men were killed and a fifth wounded in the district of St. Charles, in Louisiana. On the 2d of June, last year, three of your bad men went to the house of a Mr. Cox, in this country, plundered him of a great deal of property, barbarously killed his son, and took his daughter a prisoner. A few days afterwards

another party killed a man by the name of Price, and wounded another by the name of Ellis, in this country also, and near the Mississippi.

"My children, these were great outrages, but I used my exertions to prevent the people from rising to revenge themselves, and I sent Captain Levering to you to demand of you to give up the offenders, as you had bound yourselves, by treaty, to do. You did not deliver them up, yet you say that you wish to be governed by the treaty, and still you will not comply with it.

"My children, when I demanded those bad men, by Captain Levering, you professed not to know where they were; and still you said you could not deliver them up. Since that time I have found out that some of them were actually with you—that they are positively of your party, and have resided near Peoria ever since.

"My children, you stated that the chiefs did not know, when mischief was done, who of their party committed it. We know enough of your customs to satisfy us that such things are seldom concealed among you. But this, if true, was no excuse for failing to deliver those you knew to be guilty.

"My children, you complained that we never delivered up our men to you when they did mischief. We are not bound to do so by the treaty; we punish our men when we can prove them to be guilty, just as we would punish the red people for the same offenses. But you have failed to give up the late offenders for us to punish them, nor have you punished them yourselves, though you know them to be guilty.

"My children, when I sent Captain Levering to you with my talk, I was sorry to find, in the answer I received statements so much like those which the Prophet is in the habit of expressing. You attempted to draw a contrast between the people of the United States and French and British; you then said the French and British never built forts, but that the Americans did so. This is not true. When the British first made great canoes and crossed the great lake (the ocean) they always built forts; and so did the French. There are the remains of old forts everywhere near the great lake; both the French and English built forts at Pittsburgh, on the Ohio. You see those works at St. Louis. There is also a fort called Fort Chartres, between this place and Kaskaskia. There are forts in Canada and many other places that were built by the British and French.

"My children, you also said to Captain Levering that when the French and British made presents to the Indians, they never asked any land; but that the Americans never made you any presents, except they asked first for a little land and then for a great deal.

"My children, there is indeed a difference between us and the French and British in this respect. We never take your land without paying you for it. They claimed all your land and took it whenever they wanted it, without paying you anything. They did not acknowledge that you had any land, and they have transferred it all to us, without paying regard to your claim.

"My children, when the British first crossed the great lake, the red people owned all the land to the great water. The British took it all from you, and never paid anything. The red people also owned Canada; but that has been taken from them, and you have never heard that the Indians received anything for all the lands that the British now hold there, nor did you ever hear that the French paid for the land they held on this or the other side of the Mississippi river.

"My children, we never want to buy your land, or take it from you, unless you wish to sell it, and then we will give you the price that you ask for it. You cannot show that we ever took a foot of your land since we got clear of the King of England, without paying for it, and we are not answerable for the sins of the British King; for we all know that he is not a good man, and that he did great injustice to the red people, by taking their land without paying for it, although he now pretends to be their friend, because he wishes them to fight for him. I hope, therefore, I shall hear no more upon this subject.

"My children, you told Captain Levering that if we did not have peace with you, it would be our fault. This is not true; we only ask justice of you. If you do justice, we wish for peace; but we cannot consent that the land shall be stained with the blood of our innocent brethren, without some satisfaction being given. Peace upon such terms, is worse than war.

"My children, the blood of these innocent persons who have been wounded and murdered cries aloud to the Great Spirit for vengeance. The hearts of their relations and brethren bleed with sorrow, and they thirst for revenge.

"My children, now open your ears to hear my words, and let them sink deep into your hearts. If you wish for peace with us, you must do us justice. If you disapprove those murders and other outrages that have been committed, you must deliver up the offenders, or punish them yourselves; for if you harbor among you such deadly enemies to us, you cannot be our friends, and you ought not to expect our friendship.

"My children, you can choose peace or war upon proper terms. If you choose peace and will do justice, it will rejoice the heart of your Great Father and the hearts of all your white brethren.

"My children, if you or any other red people should be for war we shall be ready for you. I have an army coming on for the defense of my people. It will soon be at this place, and if any more murders should be committed upon our people, I shall take revenge. You must not let any such bad men come from among you, and you must not harbor among you bad men of other tribes, knowing that they have injured us.

"My children, it now appears that the Winnebagoes are about to make war upon us, and it is probable that other red people will also do mischief, hoping that it will be laid upon the Winnebagoes; but I shall be upon my watch to detect and punish all such.

"My children, there has lately been much mischief done. I have strong reason to believe that others besides the Winnebagoes, have been concerned, and that some of you have knowledge of it. If you are friends I expect you will tell us all you know.

"My children, let justice be done, let all cause of complaint be removed, and let us again live like brothers.

"My children, we do not want your land. We have more land already than we can use, and I shall neither propose to buy it, nor does your Great Father, or myself, wish to take a foot of it from you. Those who tell you to the contrary, tell you lies and wish to deceive.

"My children, shut your ears against all evil counselors and comply with your treaty and you shall still be treated as friends and brothers."

In reply to which, Mettetasse rose and said: "This is the one (pointing to Gomo) who is to answer your speech of yesterday, in the name of us all—Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Chippeways and Ottaways."

The Pepper—"My father, my brother here, the oldest chief, will answer you. We have all heard your speech of yesterday, and we will all hear his answer to you, and, when the council is over, we all desire to go home."

The Little Deer—"My father, I am of the village of the Great Lick. I speak in the name of Blue Eyes, the representative of Pamawatam. I give you my hand, and wish to be peaceable. You might have heard talk of me, and I am well known by all these Indians here, and it is well known to them all, that I never listened to the Prophet; and I am the first chief who, after the battle of Tippecanoe, went to Governor Harrison with my flag

"My father, my chiefs and warriors are here, who all know me to be a peaceable Indian. My village is small. This man (meaning Gomo) will speak to you, and we will all agree to what he will say.

"My father, the people of my village are now anxious for my return, to hear the result of this council.

"My father, we have reflected on your speech of yesterday, and we have consulted together. Gomo will answer in the name of us all. We wish to cross over so soon as the council is over."

After which introductions Gomo arose and with self-consciousness replied:

"My father, you have heard what my war chiefs have said. I will speak to you as the Great Spirit inspires me.

"My father, in this manner the Great Spirit has taught me to speak by giving me a pipe and tobacco, therein to make my father smoke.

"My father, this is the pipe we have smoked together. I smoked out of it in coming down to see you.

"My father, all the chiefs that I left at home hold their pipes in their hands, to smoke with us on our return.

"My father, we always kept fast hold of the pipe of peace. That pipe will remain with you; and although it remains with you, it is still in our hands.

"My father, while you are smoking that pipe, your children smoke also with you.

"My father, when the Great Spirit created us, he gave us the pipe of peace. The wampum we wear was made by our white brothers.

"My father, the manner in which I present you the pipe is our way and was transmitted to us by our ancestors, and we now know you hold it.

"My father, all that you said yesterday was well said, and I assure you, it has sunk deep into my heart, and it is from the bottom of my heart that I will speak.

"My father, if I came here, it was to hear your words, and therefore I thank you for what you did say.

"My father, I am not to make a council of myself, and when my chiefs tell me what to say, I do so. Therefore what I now say is from them all.

"My father, I now show you I obeyed your orders. I intended to go and quarrel with the Prophet, but I have put that off because you sent for me.

"My father, what has scared all our towns and villages is that affair that happened on the Wabash.*

"My father, we have reflected considerably since yesterday. It is neither you nor I that made this earth, and the Great Spirit is angry, and we do not know what he will do.

"My father, by what I see today, probably our Great Spirit is angry, and wants us to return to ourselves and live in peace. What I now say is from the bottom of my heart.

"My father, you see many children have sold their lands. The Great Spirit did not give them the land to sell. Perhaps that is the cause why the Great Spirit is angry.

"My father, you have often been deceived. A chief will come and sell land. Can a chief sell land? I am a chief, but I am poor and worthy of pity, and want to live in peace on our land.

"My father, if there could be found among us one chief who had influence enough to deliver a murderer, I would be happy to see such a chief.

"My father, you probably think I am a great chief. I am not. I cannot control my young men as I please.

"My father, I am a red skin; I am not a great chief. I am a chief whilst my young men are growing, but when they become grown I am no more master of them.

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* Battle of Tippecanoe.

"My father, the Great Spirit created us all. We have not the same power that you have. You have troops and laws. When a man does ill, you have him taken and punished; but this we cannot do.

"My father, I could very easily secure or kill the murderers you mention, but unless the whole of my chiefs and young men are consenting, I would be killed.

"My father, concerning the murderers, we will consult all together, and we will then know what we will do.

"My father, I have not forgotten General Wayne's counsel, and I have always tried to follow it and live in peace.

"My father, at the time the red skins were fighting, I was not among them. I was then traveling through the States, and went to Washington City, to see our Great Father, and I was led to several sea ports in America.

"My father, when Turkey-foot came here and killed your white children, you desired he should be killed. We got together and consulted among ourselves and we killed him.

"My father, the Kickapoos were those that killed your children on the Missouri. You demanded the murderers Here is the Blue Eyes present who brought them in.

"My father, it is impossible for us to bring in murderers. They are too much dispersed and too far off.

"My father, here is my oldest brother (General Clark), that I saw two years ago, who told us to live in peace, which I have always done.

"My father, in our treaty we are bound to deliver up murderers. I am not the only chief who could not deliver up murderers.

"My father, at the Miami village, a Pottawatomie was killed by an American. We never demanded the murderer, but the factor there covered our dead brother by giving us goods.

"My father, I have heard the good advice of your speech. I never listen to any evil birds. I am for living in peace, and I will return to my people and rehearse them your speech.

"My father, at the time the British and Americans fought in the last war, we never meddled in it. We used to come down here and follow the advice of a chief who was then here.

"My father, I have always said to you we never meddled in the British battles, and, therefore, do you think we would now join them? No, never.

"My father, no one can say I ever went to the English factories, or ever got a blanket from the English. When I wanted a blanket, I would buy one from our trader.

"My father, I must tell you the truth. I went to see them two years ago, and when I got there the Indians, on seeing me, said, 'Here come an American,' and it was with difficulty I got home without starving."

"My father, a father, when he wants his children to do well, instructs them. You did so yesterday, and I was well pleased.

"My father, you asked me to tell you what was going on in our towns. I cannot now say, for I have been long absent, in our sugar camps. When I return home, I will be able to learn.

"My father, I will state what I learnt last fall.

"My father, When Mainpock went to war, he had one of his young men killed, who was an Ottawa, and related to another old man, and this old man sent his son to the English. He said 'My father has sent for goods.' And they told him he must be very sorry for the loss of his son.

"My father, the British then told him, 'Why do you go to war against the Osages? Go against the Americans; they are close.'

"My father, when his son returned, the old man answered the British agent, telling him to fight his own battles, as he was determined to live in peace.

"My father, do you think we would join the English? We remember when you beat them, they left us in the lurch, and we had to fly. Certainly we will not join them again.

"My father, we have friends among us who often tell us not to join the English—that they will again forsake us; therefore we remain in peace.

"My father, I do not speak for all the Indian nations; I speak for those here.

"My father, you will easily know those who will assist the English; it cannot be kept hid.

"My father, sometimes it makes me reflect, when I consider on the promises you made us, not to leave us in misery.

"My father, you told us, when you spoke to the Black Bird, that our fires would always be kept up clear, and that we should not suffer. This has not been kept.

"My father, my chiefs have gone among the nations and received prisoners, and returned them.

"My father, I never tried to sell land to get goods to cover us. I always got my covering from my hunt.

"My father, I am not of those men who go and see their father to sell land. I go and see my father to hear his words.

"My father, my desire is that our lands remain as clear as this blue ribbon.

"My father, you see I have brought you our wives and children, to show you how ragged they are.

"My father, I thought of asking you to place a factory in our town of Peoria, but on account of the Winnebagoes, who are roving about, should any be killed, we might be blamed; therefore I will not, at present, ask for one.

"My father, if it was your wish to send us goods, we would wish the factor to be a man who has resided with us.

"My father, I have been asked to go and see our Great father. The voyage is so long that I would wish to remain at home in peace.

"My father, you sent for us and we came down, and were fired at. We wish you had a fort at the entrance of the Illinois river, at which, in coming down, we might stop.

"My father, when a garrison will be there we will come and see you oftener, and feel better protected.

"My father, we are four nations here. Whatever the English may do, you may rest assured none of us will join them.

"My father, I am at the other end of Peoria lake. It is there where we will reside, and remain in peace in hunting to support our families.

"My father, we intend to meet and draw near to one another, with the intention of living together in peace.

"My father, I have not much sense, but when you shall send any of your young men into our towns, they shall not be afraid for it.

"My father, when you sent us Captain Levering, he was received and well treated by all our people.

"My father, it is all I have to say. I hope the Great Spirit will assist me in complying with what I have said."

Governor Edwards' Reply.

"My children, I will speak to you in a plain and short manner, and I wish my words to sink deep into your hearts.

"My children, if any of your white brethern had gone among you and committed murders and robberies, your Great Father never would have forgiven them for it, but they would have been punished as soon as their guilt could be proven.

"My children, your Great Father cannot forgive those who have murdered his white children and taken their property. Your Great Father's children would no longer love him if he were to suffer such things to pass unpunished.

"My children, your Great Father now asks you to do nothing for him but what he would do for you, in the same circumstances.

"My children, you objected to give up those bad men to be hung like dogs, as you call it, and I now agree to permit you to kill them yourselves; and, if you will consent to do it, I will send a man with you to see it done, and we shall then have peace.

"My children, you do not acknowledge that all of the murderers are of your party, except those who killed Cox and took his sister prisoner. What you say may be true, and I now only demand that you shall deliver to me or that you shall kill those murderers that you acknowledge are of your party.

"My children, these three murderers that I now demand are Pottawatomies, and I call upon you, great chiefs and brave warriors of the Pottawatomies, to comply with your treaty and deliver up these bad men, or kill them yourselves.

"My children, I want to see if you will do that justice which you acknowledge is in your power, and then I shall believe you tell the truth when you say you wish for peace; and you shall be treated as good and dutiful children of your Great Father.

"My children, you say our people are not always punished when they do you injury, but we always punish them, if we can find them out; and you have no excuse for not punishing those who have lived among you and whom you know to be guilty.

"My children, you say these bad men are gone to the Prophet. This I know is not true, for one of them you left near Peoria, with a sore foot, and they have lived in three leagues of Peoria for a long time.

"My children, it is no excuse for you to say that these men are gone to the Prophet, because they were with you when I demanded them of you last year, and you have had it in your power to deliver them up for a long time.

"My children, you cannot suppose that we are people who can suffer our brethern to be murdered without having revenge. When we demand the murderers of you, you say they are gone to the Prophet. When Governor Harrison demanded them of the Prophet, he said they were gone to you. You cannot suppose us such fools as to be put off this way.

"My children, suppose some of our bad men were to go and kill your warriors, and you could prove the fact. You find them to be the children of the American chief, Governor Harrison; you go to him and demand that they should be punished. He tells you they are gone to Governor Edwards. You then come to me. I tell you they are gone to Governor Howard. You go to him. He tells you they are gone to Governor Harrison, by which you could get no satisfaction. You would think we were trying to make fools of you. And we now think the same thing of you. You would want revenge, and so do we want revenge; and we will have it.

"My children, think of these things. One day or other you will be sorry that you did not listen to my advice, and you will then be convinced that I was your friend.

"My children, I have heard your words, and I am sure there are good men among you, and wish we could be friends. It may be a hard case for you to punish your bad men; but you must remember it is a hard case for us to have our children and brothers murdered without revenge. If you will do us justice by punishing your murderers, and be friendly with us as brothers, you shall be protected against white people and red people also. The Great Spirit made us all, and loves us. I wish to take you to my heart and cover you with my wing. We do not want to buy your land, but we will not give

up what we have bought. You sold the lands, or your fathers did, and you have no right to keep the pay and the land too. If twenty of your men murder a hundred of our people, what are we to do? We cannot find them and you will not punish them; what are we to do? You surely do not expect that we will let our people be murdered, without revenge. If you will not give up your bad men who kill us, we must kill as many of yours—and then we may kill the innocent, which we do not wish to do."

GOMO'S REPLY TO THE GOVERNOR'S SECOND SPEECH.

"My father, we are happy to hear what you have said, for we have come down here for that purpose.

"My father, what you have recommended me to do, I will do.

"My father, we came here to hear your words; the chiefs and warriors have all heard you. You will hear what I have done when I get home.

"My father, this is all I have to say to you. We will pay attention to your words."

When Gomo said that the battle of Tippecanoe put his people to flight, the conclusion naturally occurs to us that a good beating like that of Harrison's would have saved all this ceremony which accomplished nothing and saved the territory much annoyance and bloodshed. Nothing serves to subdue an Indian so much as a good chastising, the battle of the Thames serving as the best example I can cite.

Gomo had learned well, how to meet and neutralize Governor Edwards' stern address; and well he applied his tactics in this instance. By bringing their women with them, ragged and dirty and appealing to the generosity of Governor Edwards, they not only refused to return the murderers, robbers or property, but they secured abundance to eat and to wear, carrying back the same in triumph until another talk might be demanded, perhaps.

That Governor Edwards had little faith in those Indian promises, may be seen from various reports to Governor Harrison, one of which is as follows.

ILLINOIS TERRITORY, April 24, 1812.

"Has held a council with the Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Ottawas and Chippewas; little dependence to be placed on the their professions; hostile Indians approaching the settlements."

In that same month of April, 1812, the families of Messrs. Hutson (Huston on the Wabash), Harriman (on the Embarrass) and Hinton (on Driftwood fork of White river), were murdered.

In May, a party of Indians came to the house of a Mr. McGowan, about 40 miles from Vincennes, and killed him in bed. His family escaped.

Levering's mission had failed, Governor Edward's talk had failed, and as a last resort to avoid trouble by peaceful methods, he issued the following:

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, It is deemed improper to furnish the Indians with spiritous liquors at Peoria,

I do hereby forbid all persons whatsoever, to sell, exchange or in any manner give or deliver, to any Indians, or Indian, any spiritous liquors or any ardent spirits within 20 miles of Peoria. And I do hereby enjoin it upon Thomas Forsythe, or any other justice of the peace for St. Clair county, to enforce this proclamation.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the Territory to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at Kaskaskia, this 24th day of May, 1812.

NINIAN EDWARDS.

By the Governor:

NAT. POPE, *Secretary*.

But the proclamation had not the slightest weight with the Illinois river Indians, saturated with hatred for Americans, as they were, and so far as the advancement of peace by peaceful overtures was concerned, the efforts of Governor Edwards were ended, and hopeful that the government would relieve him from sole responsibility, he set about strengthening his defenses; notifying neighboring governors and urging action by the President or Congress, as soon as the latter might "find time to consider our condition."

Governor Harrison wrote on the situation from—

"VINCENNES, 3d June, 1812.

The information received within a few days from Governor Edwards, (and he has better means of acquiring it than I have, from the intercourse that is kept up between the Tippecanoe and Illinois river,) confirms that which I had previously received from a principal Pottawatomie chief, viz: that the major part of the Winnebago tribe are at Tippecanoe with the Prophet and Tecumseh; small bands from the Illinois river and the east of Lake Michigan, making a force at least equal to that which they commanded last summer, and that their intentions were entirely hostile. The Governor also says they are at this time, nearly 800 warriors embodied at Peoria; that the British agents were endeavoring to effect a peace between the Sioux and Chippewas for the purpose of uniting both those tribes in the war against us, and they were making large deposits of Indian goods at their establishments on Lake Michigan, and on the communication between that and Lake Superior."

On June 13, 1812, Congress took the matter up, having previously called for details concerning the movements of the Indians and the possible influence of British agents in spreading them. Many of the

letters submitted with the report have been given already. It is sufficient to note the fact that those letters formed the basis for the following report:

"12th Congress. No. 135. 1st Session.

NORTHWESTERN FRONTIERS.

"Communicated to the House of Representatives, June 13, 1812.

"Mr. McKee, from the committee to whom was referred so much of the President's message as relates to Indian affairs, reported:

"That the attention of the committee has been directed to the following inquiries:

"1st. Whether any, and what, agency the subjects of the British government may have had in exciting the Indians on the western frontier, to hostilities against the United States;

"2nd. The evidence of such hostility, on the part of the Indian tribes, prior to the late campaign on the Wabash;

"3rd. The orders by which the campaign was authorized and carried on.

"The committee have obtained all the evidence within their power relative to these several inquiries. The documents accompanying the President's message to Congress of the 11th instant, contain all, and some additional evidence to what had been obtained by the committee, in relation to the first inquiry. Those documents afford evidence as conclusive as the nature of the case can well be supposed to admit of, that the supply of Indian goods furnished at Fort Malden, and distributed during the last year by the British agents, in Upper Canada, to the Indian tribes, were more abundant than usual; and it is difficult to account for this extraordinary liberality on any other ground than that of an intention to attach the Indians with the British cause, in the event of a war with the United States.

"That the Indian tribes should put to hazard the large annuities which they have been so long in the habit of receiving from the United States; that they should relinquish supplies so necessary to their comfort, if not to their existence, by a hostile conduct, in the absence of all other evidence, is not the least convincing proof that some agency has been employed to stimulate the savages to hostilities; and, having pursued a course of conduct which must lead to a forfeiture of those advantages, renders it at least probable that they had assurances of receiving an equivalent elsewhere.

"Additional presents, consisting of arms and ammunition, given at a time when there is evidence that the British where apprised of the hostile disposition of the Indians, accompanied with the speeches addressed to them, exciting disaffection are of too decisive a character to leave doubt on the subject

"With regard to the second subject of inquiry, the committee are of the opinion, that the evidence accompanying this report, together

with the official communication made to the executive, by the British government, affords such evidence of the hostile views and intentions of the Indians as to render it the duty of the President of the United States, to use the necessary means of protecting the frontiers from the attack with which they were threatened.

"Accordingly, in pursuance of the provisions of the act of Congress, entitled 'An act for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions,' the executive ordered the Fourth regiment of infantry, with one company of riflemen, under the command of Colonel Boyd, from Pittsburg to Vincennes, subject to the further orders of Governor Harrison, who was authorized with this force, and such additional number of companies from the militia as should be deemed necessary to establish a new post on the Wabash, and to march against, and disperse, the armed combination under the Prophet.

"These considerations, together with the documents, are respectfully submitted."

War with England had been anticipated by the people of Illinois for a considerable period; in fact it was a matter of comment that hostilities had not been declared a year or so before. But on June 18th the climax was reached when war was formally declared and additional precautions were taken all over the frontier. On July 14th, 1812, Governor Edwards applied to Lieutenant Colonel Bissell to reoccupy the block house, on the Mississippi, which had been abandoned for some time. Over the Mississippi, in the St. Charles district, Captain Kibby with his rangers protected the country from the mouth of Salt River to Loutre Island in the Missouri, and while it may be said to augur long suffering, hardships, disasters and death, a feeling of relief spread over the community, because the enemy could now be met on equal terms, if such were possible.

The slender support lent by the United States to Illinois Territory may be seen by the report of United States troops present on June 6, 1812, as certified by the Adjutant General, in and around Illinois being: Fort Massac, 36; Fort Madison, 44; Vincennes and vicinity, 117; Fort Dearborn, 53. While the munitions issued were deplorably insufficient to maintain a show of aggression, as will be seen by "the returns of the number of troops in service on the peace establishment and additional military force of 1808." Also stands of arms loaned to the militia, issued conformably to the law of April 23d, 1808: Illinois Territory, 216 stands of arms; 45 pistols; 216 equipments for muskets."

While the territorial militia aggregated little more than a decent battalion, at the time war was declared, it was ever ready and willing to run down murderers and robbers, and what little of retaliation we find, was confined to members of that militia who rode to revenge in small detachments. By defense of the continued Indian raids upon its friends and property, its numbers had been augmented gradually

until at this time four regiments were actively defending the frontier; the First, of Randolph County, along the Mississippi, consisted of two battalions; the Second, of St. Clair County, consisted of three battalions, one of them "the light Infantry;" the Third and Fourth of that part of Randolph County along the Ohio and Wabash and extending inland to a point about the middle of the county as it then existed, one of which, "the rifle company," was the second battalion of the Fourth. Later in the year, the two latter occupied the two new counties of Johnson and Gallatin, which were then organized by the Governor's proclamation.

Those rangers continued their duties with tireless zeal, gaining no brilliant advantages, but confining the depredations of the Indians reasonably, and the thought cannot be avoided that if the same vigor of body and particularly the same vigor of mind had been used by Captain Heald at Ft. Dearborn, that frightful slaughter of men, women and children might have been avoided. But Hull's message came; the Indians from the Illinois River pressed forward to that point to receive a share of the plunder, and murder, if chance afforded the opportunity, and thus momentarily, the settlements of the south became exempt from punishment. The Ft. Dearborn massacre being the next event in sequence and in importance; an effort will be made to disentangle the many stories given to us with sincerity, yet with such great width of version, that at first reading one is confused and chagrined.

We are told * that a wild season of alarm followed the murder at Hardscrabble. Captain Heald's report, already quoted, would indicate that a feeling of insecurity prevailed all along the line of settlements. Messengers from General Clark of St. Louis, who gathered information with their progress, reported activity among the Mississippi river Indians. Horse stealing became unusually aggravating. Reports from the Rock river and Illinois river tribes, were of the same tenor and calculated to cause the prudent commander to place himself in a posture of security. The settlers about Ft. Dearborn organized themselves and fortified the log "agency house," on the river bank, just west of the fort, by planking up the porches and otherwise preparing themselves to sustain a siege. Thus organized, we are told in Munsell's history, that these men composed the "12 militia," mentioned by Captain Heald in his report as having taken part in the fight of Aug. 15, and as having been killed to the last man. But Captain Heald appeared indifferent. His faith in Indian character must have been so great that he could not be persuaded to think ill of the race, or fear that any respectable number, after the protestations of friendship by the leaders, would menace the garrison. It must have been his unbounded confidence in them which permitted his policy of hesitation. An old Indian fighter, inured to savage trickery, would have fortified himself against every manner of contingency; but Heald dawdled; disregarded the advice of his subordinates for stupid, and at the same time discretionary instructions, and Ft. Dearborn fell.

*Kirkland's Chicago Massacre, 79.

His muster roll for May, 1812,* showed his garrison to have consisted of one captain, (himself); one second lieutenant, Linai T. Helm; one ensign, George Ronan; one surgeon's mate, Dr. Isaac V. VanVoorhis; four sergeants, one of them Hayes and one Holt; two corporals, four musicians and 41 privates, of the First infantry, which was practically the same force he had on Aug. 15, as will be noticed by Heald's later report and the letter from the Adjutant General dated April 2, 1881,† which stated that the garrison's strength was 54 regular infantry; 12 militiamen and one interpreter (Capt. William Wells). Of the regulars, but 25 or 30 were available, the others being then on the sick list.

On the 9th day of August, 1812,‡ Captain Heald received orders from General Hull, at Detroit, to "proceed with my command, to Detroit by land, leaving it in my discretion, to dispose of public property, as I thought proper." It appears that evacuation, too, was discretionary with him. Winnemac, or Winnemeg, the friendly Indian who bore the orders to Heald, told the captain that he knew, (how he knew is not conceivable, but he knew) their contents, and vigorously opposed their literal observance, or, if Heald insisted on leaving, then to leave at once, and, by forced marches, distance the Indians, while they were dividing the plunder.

When these orders came, we are told by Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau-Bun," that a council of officers was held to consider them; that Lieutenant Helm and Ensign Ronan, together with Agent John Kinzie,§ opposed evacuation; but against all advice, Captain Heald decided to evacuate—sometime. To leave, meant total annihilation of everything owned by Kinzie; the accumulation of a lifetime, and naturally with his influence with the Indians, he felt disinclined to suffer while he considered removal unnecessary. He knew the Chicago Indians personally; he knew the Indian character; he knew, or thought he did, how to deal with them in all ordinary emergencies, while Heald never had had the slightest experience with them before his arrival at Ft. Dearborn. It may not seem at all strange, therefore, that being the legal agent‖ of the government for the Indians and well-beloved, he should expect Heald to respect his counsel to some extent when a question of such gravity to him was suddenly precipitated upon the commanding officer, who had at that time, abundant supplies of provisions, ammunition and a formidable stockade, behind which, a long period of resistance could be made. In view of all the circumstances, one cannot deny the strength of Kinzie's position, especially when fortified with the advice of Helm and Ronan, the remaining officers. It has been said that Ronan was unfriendly to Heald and desired his discomfiture; but no less authority than Mrs. Heald herself, denied the allegation to her son Darius, in

*Kirkland's Chicago Massacre, 182.

† Fergus Hist. Series No. 16, p. 49.

‡Early Chicago, 51; Niles's Register, etc.; Captain Heald's report.

§Mrs. Heald, through her son, admitted that Kinzie objected to leaving. Kirkland, 93.

‖ Interpreter and trader.

a manner to command respect and dismiss the charge as groundless. Anger under such circumstances could have played no part in arranging a plan to save a garrison with its many helpless proteges.

On the morning following the arrival of his orders, Captain Heald read them upon parade, thus giving them currency among the Indians almost immediately, which may have been unfortunate, by giving them as it did, opportunity to assemble great numbers, by their gossip, of covetous and unfriendly Indians, seeking at all times, to make trouble for the whites.

We are also told that upon one occasion, while Captain Heald was conversing with Mr. Kinzie, on the parade, he remarked, "I could not remain, even if I thought best, for I have but a small store of provisions." "Why captain," remarked a soldier, regardless of his position, "you have cattle enough to last the troops six months." "But I have no salt to preserve it with." "Then jerk it," replied the soldier, "as the Indians do their venison." Unhappy condition, if such a state existed in that garrison! In all probability, the fact was, that no one in Ft. Dearborn, respected the genius of Captain Heald to command.

During the period of inaction which followed, Mrs. Kinzie has told us that the Indians entered the fort in defiance of the sentinels; even the officers quarters were not respected.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, Aug. 12, Captain Heald accompanied by John Kinzie, the government interpreter, held a council with the Indians just outside the fort, to arrange for the distribution of the property among them and arrange for an escort of sufficient strength to protect the little force in its march to Detroit. Precautions were at that time taken to prevent surprise, by opening port holes and placing therein, cannon trained directly upon the Indians, for use in case they attempted any unfriendly demonstrations. Their numbers had increased to include many from points not tributary to Ft. Dearborn, which demonstrated that the news of the coming distribution had gone on the wings of the wind to friendly and unfriendly alike and that much more probably would be expected than they had right to expect. Heald promised the Indians a distribution of the goods, in return for the employment of a sufficient force of friendly Indians from their number to escort the garrison through hostile territory. It is more than probable that Heald made no reservations from his gift, or that he forgot to expressly stipulate that no liquors were to be included in the distribution, and after the conclusion of the "talk," returned to the fort, assured that he had accomplished everything necessary for his safe removal to Detroit.

Once within the fort, with time to consider and council about the details of the distribution, no doubt, the unwisdom of furnishing them with liquor to madden the young men occurred to all and in addition, allowing them arms to use against the garrison, in case the friendly leaders could not restrain the young men and then it was, as supposed, wisely determined to destroy the liquor and the surplus firearms; a wise decision, but one which may have been a large factor

in inciting the Indians to a high pitch of anger. It is sad to admit that the Indian would barter his soul for liquor but it was nevertheless the fact and when expected, the probable loss of it, was apt to bring about a change of feeling from friendship to fiendish hostility, and that transformation has been acknowledged to exist in this case.

"On the 13th,* the goods consisting of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, paints, etc., were distributed as stipulated. The same evening the ammunition and liquor were carried, part into the sally-port.† and thrown into a well which had been dug there; the remainder was transported as secretly as possible through the northern gate, the heads of the barrels knocked in and the contents poured into the river. The same fate was shared by a large quantity of alcohol belonging to Mr. Kinzie, which had been deposited in a warehouse opposite the fort."‡ Suspecting something unusal, the Indians crept closely to the fort to observe the action of the whites, as well as the darkness would permit, to see if any deception were to be practiced against them. At fitful intervals, the destruction of the guns and liquor was discovered and on the following afternoon at another council, the whites were charged with perfidy, for which they would receive no explanations; and subsequently Black Hawk, ever ready to abuse the Americans, stated in his autobiography that the whole animus of the attack was created because the Americans had broken their promises.

Capt. William Wells, uncle of Mrs. Heald, then at Ft. Wayne, having learned of Hull's order to evacuate Ft. Dearborn, conceived the plan to be unsafe and unwise, and to counteract it if possible by starting at once for that point with an escort of 30 Miamies to head it off. The destination was reached in safety on the 13th of August, and in the consultation which followed found it impossible then to remain as he had wished, and as became a good soldier that he was, joined heartily with his escort in the plans for evacuation, to follow in a day or so. Meantime, Black Partridge, before then the friend and ally of the whites—who had received from President Madison a medal for his conspicuous services, at the treaty of Greenville, or near that time, and which he prized highly, called on Heald on the 14th to surrender his medal and rejoin his friends because he could no longer restrain them. His course as reported in "Wau-Bun" was creditable. "Father, I come to deliver to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace when I am compelled to act as an enemy."

Even after this declaration, no council was convened; no plan of march with a view of mitigating or avoiding the dangers, was formu-

*Captain Heald placed the date of the distribution on the 14th, which would seem more reasonable.

†An underground passage to the lake.

‡Wau-Bun.

lated, and the possibility of battle seemed to have no consideration. Possibly with the augmented force of Captain Wells, all fears of dangers were removed; but Captain Wells himself had penetrated the gathering gloom, and in token of his fear of war and its dreadful consequences, had blackened his face for the morrow.

At 9:00 o'clock of the 15th, Captain Heald marched out with his little cavalcade of soldiers, cattle, horses and wagons, 25 women, the Indian escort, estimated at 300.

The Kinzie family, with the exception of John Kinzie, were to travel by boat along the margin of the lake, intending to ascend the St. Joseph river to Bertrand or Parc aux Vaches. The party consisted of Mrs. John Kinzie, John H. Kinzie, the daughters, Ellen Marion and Maria Indiana, and the son, Robert A. Kinzie, together with the nurse, Josette LaFramboise, a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants, the boatman and two Indians as guards. The precaution of the passage by boat had been recommended by To-pe-ne-be, a friendly chief, who early that morning had warned Mr. Kenzie of projected trouble from the "escort"; but regardless of his personal safety, Mr. Kinzie marched with the column, to accept his chance with life and death, as became a man.

First in the line was Captain Wells, with half his mounted Miamis, followed by the 12 militiamen and such of the regulars as could bear arms; next came the wagons containing supplies of food and ammunition, camp equipage, women, children and the sick. Bringing up the rear, were the remaining half of Wells' Miamis, Mr. Kinzie, Mrs. Helm and Mrs. Heald, all mounted, making a procession about five blocks long. On the river, which then bent to the south and entered into the lake at the foot of Madison street, the boat followed slowly, so slowly that it had reached the mouth of the river only, when a messenger from To-pe-ne-be overtook and brought the party to a halt by hurriedly advising it of the impending attack and probable bloody battle.

The cavalcade had proceeded to a point at or not far from the present Fourteenth street, when Captain Wells rode back from his advanced position, shouting, "They are about to attack us; form instantly and charge upon them."

From the rising sand ridges to the right (west), above which the heads of Indians were suspiciously rising and falling, a volley of musketry followed. The wagons were put back next to the lake, the men taking positions in front of them, in comparative safety. But when the order came to charge them, they moved forward 200 or 300 yards in front of the wagons, which brought them a like distance from the Indians and exposed them to a merciless fire from behind the drifts of sand, and then the Miamis fled. It has been said that Wells ordered the movements of the men, but it is not conceivable that a mere reinforcing subordinate would offer a command over the head of Heald, his superior, in the midst of a battle, with that superior then at his very elbow.

The charge on the breastworks of sand followed gallantly, but mercilessly slaughtered, the great majority of the little band of soldiers who had fought their last battle. Heald received a bullet in his hip; Captain Wells, with a ball through his lungs, rushed to his niece, Mrs. Heald, to say, "Farewell, my child; tell my wife, if you live to get there, I died at my post doing the best I could." As he turned his horse fell, while a party of six or seven Indians were forming to concentrate an attack for his undoing. No sooner had a bullet pierced his body when the assailants pounced upon his warm body, cut out his heart and, after parading it, cut it up and ate it among them. By the time a point at or near the present Sixteenth street had been reached, the slaughter which followed is supposed to have occurred.

Finding his men dead or dying, with no possibility of escape left, Heald advanced to meet Black Bird in the midst of the enemy, to make proposals of surrender. Then a brief conference followed, which terminated hostilities, and gave to all prisoners their lives; but with a pertinacity of forgetfulness, or ignorance, the poor, helpless wounded were omitted from the negotiations, and a few moments later were barbarously butchered. They had stipulated, through the interpreter, Peresh LeClerc, a half-breed boy in the employ of the Kinzies, for the preservation of their lives and those of the remaining women and children and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by the traders; but in all the details, and they seemed many, there had been no thought bestowed on the wounded.

Marching southward, Heald had the benefit of the lake to his left and his wagons to the right. Massed, the enemy could have been checked, until the fury of the first assault had subsided, when in common with Indian tradition, finding repulse their only reward for each assault and death, they had surely abandoned the fight for the plunder behind, and withdrawn their forces. Nothing disheartens the Indian so much as a stout resistance, and no band of warriors so soon abandons a strong resistance as the American Indian; but no order to form back of the wagons was given.

Among the dead were Dr. Isaac V. VanVoorhis and Ensign Ronan, with 24 more regulars and the 12 militiamen; but the report of Captain Heald is hereto attached:

"PITTSBURG, Oct. 25, 1812.

On the 9th of August I received orders from General Hull to evacuate the post and proceed, with my command, to Detroit by land, leaving it to my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper. The neighboring Indians got the information as early as I did, and came in from all quarters in order to receive the goods in the factory store, which they understood were to be given them. On the 13th, Captain Wells, of Ft. Wayne, arrived with about 30 Miamis, for the purpose of escorting us in, by request of General Hull. On the 14th I delivered the Indians all the goods in the factory store, and a considerable quantity of provisions, which we could not take with us. The surplus arms and ammunition I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of it if put in their possession. I also destroyed all liquor on hand soon after they

began to collect. The collection was unusually large for that place, but they conducted themselves with the strictest propriety until after I left the fort. On the 15th, at 9:00 a. m., we commenced our march; a part of the Miamis were detached in front, the remainder in our rear, as guards, under the direction of Captain Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left and a high sand bank on our right, at about 100 yards distance. We had proceeded about a mile and a half when it was discovered that the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank. I immediately marched up, with the company, to the top of the bank, when the action commenced. After firing one round we charged, and the Indians gave way in front and joined those on our flanks. In about 15 minutes they got possession of all our horses, provisions and baggage of every description* and finding the Miamies did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left and took possession of the small elevation in the open prairie, out of shot of the bank, or any other cover. The Indians did not follow me, but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after some consultation among themselves, made signs for me to approach them. I advanced toward them alone, and was met by one of the Pottawatomie chiefs, called Black Bird, with an interpreter. After shaking hands, he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners.† On a few moment's consideration I concluded it would be most prudent to comply with his request, although not put entire confidence in his promise.

After delivering up our arms, we were taken back to their encampment near the fort, and distributed among the different tribes. The next morning they set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between 400 and 500, most of the Pottawatomie nation, and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about 15. Our strength was about 54 regulars and 12 militia, out of which, 26 regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and 12 children. Ensign George Ronan and Dr. Isaac V. VanVoorhis of my company, with Captain Wells of Fort Wayne, to my great sorrow, are numbered among the dead. Lieut. Linai T. Helm, with 25 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 11 women and children, were prisoners when we separated. Mrs. Heald and myself were taken to the mouth of the river, St. Joseph, and being badly wounded, were permitted to reside with Mr. Burnett, an Indian trader. In a few days after our arrival there, the Indians went off to take Fort Wayne, and in their absence, I engaged a Frenchman to take us to Michilimackinac, by water, where I gave myself up as a prisoner of war, with one of my sergeants. The commanding officer, Captain Roberts, offered me every assistance, in his power, to render our situation comfortable while we remained there, and to enable us to proceed on our journey. To him I gave my parole of honor, and came on to Detroit, and re-

* An indication of bad generalship.
† The wounded were ignored.

ported myself to Colonel Proctor, who gave us a passage to Buffalo; from that place, I came by the way of Presque Isle, and arrived here yesterday.

The following which treats of the fate of more of the prisoners may be of interest:

Chicago—Among the prisoners who have recently arrived at this place (says the Plattsburg paper of the 21st ult.) from Quebeck, are James VanHorn, Joseph Knowles, Paul Grommow, Elias Mills, Joseph Bowen, Nathan Edson, Dyson Dyer, James Corbin and Phelim Corbin, of the First regiment of U. S. infantry, who survived the massacre at Fort Dearborn or Chicago, on the 15th of August, 1812. It will be recollected that the commandant at Fort Chicago, Captain Heald, was ordered by General Hull to evacuate the fort and proceed with his company to Detroit, that having proceeded about a mile and a half, the troops were attacked by body of Indians, to whom they were compelled to capitulate. Captain Heald, in his report of this affair, dated Oct. 23, 1812, says: "Our strength was 54 regulars and 12 militia, out of which 26 regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and 12 children; Lieut. Lina T. Helm, with 25 non-commissioned officers and privates and the 11 women and children were prisoners when we separated." Lieutenant Helm was ransomed Of the 25 non commissioned officers and privates and the 11 women and children, the nine persons above mentioned, are believed to be the only survivors. They state that the prisoners who were not put to death on the march, were taken to Fox river in the Illinois territory, where they were distributed among the Indians as servants. Those who survived remained in this situation about nine months, during which time they were allowed scarcely a sufficiency of sustenance to support nature, and were then brought to Fort Chicago, where they were purchased from the Indians by a French trader, agreeable to the direction of General Proctor, and sent to Amerstburg, and from thence to Quebec, where they arrived on the 8th of November, 1813.

John Neads, formerly of Virginia, who was one of the prisoners, died among the Indians, between the 15th and 20th of January, 1813.

Hugh Logan, an Irishman, was tomahawked and put to death, he not being able to walk from fatigue.

August Mott, a German, was killed in the same manner for the like reason.

A man by the name of Nelson was frozen to death while a captive with the Indians. He was formerly of Maryland.

A child of Mrs. Neads, the wife of John Neads, was tied out to a tree, to prevent its following and crying after its mother for victuals. Mrs. Neads afterwards perished with hunger and cold.

The officers who were killed on the 15th of August had their heads cut off and their hearts taken out and boiled in the presence of the prisoners.

Eleven children were massacred and scalped in one wagon.

Mrs. Corbin, the wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnancy, was tomahawked, scalped, cut open, and had the child taken out and its head cut off.

The names of some of those who served in the action, and whose names were not mentioned by Heald, are of the militia: Charles Lee and his son; Pittill, Burns and Russell.

Of the regulars: Sergeants Hays and Holt, and privates, James VanHorn, Joseph Knowles, Paul Grummon (or Grumow or Gromit) Elias Mills, James Bowen, Nathan Edson, Dyson Dyer, James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, John Neads, died; Hugh Logan, prisoner, killed; August Mott, prisoner, killed; John Cooper and ——— Nelson.

During the tragedy of Ronan's death, while berating Dr. Van Voorhis for cowardice, Mrs. Helm, barely escaped death from the blow of a tomahawk aimed by a young Indian, but, by dodging it and grappling the young man about the neck. While struggling, she was seized by another and hurriedly borne to the lake and there submerged, as she believed for a kinder death than by the hatchet; but her head was cautiously supported until the battle was over, when she was borne by her former friend Black Partridge to the sandbanks; thence on horse-back, she was escorted back to the Chicago river. The Kinzie boat was permitted to return and the family re-entered their house, to which Mrs. Heald, badly wounded was removed the following day.

On the 16th, the Indians fired the fort, and later the prisoners, distributed for different points until removed, some to reach safety, others, to die miserably of hunger, by exposure or wound, or all together.

Long years afterward, when Captain Heald had passed away, his widow sought recovery for the property of the family, alleged to have been lost; but as such a proceeding was reported unfavorably, the claim was rejected. Following is a copy of the report of the proceedings:

"*To the Honorable, the United States Court of Claims:*

The petition of Rebekah Heald, the widow of Major Nathan Heald, late of St. Charles county, in the State of Missouri, most respectfully represents.

That on the 15th day of Aug. 1812, her husband, then Captain Heald, an officer of the United States Army, commanded Fort Dearborn, in or near Chicago; that she, your petitioner, resided there with him, and that they were possessed of considerable personal property, all of which was lost at the destruction of said Fort Dearborn, on the said 15th day of Aug., 1812, by the Indians, and by whom they were taken prisoners.

That an inventory or schedule of the property thus lost is herewith annexed, together with its supposed valuation.

Your petitioner further states, that after the death of her husband, she, in the month of Dec. 1847, petitioned Congress for payment and remuneration for the property so destroyed by the Indians and lost to

them. That her petition was forwarded to the Hon. Tho's. H. Benton, then a Senator in Congress from Missouri and was accompanied by the despositions of two ladies of Chicago, who were well acquainted with all the facts in relation to their capture and the destruction of their property; that by some strange fatality, the petition and testimony were lost or mislaid, and were never presented to Congress; that both of the ladies at Chicago are now dead; that their testimony, duly taken, was full and complete; that her said petition was furthermore accompanied by the additional testimony of Col. John O'Fallon and Col. John Ruland, of St. Louis, Missouri.

Your petitioner prays that her claim may be examined and adjudicated upon, in such manner as may be conformable to the rules and regulations of your court; and, if necessary, that a commission may be granted to take the depositions of witnesses in St. Louis, Missouri, to substantiate her claim.

The major part of the property lost, was her own and over which her husband exercised no control; but perhaps when legally considered, the title was in him. If such be the construction, then I appeal in the name of his legal representatives for payment.

Relies upon fifth article of Amendments to the Constitution, three, United States Satutes, 261; Id. 465, chapter 124; and general principles of public law.

REBEKAH HEALD.

United States,.....to.....Rebekah Heald.....Dr.

For loss of property (personal,) taken and destroyed by Indians, on the 15th day of Aug. 1812, at Fort Dearborn, on the destruction of the fort, viz:

One negro woman, Cicily, and her child, valued at	$1,000 00
One side saddle, bridle and martingale	35 00
Three horses	500 00
Two cows and calves	50 00
Household furniture	200 00
Silver spoons and tumblers	75 00
Table furniture complete	75 00
Clothing	600 00
Jewelry, ear rings, breastpins, rings, etc.	50 00
	$2,585 00

STATE OF MISSOURI, }
} ss.
COUNTY OF ST. CHARLES. }

I, Rebekah Heald, do swear that the facts stated by me in the petition, so far as they are of my own personal knowledge, are true and so far as they depend upon the information of others, I believe to be true; and that the schedule annexed, is a true account of the property lost, and the estimated value, say, $2,585.00.

REBEKAH HEALD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me the undersigned Justice, this 9th day of Oct. 1855.

JOSIAH B. COSBY,
Justice of the Peace.

A certificate of magistracy follows.

SUPPLEMENTARY PETITION.

To the Honorable, the Court of Claims of the United States:

Rebekah Heald, a petitioner to the Court of Claims, begs leave to file this supplementary petition, to make certain amendments which she is advised are necessary to her original petition.

Your petitioner founds her claim on the implied contract which exists between the government and its citizens, to afford them protection against all hostile depredations, and the repeated recognition of their liability in cases similar to this of your petitioner.

No one is interested in the said claim but the petitioner and the legal representatives of her late husband, in whose behalf she petitions, who are Darius Heald, (son of the petitioner and her late husband, Nathan Heald,) and Nathan Heald McCausland and Alexander A. McCausland, (grandson of the petitioner and her late husband, Nathan Heald.)

Your petitioner desires that her petition may be so amended as to include the above statements, and prays leave to amend the schedules thereunto annexed, by adding thereto, a watch and a gun, that were lost at the same time and in the same manner set forth in the petition, and that were of the value of $150.

REBEKAH HEALD.

STATE OF MISSOURI, }
COUNTY OF ST. CHARLES. } ss.

This day personally appeared before me, Josiah B. Cosby, Justice of the Peace, duly authorized by law to administer oaths within and for the county aforesaid, Rebekah Heald, whose name is subscribed to the foregoing petition and who by me being duly sworn, upon her oath says, that said petition and the facts therein set forth are true.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 4th day of Jan. 1856.

JOSIAH B. COSBY,

Justice of the Peace.

A certificate of magistracy follows.

JUDGMENT.

In the Court of Claims.

Rebecca Heald, vs. The United States.

Judge Blackford delivered the opinion of the court.

"The petition states the following facts: The petitioner is the widow of Captain Heald deceased. On the 15th of Aug. 1812, her husband was captain in the army of the United States and then resided with the petitioner, his wife, at Chicago.

At that time, Captain Heald was commandant of Fort Dearborn, in or near Chicago, where he and the petitioner then had personal property of the value of $2,585.00.

The Indians, on the 15th of Aug. 1812, destroyed Fort Dearborn, when all said personal property was lost and Captain Heald and the petitioner, his wife, were taken prisoners. The greater part of the personal property so lost, belonged to the petitioner.

The object of the petitioner is to recover the value of said personal property either for herself or for the legal representatives of her said husband

At the time of said destruction of Fort Dearborn, the United States and the Indians were at war; and the claim thereof is for the value of private personal property destroyed by an enemy in time of war. We think that there is no difference in this case. The government is not bound to pay for the property in question. No doctrine is better settled than that the goverment of an invaded country is not liable to pay for private property destroyed by the enemy. This subject was before us in 1856, in the case of Cassius M. Clay and the decree was against his claim. In the opinion in that case, the authority of Vattel is relied on. That author speaks of the damages caused to individuals by acts of the enemy and says: "All the subjects are exposed to such laws and woe to him on whom they fall." The members of a society may well encounter such risk of property since they encounter a similar risk of life itself. Were the State strictly to indemnify all those whose property is injured in this manner, the public finances would soon be exhausted; and every individual in the State would be obliged to contribute his share in due proportion—a thing utterly impractical. Besides, these indemnifications would be liable to a thousand abuses and there would be no end of the particulars. It is therefore to be presumed that no such thing was ever intended by those who united to form a society.

Our opinion is that the petition shows no cause of action."

Ft. Dearborn fell; its garrison, wantonly slaughtered, but prepared the savages for more raids to the south, where their butcheries might continue until the last white man was destroyed or driven away. No man realized that position so forcefully as Governor Edwards and no man could have made better or quicker preparations to defeat them by anticipating the dangers entering the enemy's country.

The support of the militia was called for quickly and as quickly as it could be concentrated, every available man responded. On the 11th day of September, Colonel Russell, who had been ordered, from near Vincennes, promptly left that point with two small companies of United States rangers, commanded by Captains Perry and Modrell* to join Governor Edwards and move up the Illinois to make a demonstration before the hostile Indians (there concentrated) of a character to cower them, which if ineffectual was to be followed by chastisement and destruction of their villages; likewise to recover the property and murderers sought by Captain Levering, to suffer no possible miscarriage. Gen. Samuel Hopkins† commander of the Kentucky troops raised for the occasion, some 2,000 in number, was

*Davidson and Stuve, 268.
†Annals of the West, 616.

ordered to move up the Wabash to Ft. Harrison, destroy the villages in his course near the Wabash; march across the prairies of Illinois by way of the headwaters of the Sangamon and Vermillion rivers; form a junction with Edwards and Russell and together sweep all the villages along the Illinois river.

General Hopkins' Kentuckians, undisciplined, and hopelessly insubordinate, after crossing into the Illinois prairies, became reckless and disorderly. It was known among them that the success of the expedition depended entirely on their activity and secrecy. Yet they loitered and shot game along the way and otherwise disobeyed the positive commands of the veteran general and his aids to such a shameful extent that the Indians in all the territory desired to be covered, learned the object of the movement and fled north to safety, just as had been feared when orders for secrecy and haste had been given. The season was rainy and the roads naturally slow; competent guides were lacking and on the fourth day out from Ft Harrison, the army lost its course in the vast prairies and returned disgraced, to the Wabash. What a mortifying finish, after writing the following letter to Governor Shelby of Kentucky, as gallant old General Hopkins did!——

"VINCENNES, Sept. 29, 1812.

My present intention is to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and destroy their property, then fall upon the Illinois; and I trust in all the next month to perform much of it. Serious opposition I hardly apprehend, although I intend to be prepared for it."*

On October 6th, 1812, General Hopkins addressed Governor Shelby an account of his march which we shall consider before relating the story of the Edwards and Russell exploit:

FORT HARRISON,† 6th Oct. 1812.

MY DEAR SIR—The expedition of the mounted riflemen has terminated. The Wabash was recrossed yesterday and the whole corps are on their way to Busseron, where the adjutant general will attend, in order to have them properly mustered and discharged; and where their horses may get forage during the delay necessary for this object.

Yes, sir; this army has returned without hardly obtaining the sight of an enemy. A simple narrative of facts as they occurred will best explain the reasons that have led to this state of things.

The army having finished crossing the Wabash on the 14th inst., marched about three miles and encamped. I here requested the attendance of the general and field officers and captains, to whom I imparted the objects of the expedition and the advantages that might result from a fulfillment of them. The nearest Kickapoo villages were from eighty to one hundred miles distant, and the Peoria not more than one hundred and sixty. By breaking up these or as many as our resources would permit, we would be rendering a service to all the territories. That from their numbers, this tribe was more favorable than any near us; and from their situation and hostility, had it

*Niles Register. 170; vol. 3.
†A short distance above Terre Haute, commanded by Capt. Zachary Taylor.

more in their power to do us mischief; of course to chastise and destroy these, would be rendering real benefit to our country. It was observed by some officers, that they would meet the next morning, consult together and report to me their opinions; desiring at the same time to be furnished with the person on whom I had relied for intelligence of the country.

This council was held, and all the intelligence furnished that had been requested, and I had a report highly favorable to the enterprise. This to me was more gratifying, as early as our encampment at Vincennes, discontents and murmurings, that portended no wish to proceed further. At Busseron, I found an evident increase of discontent, although no army was ever better or more amply supplied with rations and forage than at this place. At Fort Harrison, where we encamped on the 10th, and where we were well supplied with forage, etc, I found on the 12th and 13th many breaking off and returning without applying to me for a discharge, and as far as I know, without any notification to their officers: Indeed, I have every reason to suppose the officers of every grade, gave no countenance to such a procedure.

Thinking myself now secure in the confidence of my brother officers and the army, we proceeded on our march early on the 15th, and continued it four days, our course near north in the prairie until we came to an Indian house, where some corn, etc., had been cultivated. The last day of the march to this place, I had been made acquainted with a return of that spirit of discontent, that had, as I had hoped, subsided, and when I had ordered a halt near sun set (for the first time that day) in a fine piece of grass in the prairie, to aid our horses, I was addressed in the most rude and dictatorial manner, requiring me immediately to resume my march, or his battalion would break from the army and return! This was a Major Singleton! I mention him in justice to the other officers of that grade. But from every information, I began to fear the army waited but for a pretext to return! This was afforded next day by our guides who had thought they had discerned an Indian village on the side of a grove about ten miles from where we encamped on the fourth night of our march, and turned us about six or eight miles out of our way. An almost universal discontent seemed to prevail, and we took our course in such a direction as we hoped would best atone for the error of the morning. About or after sun set, we came to a thin grove affording water; here we took up our camp; and about this time arose one of the most violent gusts of wind, I ever remember to have seen, not proceeding from clouds. The Indians had set fire to the prairie, which drove on us so furiously, that we were compelled to fire around our camp to protect ourselves. This seems to have decided the army to return: I was informed of it so many ways, that early in the next morning (October 20th), I requested the attendance of the general and field officers, and stated to them my apprehensions, the expectations of our country, the disgrace attending the measure, and the approbation of our own consciences. Against this, I stated the weary situation of our horses and the want of provisions (which to me seemed only

partial, six days having only passed since every part of the army, as was believed, was furnished with ten days in bacon, beef or bread stuff) the reasons given for returning; I requested the commandants of each regiment to convene the whole of the officers belonging to it, and to take fully the sense of the army on this measure; report to commandants of brigades, who were requested to report to me in writing; adding that if 500 volunteers would turn out, I would put myself at their head and proceed in quest of the towns; and the balance of the army might retreat in safety to Fort Harrison. In less than one hour the report was made almost unanimously to return. I then requested that I might dictate the course to be pursued that day only, which I pledged myself should not put them more than six miles out of the way, my object being to cover the reconnoitering parties, I wished to send out for the discovery of the Indian towns.

About this time, the troops being paraded, I put myself in front, took my course and directed them to follow me; the columns moving off quite a contrary way. I sent Captain Taylor and Major Lee to apply to the officers leading the columns, to turn them. They were told it was not in their power. The army had taken their course and would pursue it. Discovering great confusion and disorder in the march, I threw myself in the rear, fearing an attack on those who were there from necessity, and continued in that position the whole day. The exhausted state of the horses, nor the hunger of the men retarded this day's march; so swiftly was it prosecuted that it was long before the rear arrived at the encampment.

The generals Ray, Ramsey and Allen, lent all their aid and authority in restoring our march to order and so far succeeded, as to bring on the whole with much less loss than I had feared; indeed I have no reason to think we were either followed or menaced by an enemy. I think we marched at least 80 or 90 miles in the heart of the enemy's country. Had he possessed a design to fight us, opportunities in abundance presented. So formidable was our appearance in the prairie and in the country (as I am told) never trod before by hostile feet, must impress the bordering tribes with a sense of their danger. If it operates beneficially in this way, our labor will not be altogether vain.

I hope the expense attending this expedition will be found less than usual on such occasions. I have consulted economy in every instance; subject only to real necessity has been the expenditures. The forage has been the heaviest article.

To the officers commanding brigades, many of the field officers, captains, etc., my thanks are due; many of the old Kentucky veterans, whose heads are frosted by time, are entitled to every confidence and praise their country can bestow. To the adjutant, quarter master general and members of my own family, I feel indebted for ready, able and manly support in every instance. Let me here include our friend George Walker, our judge advocate-general, who lived with me and took more than a common share of fatigue and toil, and who did all in his power to further the service in the corps of spies and guides,

under the direction of Major Dubois, and the two companies of Kentucky and Gwatkin who encamped near me and were under my immediate orders. I experienced an alertness and attention highly honorable to them. These corps were ready to have gone on to execute any service; the whole amounted to about 120, and deserve honorable mention.

Mr. Barron and Messrs. Lacelly and LePlant, interpreters and guides deserve well of me. I am certain we were not 20 miles from the Indian village when we were forced to retire and I have many reasons to prove we were in the right way.

I have myself (superadded to the mortification I felt at thus returning) been in a bad state of health from first to last; and am now so weak as not to be able to keep myself on my horse.

A violent diarrhoea has pursued me ten days past, and reduced me extremely low. I had resolved to continue with the line of march a little, if unable to ride. There are yet many things of which I wish to write; they relate substantially to prospective operations. Soon again shall I have the honor to address your excellency. In the mean time be assured of the perfect consideration and high regards of your obedient friend and servant, Governor Shelby.

SAMUEL HOPKINS.*"

The part assigned to Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, more hazardous, was executed with precision and despatch, though fraught with nothing brilliant. Happily Governor Reynolds, in whose debt the State of Illinois must always remain, was a member of that expedition, as sergeant in the company of William B Whitesides, and has left us the following faithful account of it:

"Towards the last of September, 1812, all the forces of the United States rangers and mounted volunteers, to the number of 350, were assembled at Camp Russell and duly organized, preparatory to marching against the Indians, and join the army under General Hopkins. Camp Russell was one mile and a half north of Edwardsville, and then on the frontier.

"Colonel Russell commanded the United States rangers; Colonels Stephenson and †Charles Rector were in command of the volunteers; Major John Mordock, Colonel — Desha, United States army, and several others (names not recollected) were field officers; Captains William B. Whiteside, James B. Moore, Jacob Short, Samuel Whiteside, Willis Hargrave (William McHenry, Janny and Lieutenant Roakson, with a small independent company of spies, consisting of 21 men,) commanded companies.

"Colonel Jacob Judy was the captain of a small corps of spies, comprising 21 men. (Governor Reynolds was in this company.)‡

* Niles Register, 204, Vol. 3.
† Davidson and Stuve, page 270, say Elias Rector.
‡ He was principally a member of W. B. Whiteside's company.

"The staff of Governor Edwards were Nelson Rector, Lieut. Robert K. McLaughlin, United States army, and Secretary Nathaniel Pope. There may have been more, but the writer does not recollect them.

"This little army being organized, and with their provisions for 20 or 30 days packed on the horses, they rode (except in a few instances, when pack horses were fitted out,) took up the line of march in a northwardly direction.

"Captain Craig, with a small company, was ordered to take charge of a boat, fortified for the occasion, with provision and supplies, and proceed up the Illinois river to Peoria.

"This little army at that time was all the efficient force to protect Illinois. We commenced the march from Camp Russell on the last day of September. At that period the Indians on the Sangamon, Mackinac and Illinois rivers were both numerous and hostile.

"The route lay on the west side of Cahokia creek, to the lake fork of the Macoupin,* and across the Sangamon river below the forks, a few miles east of Springfield. We left the Elkhart grove to the left† and passed the old Kickapoo village on Kickapoo creek, and directed our course towards the head of Peoria lake. The old Kickapoo village which the Indians had abandoned, was destroyed.‡ As§ the army approached near Peoria, Governor Edwards dispatched Lieutenant Peyton, James Reynolds and some others to visit the village of the Peorias, but they made no discoveries.

"There was a village of the Kickapoos and Pottawattomies on the eastern bluff of the Illinois river, nearly opposite the head of Peoria lake.‖

"The troops moved with rapidity and caution towards the village and encamped for the night within a few miles of it. Thomas Carlin (late governor of Illinois), Robert Whiteside, Stephen Whiteside and Davis Whiteside were sent by the governor to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and report to the commanding officer. This duty was performed at considerable peril, but with much adroitness. Their position was found to be about five miles from our troops, on a bluff, and surrounded by swamps, impassable by mounted men, and scarcely by footmen. The swamps were not only miry but at that time covered with high grass and brushwood, so that an Indian could not be discovered until within a few feet of him.

"In the morning early, and concealed by a dense fog, the army marched, and it was not long before Captain Judy, with his spies, came on an Indian and squaw. The captain shot him, but while staggering and singing his death song, Captain Wright, of Wood river settlement, incautiously approached him, when, with the in-

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* Which was crossed near the present site of Carlinville.
† Crossing Salt creek not far from the present city of Lincoln.
‡ Which by reason of offensive pictures drawn by the Indians, was reduced to ashes.
§ Fearing attack, the army from this point on, marched after dark until midnight, which dispensed with the use of camp fires.
‖ Black Partridge's map.

stinctive emotions peculiar to a dying Indian, he shot and mortally wounded Captain Wright, who died after he was brought home. The squaw was taken prisoner and afterwards returned to her nation.

"The army marched under the bluff, that they might reach the village under cover, but as they approached the Indians with their squaws were on the retreat to their swamps. Instant pursuit was given, and in a short distance from the village, horses, riders, arms and baggage were overwhelmed in the morass. It was a democratic overthrow, for the governor and his horse shared the same fate as the subaltern, or the private soldier. We were all literally *swamped*.

"A pursuit on foot was ordered, and executed with readiness but extreme difficulty. In the chase many of the enemy were killed, and at every step, kettles, mats and other Indian property were distributed in the morass.

"Captain Samuel Whiteside, with a party, pursued the scattered enemy to the river, and several were shot in attempting to cross to the opposite shore. So excited were the men that Charles Kitchen, Pierre St. Jean and John Howard crossed the river on logs to follow the retreating foe. The Indians fled into the interior wilderness. Some of our men were wounded, but none killed, in the charge.

"On our return to the village, some children were found hid in the ashes and were taken to the settlement. After destroying their corn and other property, and securing all their horses,* we commenced the homeward march. After traveling till dark to find a good camping ground, the rain set in, and the night was dark. Not knowing but that there were other Indian towns above, and learning that the expedition of General Hopkins† had failed to meet us, we apprehended danger from a night attack. Many of the soldiers had lost their blankets and other clothing in the swamp, and there was much suffering in camp that night.

"Captain Craig‡ arrived at Peoria with his boat, where he remained several days, was repeatedly attacked by Indians, but, being fortified, and on his own ground, sustained no damage. He returned with the stores in safety. The troops marched back to Camp Russell, where they were discharged."

Naturally, reports by officers of their own actions, are apt to reflect as much credit as the results will justify by judicious straining; therefore this expedition which might have frightened the Indians into temporary good behavior, and probably did, yet it received a dignity from the report of Governor Edwards, which may seem unwarranted.

I am well aware that public utterances receive injudicious and reckless criticisms from the thoughtless. I am well aware that we cannot judge of conditions so competently as those present at the time, but from the manner in which Governor Reynolds treated it; the pusillanimous conduct of Hopkins' troops and the assinine and criminal

* Some 80 head.
† As well as Captain Craig.
‡ His exploit follows a few pages later.

action of Craig, we must, while conceding that to the expedition amid the Indians, until they recovered breath to do more damage, we must regard with regret the treatment given the villages of the friends of the whites. We will admit that much mischief was hatched in their villages; possibly the Fort Dearborn massacre, of it who shall say an indiscriminate assault should have been made upon friend and foe alike? It was an incident of Indian life and character to find such conditions, and when a raid was contemplated, the highest intelligence should have directed its execution.

Finding no reinforcements from Hopkins and Craig and suspecting attack from the exasperated Indians, Governor Edwards turned his face toward Camp Russell, and reached it with his command after 13 days absence.

Strange as it may seem, a controversy arose as to who should have the credit of originating the expedition. The question should have been, to whom should we credit the execution of it.

Following is Governor Edwards' report:

"ELVIRADE, RANDOLPH CO.,
ILLINOIS TERRITORY, Nov. 18, 1812.

"*To the Hon. Wm. Eustis, Secretary of War, Washington City:*

SIR—Of the perils to which this territory has been exposed, during this year, I need add nothing to my former communication; but I beg leave to trouble you with a sketch of my military operations.

In the early part of the season, and until the month of August, my measures were entirely of a defensive and precautionary character, having kept a few companies of mounted riflemen ranging across the territory in such a manner as to cover our frontier, their line of march being sometimes three and never less than one day's journey in advance of our settlements.

While this plan afforded the best practicable means of obtaining timely notice of the approach of a large body of Indians, I thought that small parties, from whom I apprehended at that time the most danger, seeing our line of ranging so far beyond the settlements, would naturally be afraid to cross it, lest their trail should be discovered and they be cut off And as there were so many points in the territory equally accessible to them, I preferred the disposition of my small force to that of collecting it together at any one place; and my success has exceeded my most sanguine calculations, not having lost a single life, on as dangerous and exposed a frontier as any in the United States.

In the latter part of August, being convinced that a large body of Indians intended to attack us, and Colonel Russell, who had arrived only a short time before with one company of rangers, being called off with them to Vincennes, I immediately determined to collect and organize the most efficient force in my power, to take the command of it myself and defend the territory to the last extremity. Many circumstances induced me to believe that the meditated attack would

be made on that part of our frontier which lies between the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers, under which conviction (which subsequent events proved to be well founded) I established and supported several forts, at convenient distances on a line from one river to the other, and as near to the center of that line as a due regard to other circumstances, which were entitled to weight, would admit of. I built a large strong fort, at which I collected my principal force—it being a point from which I could most conveniently aid or relieve every other part that might be attacked.

Whilst the small body of infantry I had in service were relied on for the defense of these forts, between four and five hundred mounted riflemen were kept almost constantly ranging in the country between us and the enemy. But scarcely were these measures put into operation, before I ascertained the very day on which the Indians proposed to assemble at Peoria for the purpose of coming down upon us, the route they intended to take, and the objects they had in view; and I collected together, with as much dispatch as possible, all my mounted men, with the intention of setting out on an expedition against them, so planned as to fall in their rear and surprise them, from which I did anticipate the most glorious result; and I am well convinced I would not have been disappointed, for they had taken such extraordinary precautions to prevent their intentions being discovered, that they themselves entertained no doubt that they had succeeded. But with every effort in my power to accomplish my object, I was forced most reluctantly to abandon it, merely because the contractor failed to supply the necessary rations.

It then became necessary to meet the danger in some other way; and calculating rather upon desultory attacks from the enemy, than a united one, I endeavored to have them opposed at every avenue through which they would be most likely to invade us—for which purpose I detached one company up the Illinois river, in a well fortified boat, armed with muskets, blunderbusses and swivel.

The mounted riflemen I sent out in separate detachments to different parts of the same river, with orders to keep up a constant communication with each other, and to act either separately or together, as circumstances might require.

All these detachments, except one, fell in with Indian trails, gave chase to the Indians for several days in succession, and would certainly have overtaken them, had they not been retarded by the heavy rains that fell about that time. Finally those Indians, after having stolen seven horses and wounded two men, in an unsuccessful attack they made on one of our forts, were completely repulsed, and returned about the last of September to their own villages. Of their number, various accounts have been given. All, however agree that it was considerable, and I am pursuaded that there is not one well informed man in this country who does not now believe that if timely preparations had not been made to resist them on the frontier that I occupied, the consequences would have been melancholy

and distressing. As the least of them, had only a few families been killed, others would have removed, and terror would have pervaded and depopulated this territory.

When I found that the Indians had retired from our frontier, I began to prepare for an expedition against them, being fully convinced that I could so regulate it as to surprise them in their villages at the head of Peoria lake. At this time I calculated on no assistance or forces whatever, beyond what I had raised in the territory; but after every preparation was made and the day of our departure fixed on, I received a letter from Colonel Russell, proposing to me an expedition somewhat similar, and promising to come on before the day I had appointed for marching. He accordingly arrived, with a part of two companies of rangers, consisting of 50 privates and their officers, and tendered me his services, which I gladly accepted by appointing him second in command, well knowing and duly appreciating his great experience in Indian warfare and his merits as a military.

Through him I also learned that General Hopkins was to march to Peoria with at least 2,000 mounted volunteers, and would arrive at that place about the time I expected to be at the head of Peoria lake.

In consequence of this latter information, as an addition to my original plan, I sent one company of volunteers, with two boats, to Peoria, one of them being well fortified and the other carrying as much provisions as I could collect, and the necessary tools to enable General Hopkins to build a fort at that place, provided he chose to do so, or, otherwise, to build it myself under cover of his army, whilst it was marching, as he proposed it should do, up the Illinois river.

On the 18th of October, having made arrangements for the defense of the frontier in my absence, and leaving a force, which under existing circumstances, I deemed adequate to that object, I commenced my march with about 400 mounted volunteers. On our way, we burnt two Kickapoo villages, on the Saline fork of Sangamon river—till which time I had permitted it to be understood that I intended to march to Peoria and cross the Illinois at that place. But as my plan was entirely a different one, I then thought it advisable to call a council of officers and unfold to them my real views and intentions, in which, they all concurring, we marched with uncommon rapidity to a large village at the head of Peoria lake, inhabited by Kickapoos and Miamies. It was situated at the foot of a hill, which terminates the low grounds of the Illinois river at that place and runs many miles parallel with it. In front of this village, the bottom, which is three miles wide, is so flat, wet and marshy, as to be almost utterly impassable to man or horse. Unfortunately our guides, instead of leading us down the hill at the village, as I had expected, led us into the bottom about three quarters of a mile below it, and thereby deranged a plan of attack which I had at first contemplated. As we approached the town, the Indians were seen running out of it in considerable numbers, and for some time I thought they were forming to give us battle.

With the center of my little army I was marching in a direct course towards them, the right wing being ordered to gain their flank on the right of us, whilst the left was directed to cut off their retreat to the river. But in a short time, I discovered them, some on horseback, others on foot, all running as fast as they could at right angles from that which I was pursuing, towards a point of woods in which I expected they intended to form. I immediately changed my course, ordered and led on a general charge upon them, and would have succeeded in cutting off their retreat had it not been for the unsoundness of the ground over which we had to run. We, however, rushed upon them with such impetuosity that they were forced to scatter and take refuge in the swamp, in which those who were on horseback left their horses so completely mired that they could not move. A part was pursued through the swamp to the river, where several were killed and the town of Cheqeneboo (a Pottawatomie chief, who headed the party that came down to attack us) together with all the provisions and other property it contained, was burnt. Another party was pursued into the swamp in a different direction; several were killed, but finally they rallied at that point in such numbers that those who pursued them were forced to retreat. I then sent in a reinforcement, which induced the Indians entirely to give ground. The pursuit and fight over, we returned to the village, which with a great quantity of provisions and other valuable Indian property, we burnt and otherwise destroyed. We brought off with us about 80 head of horses and four prisoners, having killed, according to the Indian accounts, frequently given, between 24 and 30 Indians, without the loss of a single man, and having only one wounded; which, in my opinion was entirely owing to the charge that was made upon the enemy, as they were run so hard that when they attempted to form, they were out of breath, and could not shoot with sufficient accuracy.

Not meeting with, nor hearing from Hopkins, and knowing that my force was too weak and our horses too much fatigued to attempt anything further, I detached a party the next day to Peoria to leave directions for the captain who commanded the boats to return as speedily as possible. This party burnt another village that had been lately built within half a mile of Peoria, by the Miamies; and we all returned to my headquarters, at Camp Russell, after a tour of 13 days, only.

The conduct of both the men and officers under my command was highly honorable to themselves and useful to our country. They were uniformly obedient to my orders, appeared sincerely desirous of giving me every assistance in their power, and in the attack upon the Indians they displayed a gallantry and intrepidity that could not be surpassed.

You will clearly perceive, from the nature of my arrangements and plans of operation, that they have been actively employed in the most arduous duties, and I hope they will soon receive the reward that is due to their services.

The boats did not return till the 15th inst. which has delayed this communication to this time.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NINIAN EDWARDS."

Considerable acrimony was displayed subsequently, in commenting on this expedition. Friends of Edwards, Russell and Hopkins, all contending for its inception by their respective partisans; but upon final judgment, the contention of Governor Edwards was adopted and he stands now secure in gaining whatever of good may have come of it. Upon the other hand, Governor Shelby on the second of the following March, wrote to Governor Edwards, expressive of his conviction that the troops ordered from Kentucky, "had been prevented from reaching the territory by dishonorable steps."

The detachment of the militia from St. Clair county was discharged by Governor Edwards at Camp Russell, with a lengthy letter on November 10, to which the officers and men replied on the same day, through William Whiteside, lieutenant colonel, chairman, and James B. Moore, clerk.* In this letter and a message of Governor Edwards sent to the legislative council and house of representatives, Dec. 2, 1814, the expedition is set out and the character of the service demanded of the rangers explicitly detailed, with recommendations of alterations in the militia laws.

And now follows the part taken in that expedition by Captain Craig, of Shawneetown: Being unable to join Governor Edwards' forces at the Peoria village, he reached that point much later, and notwithstanding the fact that the governor had left orders to return to Camp Russell, he proceeded to reduce to submission those people thought to have been actually engaged in hostilities among the French and Indians of that village. In April, he was directed to prepare for service, but before he could collect his men his orders were countermanded, as we shall notice by his letter attached:

"SHAWNEETOWN, ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 28th April, 1812.

"DEAR SIR—I received your orders of the 12th instant, directing me to come on immediately to Kaskaskia and at the same time received your note countermanding them orders. I have made use of every exertion in my power to have my company ready by the time the next express arrives, to march. Governor, I want you to state, if you see proper, in the next express, in what way we must come, the payments per day, etc. I am much in hopes you will receive us as mounted riflemen. I shall certainly have my company as large and as well equipped as possible. I am bound to attend your call if I have only five men, but I have no doubt but I shall have near the quantity. I have not sent the swords you sent for, for want of an opportunity. We have received accounts at this place of the Indians doing considerable damage on the Wabash. Report says from several

*Edwards' Hist. 73 to 76.

boats that passed three days since that the Indians have killed three, and some say more men, just below the mouth of Green river—all since the battle on the Wabash. The correctness of those reports are yet uncertain with me. I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"THOMAS E. CRAIG."

"His Excellency, NINIAN EDWARDS."*

Subsequently he was ordered to report, man the protected boats of provisions, intended for the army, ascend the Illinois to the Peoria village, and there assist in the punishment designed for the Indians and such whites as might be found hostile or engaged in secret schemes to defeat the arms of the State or government. As usual, he was late in reporting, and notwithstanding the fact that the governor's party had returned after leaving orders for Craig's return, that officer proceeded up-stream to the village and committed the most stupid, reckless, I may say criminal act to be found in the records. Let us absorb his own account:

"SHAWNEETOWN, ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 10th Dec., 1812.

"GOVERNOR EDWARDS.

"Sir—No chance sooner offered for the conveyance of a letter to you. Since my return home, I have felt anxious to communicate the charges I have against Thomas Forsythe & Co, or the citizens of Peoria. Forsythe, from every appearance, was chief commander. Sir, agreeable to your orders, I went to Peoria with my company on board the boats placed under my command. I landed at Peoria on the 5th day of November and left the place on the 9th. On my way, not far below Peoria, I met two canoes loaded mostly with squaws and children, accompanied by five men. They were brought to the boats. They said they were running from the Indians on their way to Partushdism I kept one of the men on board my boat; the balance past. This was a Frenchman called Polete. He said the Indians had told him what your men had done, etc., and that they had seen Benet and Nail with you, and on that account had got mad with the French.

"After fixing out my sentinels at Peoria at a proper distance, I marched my company through the village, when I found the doors of the houses open, and all the property left; appeared like entire loss to the owners. I hourly expected you or General Hopkins' army at that place. I thought the property they had left might be taken as a prize. I thought no men more deserving than my own. All the property that could be found was put on board the boats. We made use of some pork and ate the fowls. The pork I paid for. On the evening of the same day I landed there, I was anchored in the river, or lake opposite. At dark I saw a canoe with six men about one mile below me; they appeared to be in great haste. I thought them to be Indians, as they appeared to shun us. I sent some men and had them brought to the boats. They were the company of Forsythe. I

* The Edwards papers, page 68.

unarmed them and took them on board the boats. They told me that Forsythe had sent them on to see what we were doing. At the same time he might have come himself or written to me by them. This was the first I had ever heard of his coming. He was then a little distance below Peoria. The next morning his men wanted to meet him. I released four and kept two. The evening after, Forsythe came with about 25 men and all the squaws and children we had met. After going through the proper ceremony, was admitted to pass. From the recommendation I had got of Mr. Forsythe, I was glad to see him. They took up their dwelling in town I suspect, as usual.

"I asked Forsythe if he would anchor in the lake with me that night. He said not. I asked him if he was not afraid of the Indians. He said they were all gone and he apprehended no danger, and I believe none of the citizens, from their actions. The sentinels on board my boats could hear and see them passing through town with candles, and hear canoes crossing the river all night for several nights. We would land in the morning to cook, and see fresh horse tracks in town. There is no doubt they were Indians. Forsythe and myself were in company every day. On the third day, Forsythe made application for the property we had got in town, he said it belonged to him and the citizens. I, without hesitation, landed the boats and let them take all they claimed, except some of my own cooking tools and the peltry and property that came out of Lacroix and Bensong's house, as I was told they were in Canada, trading with the British. This property I held as a prize for the use of my company, though subject to your order. Forsythe and myself lived in this way, I thought perfectly friendly, for six or seven days. I am convinced the French knew of your return and did tell him, but not me. They were in council every day, and did detain Governor Howard's express against his will after my letting him have rations to bring him down. I asked Mr. Forsythe when he expected you at that place. He said he was convinced that you were about 90 miles above Peoria, at a place called Flat Island, and would be there in the course of six or seven days. About midnight of the 6th of November the wind blew so hard in the lake that we were forced to drop the boats about one quarter of a mile below Peoria. We there cast anchor. The wind still continued to blow with such force that it broke our cable and drifted the armed boat on shore. It was at that time very dark, and our anchor lost. I thought myself secure, as it was impossible for the Indians to discover us before daylight, except they were in town at the time we passed. Betwixt the break of day and daylight, I opened the cabin door and was talking with the sentinel on the stern deck; we had spoke but few words before we were fired on, by I think ten or more guns, not more than thirty yards from the boat. The men were instantly fixed for battle, but was disappointed, as they made their escape immediately. We only heard them yelp after the fire. As soon as it was clear daylight, I had the boats landed about the center of the village and sent to know what had become of the citizens. They said they had heard nor seen nothing. I then sent to the place from which we were fired on. There were tracks plenty, leading from that place up to the village. This was what I expected.

I instantly had them all taken prisoners, except Howard's express. They were all in Forsythe's house, with their guns. Their guns appeared to be just fired; the most of them were empty. I gave them time to collect their property, which was done immediately. Forsythe said his cattle would be lost. I told him to take four of his men and hunt his cattle; that I would wait two days longer, and that he might drive them through the way he said he wanted to take them. He said it was too late; his cattle was gone, etc. Howard's express came on board my boat and told me that seven of the citizens went out, they said to hunt beef, that morning we were fired on. They started about the break of day and returned by daylight. He said perhaps there were more, for they never would let him know what they were going to do, and would talk together in his absence. He said he wanted to come with the six men in the canoe, but Forsythe would not let him. We stayed two days after they were taken prisoners. I made them furnish their own rations all the time I kept them. I burnt down about half the town Peoria, and should have burnt the whole and destroyed all the stock, but still expected Hopkins' army to pass that place. There was a keg of powder buried in Lecroix's house. While burning down, I found four American muskets in their possession and one keg of musket balls, and one musket in Forsythe's house under the floor and some brass musket moulds.

"On our way down the river, they were all unarmed. I gave them permission to camp on shore while I anchored in the river. They always preferred the Indian side for their camping ground. Forsythe appeared sulky and obstinate; in fact, every part of his conduct gave rise to the strongest suspicion of his not being a friend, and in short, I am well convinced that the citizens did nothing but what he was knowing too. He claimed property after refusing to take it at Peoria. He got all his property, and I am afraid, more. He and the rest of the damned rascals may think themselves well off that they were not scalped. I find it impossible for me to describe his conduct in a proper manner. I have been very unwell since my return home. I can scarcely sit up to write you; but mending.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

"THOMAS E. CRAIG.

"His Excellency, NINIAN EDWARDS,* Governor and Commander-in-Chief, etc., of Illinois Territory, Elvirade."†

He burned down most of the houses in the village; captured the inhabitants indiscriminately, and took the helpless creatures down stream to a point below the site of the present city of Alton, where he landed and left them in the woods; men, women and children—in the month of November, without food or shelter and from which place they finally struggled to St. Louis (and their old village) in an almost starving condition—75 in number, or thereabout.

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*The Edwards Papers, page 86
†Gov. Edwards' home farm, so named in honor of his wife.

Among the number was Antoine Le Clare, a French half-breed, the first settler of Davenport, and a man who ever occupied a high position in the estimation of his neighbors. Another was Indian Agent Thomas Forsythe, who for reasons of State, was not permitted to disclose his office and for which reason, he had been able to endear himself to the French and Indians to an unusual degree. For the indignity suffered at this time, he was later appointed agent for the united tribes of Sacs and Foxes at Ft. Armstrong, an office of great importance which he held until 1831, when for political reasons, he was superceded by Felix St. Vrain, who, the following year, was murdered by the Indians in the Black Hawk war.

At the conclusion of that demonstration, most of the militia was mustered out, as we have seen.

The "Pond settlement massacre" October, 1812, spread terror over that section for a long time, but it did not frighten John Pond from pursuing the murderers unto death for the atrocity. That story so stern and romantic by turns, was told me by Dr. Daniel Berry of Carmi, who took it down from the lips of Prussian Pearce, son of Col. Hosea Pearce, the famous Illinois pioneer, and soldier. Let me recite it:

About 1812 a man named John Pond opened a clearing in what is now Indian Creek township, near New Haven. He soon had neighbors and the community was called the "Pond settlement." One day in October, Pond was called away from home to help some new comers to raise a cabin. He left his wife and two little boys at home and was absent all day. On returning at night he found his wife killed and scalped in the cabin, and his two little boys scalped and lying outside in the corner made by the old fashioned stick and mud chimney joining the cabin wall.

Pond lost no time in calling on his neighbors and before midnight a pursuing party of vengeance was formed. It was learned that three Indians of the Pi-an-ka shaw tribe had been skulking about the settlement, and as this tribe was then living far up the Wabash the chase promised to be a long one. Three men, John Pond, Pearce, a brother of Col. Hosea Pearce, and Trousdale, were the party who proposed to have retribution.

They were well mounted while the Indians were on foot. From indications it appeared that the killing had been done in the morning; and as the pursuing party could not start until the following morning the Indians had 20 hours start. The trail was found by noticing the disturbed conditions of the wild pea vines in the little prairie, westward.

The men pushed forward through the woods which in those days were open underneath, by reason of which the party soon reached Bon Pas creek in the northern part of the county. On the prairie the grass grew high and the trail could be followed easily; not, however, until the third day did the party discover "fresh signs."

The next morning at sun rise they found in the Coffee creek bottom three Indians seated, quietly making their breakfast off a wild turkey. With steady nerves, each man picked out his Indian and

shot. One of the guns missed fire, but two Indians fell dead. They hunted for the other Indian all day, but failed to find him, as he made for the creek and they lost his track. The white party had to return home with their vengeance only partly satisfied.

Years later the people around Pond became too numerous for his comfort and he moved further west.

The incident of the massacre and the pursuit faded away from the memories of the old settlers, amid the bustle of the incoming civilization, but years afterward when one of the actors in the foregoing scene, Pearce, had become an old man, he, too, feeling that the country was becoming too thickly settled for his comfort, emigrated to western Missouri, where lands were cheap, of which he could obtain a plenty for "the boys." One of Trousdale's sons went there with him.

These two were away from home one day, and at night stopped at the house of a middle aged man, living on a fine and well furnished farm.

After supper, the host, in the course of conversation, ascertaining the locality of his guests' former homes to have been in White, county, Ill., asked, "Do you know anyone in the Pond settlement?"

"Why, that is right where I lived," replied Pearce.

"Did you ever know John Pond?"

"Yes, sir."

This started Peace to talking, and he told all about Pond and the killing of his wife and boys, the pursuit of the killers, etc.

Pearce was an interesting narrator and he told the story as vividly as the facts would allow.

A slight pause was made at the finish, when the host said, "Well, stranger, that is a mighty tough story, but I reckon it is about as true as any you ever told." As he said this he stepped to the high mantle shelf on which stood a clock; this he opened and took therefrom a little parcel wrapped in whitish paper that showed the marks of age and much careful handling.

While doing this, Pearce was getting mad at the doubt thrown on his veracity by the words of the man, who, as he stood slowly opening the little parcel, threw out reconnoitering side glances, noticing betimes the change in Pearce's countenance. The climax came, of course, but the farmer calmly continued by unbinding and saying: "Now, don't get excited at what I said, I only meant to prove what I am going to show you is true."

By this time he had taken from the paper a little tuft of flaxen hair which seemed to be grown from a piece of skin the size of a dollar.

As he held it up he said, "Here is the scalp of one of John Pond's boys;" and bowing down his head, parting the hair from the crown, revealed a shining bald scar, when placing his finger on the spot, he dded, "and there is where it came from."

Pearce had forgotten that while both boys had been scalped, only one was killed, although both were left for dead. He had forgotten, too, that among the trophies of the dead Indians the things most highly prized by Pond were the tiny scalps of his boys, which he had recovered.

Let it not be understood that the rangers of Missouri were idle while those reports were current and while those plundering raids and murders were multiplying. Though settlements were few and far apart, the great distances were covered by pursuing parties almost constantly. In fact it may be said for the rangers, that all of fighting, vengeance, reprisal, victory which came to the whites, came through the steadfastness of companies of rangers or other detachments and not from any combination of command or concerted expedition. Those rangers were here, there and everywhere, abating not their energies to protect the feeble settlements and by the time the year 1813 came round, with its renewed needs of protection, the rangers went from fort to fort, repairing some, enlarging others, removing families to safer posts and running down thieves and murderers.

On Feb. 9th, 1813, ten Indians eluded the vigilance of the Illinois rangers, passed down near the Wabash, and massacred two families at the mouth of Cache (Cash) river, on the Ohio, seven miles from the Mississippi.

In the month of March of this year, David McLain, a minister of the gospel, and a Mr. Francois* Young, traveling from Boone's lick into Kentucky, crossed the Kaskaskia river at "Hill's ferry" in Clinton county, and near Hill's fort; at which point they were fired upon by a party of Indians. Young was killed and scalped; McLain's horse was shot, and fell but he escaped to the woods, pursued by the Indians at full speed. One by one they were distanced and fell back, until one alone was left He, an athletic fellow, continued. McLain, encumbered with a heavy overcoat, wrappings on his legs and spurs, had much to contend with, but with these great disadvantages, he gained. As a final attempt to head him off, his pursuer fired, but missed him. Casting aside the heavy coat, McLain hoped the prize would be seized by his pursuer and the chase abandoned; but the plan was ineffectual. Still pursued, he adopted a series of tactics quite incomprehensible at this day: He first made signs of surrender, until the Indian came up, when he assumed an attitude of defiance until the Indian had fired and (by dodging) missed him. Then running again and inaugurating the same scheme of a truce and chase, he continued. During one of the feints, he threw his breast forward, he inadvertently threw backward an arm and received a ball in it, which lost to him its further use. During the chase, he had thrown away his boots, and still he ran along the bottoms until the river was reached. There, exhausted, he accepted the only chance left him to escape by plunging in and attempting to swim with one arm. For the eighth time the Indian loaded and fired, missing McLain who swam diagonally down stream while his pursuer abandoned

*Annals, 733.

the chase with a yell. The water was cold; the man was wounded and exhausted and almost unable to stand when he reached the opposite bank, yet he crawled up and after incredible effort and suffering, reached the Badgley settlement the following morning. A party of volunteers returned to the scene, buried Young and recovered McLain's saddle bags.

Such were the dangers surrounding the settlers of Illinois in those days!

Following is another story of the shocking murders of those days:

* "His Majesty's Allies."

"The savages are zealously employed to serve "his majesty" and earn for themselves annihilation. They have lately committed many murders in the Indiana and Illinois territories, and fears are entertained of an attack upon St. Louis, etc., beyond the Mississippi.

"Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Kaskaskia, dated Feb. 27.—"A horrid instance of savage barbarity occurred in this territory on the 9th instant, upon the bank of the Ohio, seven miles above its mouth. In my last, I mentioned that an Indian trail had been discovered passing from the northward in a direction to the mouth of that river, crossing the road about half way between this and Shawneetown. After we heard of General Winchester's defeat, we concluded they were runners going to the southern and southwestern Indians, with the news of that disaster—which conjecture was probably correct. On their arriving upon the Ohio, it seems they traced the shore till they came to where three small crafts were lying in front of two cabins occupied by a 'Squire Clark and a Mr. Kennedy. The former was standing before his door when the savages (ten in number) came up the bank toward the house. One of them, who could speak English and whom Clark knew, called out to him not to be afraid for they were friends—that they had traveled far, and wanted something to eat; on this, Clark permitted them to come up and they shook hands very cordially. Setting their guns against the house they went in, and C— ordered his wife to prepare them some victuals. She did so, and they sat down and they ate heartily.

No white people were in the house, but Clark and his wife and a neighbor who happened to be there. On their rising, two of them were observed to place themselves in the door passage, which excited some suspicion but not much alarm. Two others came and stood by the neighbor, one of whom (who could talk English), set to feeling the white man's shoulders, knees, etc., and said, "you be stout man—you be strong man—can you run fast?, etc." Soon, the man perceived the other Indian drawing his tomahawk at his head, which he in part avoided, but it struck in the upper part of the forehead and pealed the skin down to the bone of the eyebrow, which arrested its force. The man plunged to the door, and knocking over one of those stationed there, made his escape toward a creek near at hand, with four or five of the savages at his heels. He sprang upon the ice

*Niles register, vol. 4, p. 135.

which giving way, let him down to his middle in water--he scrambled up, however, upon the unbroken ice, which bore him across. The Indians chose not to follow. Perceiving this, he made a short halt to observe what would be done. He discovered Kennedy coming from his cabin toward Clark's, and about half way was shot down. He saw Clark rush out of his door and run, but he too was shot down. He saw no more, but hastened to give the alarm.

A force assembled as soon as possible and went to the place, but the Indians had crossed the river and could not be seen. They found the bodies of Kennedy and Clark as above mentioned, and on entering Clark's house, found Mrs. Clark cruelly tomahawked and dead. Proceeding to Kennedy's, they found his wife and one child also murdered, two of their children, a boy and girl missing, supposed to be taken away, as one of the girl's shoes was found in one of the craft which took them across the river.

The situation of Mrs. Kennedy was shocking, beyond description. She having been pregnant, her body was found entirely naked, cut open and the child taken out and hung up on a peg in the chimney. Her entrails were scattered all about the door and the hogs were eating them. Both houses were plundered of all they could carry off.

Thus ends the history of a horrid scene. The slain were five in number exclusive of the unborn infant, and two missing. The bodies were decently interred, and men have gone across the river in pursuit of the savages.

The people of St. Louis are much alarmed by the defeat of General Winchester, on account of the encouragement it will give to hostile Indians. They consider themselves more in danger than other parts of the country, as their town would be the first object. They have determined to fortify, and have also sent out for 400 Osage warriors, who are considered friendly—but I can hardly approve of the latter policy."

The prospect for 1813 was gloomy enough. The general government made no provisions for the militia and on June 8,* Governor Edwards discharged them from service. The moment that was done hostile Indians began collecting about Peoria lake, from which point marauding parties again began to harass the settlements. They concentrated in such great numbers and became so bold and bloody, that it at once became evident that the country must be protected and the enemy scattered, else the former exertions of defense would quickly be obliterated and many of the fortifications reduced.

About June 1, 1813, Gov. Benjamin Howard, of Missouri, had resigned his office and accepted a brigadier general's commission in the government service, to command the rangers from the territories of Illinois and Missouri.

On July 16, Ft. Madison was attacked by the Illinois Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes, for the ninth or tenth time, but while the Illinois

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*Annals 737.

Indians were the invaders, the affair did not occur on Illinois soil and was defended by no part of the Illinois troops; therefore, though the event was important, as was the subsequent evacuation of Ft. Madison, it will not receive notice here.*

Toward the Peoria lake hostiles General Howard then directed his attention and while he fought no pitched battles and met with no resistance, it may be said that his expedition was beneficial, in that it scattered the Indians from that seditious section for all time.

Capt. Nathan Boone, who had been sent by General Howard with 16 picked rangers, to act as spies, was stationed between the Illinois and Mississippi, While there he was attacked on the 15th of August, 1813, by a party of 40 or 50 Indians. Captain Boone formed his men back from the camp fires, and, as expected, the Indians rushed on the camping ground. There had surely been much loss to the enemy had it not been for the effect of a recent rain on the ammunition and arms of the whites, who did little execution with them; so little, indeed, that the company was forced to retreat, after one of the number received a slight wound in the hand.

The Illinois rangers, being transferred to General Howard's command, he at once moved forward.

For three or four weeks the Illinois regiment had lain encamped on the "Piasau" opposite Portage de Sioux, waiting for re-enforcements until directed to concentrate at Camp Russell, when the men swam their horses over the Illinois about two miles above its mouth. On the high ground in Calhoun county a skirmish was had with a party of Indians. To meet them, General Howard with the Missouri troops crossed the Mississippi from Ft. Madison, swimming the horses, while men and baggage were transported in canoes. When joined, the force consisting of rangers, militia and volunteers, numbered about 1,400 men, under General Howard's command. Robert Wash and Doctor Walker, of St. Louis, were members of his staff. Cols. Benjamin Stephenson, of Randolph county, Ill., and Alexander McNair, of St. Louis, commanded the regiments. W. B. Whiteside and John Moredock, of Illinois were majors in the Second or Illinois regiment and William Christy and Nathan Boone were majors of the First, or Missouri regiment, Maj. Robert Desha, a United States officer from Tennessee, occupied a position. Col. Eli B. Clemson, of the United States army, was inspector. In addition to these, there were among the number some United States rangers from Kentucky and a company from Vincennes. Of the companies of Illinois men, the only names of captains of this expedition which have come down to us are Samuel Whiteside, Joseph Phillips, Nathaniel Journey and Samuel Judy.

The army marched along the Mississippi † for several days, until the present site of Quincy was reached, where then stood a Sac village and encampment, that is said to have contained 1,000 warriors. This had the appearance of being deserted but a short time before.

* See Stevens' "Black Hawk War."

† Stephenson along the west, the others to the east.

Continuing its march along the Mississippi to a point some distance above the lower rapids, the army struck across the country for the Illinois river, which was reached below the mouth of the Spoon river, from which place the march was made to Peoria village, at which place was found a small stockade, commanded by Colonel Nicholas of the United States army, and upon which the Indians had made an unsuccessful attack just previous. During the march, trails were found in abundance, made by the Indians in their flight to the northward.

The following morning General Howard marched his troops to the Senachwine, a short distance above the head of Peoria lake, to Gomo's village. There it was found that the enemy had gone by water up the river. That and two other villages were burnt.

This march covered all the territory from which danger was anticipated, and having discovered no enemy, the army returned to Peoria, to assist the regulars in the erection of a fort, which when finished was called Ft Clark. From that point Major Christy, was detached with a party, to ascend the river with two armed and protected keel boats, to the foot of the rapids, there to break up any Indian establishments that might be found. Major Boone, with another detachment was sent to traverse the country on Spoon river, and from thence proceed in the direction of Rock river.

Passing to the east side of the Illinois river, the rangers cut timber, which they hauled on truck wheels to the lake and rafted over the lake. The fort was erected by the regulars under Captain Phillips, which required about two weeks service from the rangers and militia.

Finding only tracks, the forces of Majors Christy and Boone returned with reports that the enemy had abandoned the country in fright.

It was unfortunate that General Howard could not have pursued the march originally intended, by returning by way of the Rock river valley and visiting the strongholds of the Winnebagoes and Sacs, particularly the village in which Black Hawk and his mercenaries lived; but by the middle of October the weather became excessively cold, against which the troops had no protection and the horses no forage. Therefore, with the enemy dispersed far into the interior and every prospect of further peace ahead, General Howard moved his army back to Camp Russell, where it was disbanded on the 22d day of October. Had the weather permitted him to have pursued his original design of cleansing the Rock river country it might have been the means of defeating the bloody enterprises of the bloody Sacs in the following year and later. But all things considered, while but two men were lost; while the fighting was insignificant, the general result in good to the settlements was great, and one may say lasting. The huge array for those days, brought forth the remarks: "White men like the leaves of the forest—like grass in the prairies—they grow everywhere." Had the Sacs and Winnebagoes seen them, I am sure there had been no bloody 1814 to notice.

And here it may be well to insert an item of great importance in the annals of Sac history; an event which has long been a matter of conjecture and invariably set down by writers untruthfully—the elevation of Keokuk to be the war chief and head of the Sac nation—to the great discomfort of Black Hawk when he returned from fighting the Americans.

On learning of the approach in great numbers of the whites, the Sacs for want of a leader, by tumultuous lamentations were for instant retreat; but in the emergency Keokuk rose, offered to lead any number, however few, against the Americans, however great, to victory or defeat. His eloquence and bravery appealed so forcibly that his reward followed, by his selection as "war chief," though it must be said that most of the Sacs were then comfortably protected, below, by the Americans.

The following rare and important documents, pertaining to this expedition of General Howard, were discovered just before going to press. By reason of their great value in furnishing details which can be found in no other place, they are given in full:

Copy of a letter from General Howard to Governor Clark, dated Ramsey's Creek, Sept. 16, 1813.

"The direction given to the troops has been most fortunate for the frontier. The 2d regiment crossed the Illinois about three miles above its mouth, and moved up between the two rivers. On its march it was discovered that several large parties had crossed from the Illinois to the Mississippi; they were pursued, a rencontre took place between a small party of the rangers, whose horses were stolen by them. The Indians were driven into the Illinois with great precipitation. Some Sacs arrived on the night of the 14th, at Cap au Gris. I had a conversation with Black Tobacco on the 15th, who informed me that on the 14th, just above Cap au Gris, he saw three Indians of the Illinois with horses they had stolen from this side. While conversing with him another party arrived, stating that about two hours before they saw the trail of about 50 Indians, four miles above Cap au Gris; the 2d regiment, commanded by Col. Stephenson, was about ten miles above, the same side of the Mississippi. I instantly sent an express to Col. Stephenson, ordering him to detach a sufficient force to attack them; I then proceeded on to this place; I have not heard from him since, but expect intelligence every moment.

The First regiment is now in my view, crossing the Mississippi; tonight or in the morning a junction of the regiments will be formed. I find that a number of small parties were on this side since the troops came up, and have no doubt but a movement of between 300 and 500 Indians has been made down the Mississippi and Illinois in concert; those of the Illinois crossed over to the settlements on this side. The movement of the troops between the Illinois and Mississippi, and also on this side, has completely routed them, together with the boats which ascended the Illinois, all of which movements

are simultaneous. Although they have discovered troops under my command, I believe they will still be embarrassed in finding out their destination from their present positions.

I feel great anxiety lest some small parties have gone to the settlement of Sugar Creek and Shoal Creek in Illinois. My force is much less than I expected when I saw you; the troops in Illinois have been sickly and many remain, others were sent back. The troops now with me are remarkably healthy and in high spirits, although we have had immense rains. I have sent expresses along the line of frontier from Cap au Gris to Loutre on Missouri, admonishing the people to be on their guard. I have left some troops to reconnoitre; they are now actually engaged. I enclose you a letter to the people of Illinois, advising them to be guarded at least for a few days; I would thank you to forward it by the first conveyance; in 15 days I hope to write you further. The party of Sacs and Foxes at Cap au Gris is considerable. Mr. Boilvain met them, but they would go on. I advised them to remain on an island near Cap au Gris until his arrival, and all go to the Portage des Sioux together, agreeably to your orders. I knew if they went to St. Louis it would be useless to them and troublesome to you. The contractor's agent will furnish them with provisions."

From The American Weekly Messenger, vol 1, page 125, of Nov. 13, 1813.

COMMUNICATION.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 2, (1813).

A few weeks ago we noticed that the Sacs and Foxes would winter on the north side of the Missouri, above the Loutre, where a factory would be established for them. On Sunday last, 155 canoes arrived at Portage des Sioux, where Governor Clark held a council with them. They have hitherto and continue to show every mark of neutrality in the present contest. That part of their nation who have joined the British wished to come in, but they would not receive them, as it would commit them with the United States. These wretches have gone to Prairie du Chien to join the Sioux, who expect Dickson with his regulars from Canada. They have taken a decided part with the British. The plan of detaching the Sacs and Foxes from the Mississippi, and from the neighboring hostile bands (who infest its bank), is wise, and will no doubt lead to fortunate results. Our army will meet now an enemy in every savage band, and, from measures now in operation, that vengeance they have so long merited will fall on them with redoubled fury; for the shades of our unsuspecting farmers, their innocent wives and children, call aloud for revenge.

The whole amount of Sacs and Foxes who have gone to the wintering grounds, with a United States factor, is thought to exceed 1,500 souls. Besides those contained in 155 canoes which ascended

the Missouri on Monday last, near 500 warriors crossed over by land, accompanied by Blondeau, their interpreter.

War has broke out between the Sacs and Ioways, and two or three Sacs have been killed. We sincerely hope that government will no more meddle in their quarrels, to restore peace. Government should let them settle their disputes in their own way, for they are vipers who will turn and inflict a deadly wound on their deliverers.

The regular troops who manned the gunboats have safely arrived at Peoria, and in a few days have erected a fort. General Howard, with the mounted men, will reach the Illinois, fifty or one hundred miles above Peoria, ascending the Mississippi as high as the two rivers in pursuit of a large body of Indians whose trails were discovered on the frontiers, and intended to visit the villages of the hostile bands between Peoria and Lake Michigan.

From American Weekly Messenger, Vol. I, Page 111, for Nov. 6, 1813.

Copy of a letter from Brig. Gen. Benjamin Howard, to the Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS, ST. LOUIS, Oct. 28th, 1813.

SIR—I had the honor of expressing to you the opinion during the last summer that a movement of troops to dislodge the Indians at the head of Peoria lake was indispensible to guard against that pressure upon our frontier in autumn which I believed would take place. It was with pleasure I found the measures approved. In pursuance of the plan on the 19th of September the effective rangers on the Missouri and Illinois were concentrated at Tower Hill, east of the Mississippi, thirty miles above the frontier. In embodying these troops the immediate safety of the frontier was steadily kept in view by moving detachments in such directions as would enable them to discover and dislodge any parties which might be upon our borders. The First regiment, commanded by Col. McNair, was marched on the west side of the Mississippi and crossed just below the rendezvous; the Second, commanded by Colonel Stephenson, was marched on the east side of the river, crossing the Illinois a few miles above its mouth; a detachment of about 200 regulars, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas of the First regiment of United States infantry, at the same time ascended the Illinois in armed boats. It was soon ascertained, upon the arrival of those several detachments at points a little beyond the settlements, that the enemy had descended the Illinois to invade the frontier. A skirmish took place between some of Colonel Stephenson's command and a party of Indians; the latter were driven. From the appearance in the route of the First regiment some parties had crossed to the west side of the Mississippi, upon the approach of the troops. I have no doubt of the Indians having returned to their canoes in the Illinois when they found Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas rapidly ascending the river, and fled before him without injuring a single citizen. Believing that

the frontier would be safe for the moment, I marched the mounted troops up the Mississippi bottom to Christy's creek, passing opposite the encampment of the Sac nation who have professed themselves friendly, but many of whom I believe have taken part in the war against us, while others were undecided.

At this time Mr. Boilvain, Indian agent, was in the neighborhood, sent by Governor Clark, to conduct them to the Missouri, where they had agreed to winter. However unsettled their neutrality might have been before, the display of troops in their vicinity soon confirmed it; they immediately descended the Mississippi to the Portage des Sioux, from whence they were sent up the Missouri from Christy's creek. The army was marched across the country, towards Pioria, and on the evening of the 28th arrived within a few miles of the old village. That night three men were sent to discover whether the command of Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas had arrived, and bearing a letter to that officer, stating my position, and calling for such information in regard to the enemy as he might possess. During the night he descended the Illinois river, to my encampment, and reported to me that the day before an attack was made upon his command at Pioria, where he had commenced building a fort agreeably to my orders; however, the enemy was soon dispersed by a well directed discharge of musketry, with the aid of a six pounder from two unfinished block houses. It was evident that the assailants suffered in this attack, but to what extent could not be ascertained. None of our men were killed, and only one wounded. On the 29th the mounted troops arrived at Pioria and so soon as provisions could be drawn, were marched up the Illinois to the villages at the head of the lake, which was the direction in which the enemy appeared to have retired from Pioria. Upon my arrival at those villages, I found them deserted. From the examination made by reconnoitering parties, I had no doubt of the Indians having ascended the Illinois in canoes, which is so situated from swamps on both banks that it was impossible to pursue them by land. The villages were destroyed, and some property of inconsiderable amount, taken. The army then returned to Pioria, and remained until the garrison was put in a state of defense. Shortly after my return I sent a detachment, in two armed boats, under command of Major Christy, in pursuit of the enemy.

This detachment ascended the Illinois, above the mouth of the Vermillion to the rapids and within 75 miles of Chicago; but it was impossible to come up with the Indians, notwithstanding the great efforts of the commanding officer and his command. Soon after the departure of Major Christy, Major Boone was sent with about 100 men in the direction of Rock river, to examine whether there were any parties in that quarter. He penetrated the country northwardly from Pioria, in my opinion within 45 miles of Rock river, and reported that there were several encampments on the Maquoine, which appeared to have been deserted about the time the army arrived at Pioria. The mounted troops remained near Pioria from the 2nd until the 15th of October, during which time they were actively en-

gaged, together with the United States infantry, in erecting Ft. Clark, which stands at the lower end of the lake, completely commanding the river. This important fort was erected under many disadvantages, the weather being unusually cold for the season, and without the aid of a single team; the timbers were hauled by the troops a considerable distance to the lake (nearly a mile in width) and rafted over. This fort is unquestionably one of the strongest I have ever seen in the western country, and certainly highly important to the safety of the three territories, with the defense of which I have been intrusted.

On the 15th, the mounted troops moved from Pioria for the settlements, pursuing generally a south course until they arrived at Russell on the 21st instant, when the mounted militia were discharged. The Indian rangers, on the march, were sent across from old Kickapoos town to Vincennes under the command of Captain Andre. The safety to the frontier, which was anticipated from this movement, has been fully realized, and the same enemy that has kept our exposed settlements under continual apprehensions of danger, was compelled to flee before a force in their own country, less than that assigned by the government, for the immediate defence of the frontier. It is with pleasure I acknowledge the energetic and intelligent execution of my orders by those officers to whom I confided the command of detachments and laudable conduct of the officers and men generally, during the campaign, but more particularly on those occasions (not infrequent) when it was hoped and believed by all that the enemy would give us battle. I am, sir, with high consideration,

Your humble servant,

BENJAMIN HOWARD.

To HON. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S.—I have delayed the transmission of this communication until I heard of Captain Andre, who was sent across direct from the Kickapoos towns to Vincennes. He has reported to me his safe arrival."

General Howard died, and the year 1813 closed with no advantages, "producing an annual expenditure to a great amount, without gaining an inch of ground or a single advantage of the enemy."* Our frontiers were still considered insecure. Governor Clark's expedition to Prairie du Chien and his establishment of Ft. Shelby (later considered) was a bright spot, but it soon flickered and again threw the country into darkness.†

After the battle of the Thames the Illinois Indians deserted in large numbers, to return to their native haunts. The greater number *tired* of the defeats inflicted upon them and resented what they claimed to have been bad treatment by the English; but the Rock river Sacs and some of the Winnebagoes returned to the Mississippi river to pursue a series of murderous attacks all along the line of settlements. Beginning with the Wood river massacre, which may not, however, be charged immediately to those Indians, the year 1814

* Governor Edwards' message.
† Stevens' "Black Hawk War" treats this subject in full.

became the bloodiest in conflict of all the bloody years of our war of 1812-1814. I shall take the liberty of copying intact the best account of that.

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*Wood River Massacre.

(By Volney P. Richmond, of Liberty Prairie, Madison County, Illinois.)

"Since my earliest recollection, I have heard and read of the Wood River massacre, by the Indians, and have often had the place pointed out to me where it occurred. I was early acquainted with Capt. Abel Moore, and with several of Captain Moore's children. Maj. Frank Moore cannot tell when he did not know me. I often stopped to hear his father tell pioneer stories. I knew, but was not intimately acquainted with, the other members of the Moore family.

Some years ago, some one published an account of the Wood River massacre so very incorrect that I answered it and told what I knew about it. In that paper, the scene was laid near where the two railways and wagon road cross Wood river, at a place called Milton, some two miles or more from where I knew it to have taken place. Not long after I met Major Moore, and after thanking me for making the correction, said, that I was nearer to it than any one who had written before me; but that I was still some what off. I said I would try again, and with his help, and his sister's, Mrs Lydia Williams, I thought I could get a correct history of it. There has been no account of it heretofore written (not even my own), that is perfectly reliable; as this, being a part of the early history of Madison county, should be. Of course, there is no one who can personally vouch for the facts of this Indian massacre, in 1814, during the last war with England; but the remaining children of Capt. Abel Moore would be able to come nearer to it than any one else. They have often heard the story from their father and mother; and I too, have heard it from their father.

The Indian massacre occurred on the southwest quarter of section five, in Wood River township, Madison county, Illinois, on the 10th day of July, 1814. The persons killed were Mrs. Rachael Reagan and her two children, Elizabeth (or Betsy) aged seven, and Timothy aged three years; two children of Capt. Abel Moore's, William, aged ten, and Joel aged eight years; and two children of William Moore's, John, aged ten, and George, aged three years. Mrs. Reagan and children went to spend the day at the house of William Moore, on the farm now owned by Mrs. William Badley. Returning in the afternoon by way of Capt. Abel Moore's farm, now the property of George Cartwright, two of whose children, William and Joel, started home with them to get some green beans. Miss Hannah Bates, Mrs. Abel Moore's sister, visiting there, also started to accompany them to remain at Mrs. Reagan's; but after going a part of the way, she suddenly changed her mind, as if warned by some presentiment, and against the earnest entreaties of Mrs. Reagan, retraced her steps and

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*No. 6, of publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, page 93.

hastened back to Captain Moore's. At the point where she turned back she could not have been more than 200 or 300 yards from where the dead body of Mrs. Reagan was found. Mrs. Reagan and the six children were all tomahawked and scalped, and they remained all night on the ground where they were murdered, the Indians stripped them of all their clothing, as well as scalping them.

William Moore having returned that day from Fort Butler, near the site of the present village of St Jacob, where he was on military duty, to look after the women and children at home, became alarmed as night approached and the children not returned, and went in search of them, first going to his brother's, Abel Moore's place, to see if they were there. His wife, who was Mrs. Reagan's sister, also started on horseback to look for them, taking a different route from the one her husband went. Although they did not meet until they both returned home, they both found the lifeless bodies in the darkness, lying by the wayside, and each placed a hand upon the bare shoulder of Mrs. Reagan. Mr. Moore returned as he went, by Abel's house, to notify the family there of the massacre, and warn them of the possible danger that night. When Mrs. William Moore found the children lying by the road she thought they had become tired and had laid down to sleep. She got down from her horse to pick up the youngest child, but just then a crackling noise and flash of light from a burning hickory tree near by alarmed her, and fearing Indians might be in ambush there, she sprang on her horse and reached home in advance of her husband. Mrs. Reagan and her two children were killed nearest Capt. Abel Moore's place, the other children were found lying further on, two at a place. One, the youngest child, three years old, when found was still alive. A messenger was sent for the nearest physician, who came and dressed the wounds of the little one, but it did not survive the treatment.

John Harris, a young man living at Capt. Abel Moore's, was sent that night to Fort Russell, near the present city of Edwardsville, where Captain Moore was in command, and to Fort Butler, commanded by Captain Whiteside, to notify them of the massacre. Leaving the latter post about 1:00 o'clock that same night, about 70 rangers from both forts, among whom were James and Solomon Preuitt, arrived at Moore's block house (on the farm owned by the late William Gill, and now by a German named Klopmeyer), just as the sun was rising, and proceeded on to the scene of the massacre. They soon found the trail of the Indians marked by broken bushes and trampled grass, with some stains of blood, made probably by the fresh scalps. In hot pursuit the rangers pressed upon the fleeing red devils and overtook them about sunset upon a small stream in the northern part of Morgan county. One of the Indians hid in the top of a fallen tree and was shot by James Preuitt; of the other nine (they being ten in number), but one escaped, and he got away by diving in the water. (The stream mentioned, was called by the early French traders, La Belleause, but after the occurence narrated, it has been known as Indian creek, and the spot where the Indian escaped is

now know as Cracker's bend). The rangers, who were led by Captain Whiteside, camped on the creek that night and returned to their forts next day.

The morning after the massacre, the friends and relatives prepared to bury the dead; and that was no small undertaking. There was nothing like any sawed lumber in the whole country; and besides axes and hoes they had but few tools of any description. They decided to bury the dead bodies where a few of the early settlers, who had died some time before, were buried, on section 24, four miles east of the Moore settlement; and that was the first burying ground in that part of the country. Their only means to convey the bodies to the burying ground was on rough sleds drawn by oxen. The graves were dug with coffin shaped vaults at the bottom, which were lined with slabs split from trees near by, as nearly like plank as possible; and after the bodies were placed in the vaults they were covered over with the same kind of split slabs. The seven were buried in three graves; Mrs. Reagan and her two children in one grave; Captain Moore's two children in another; and William Moore's two children in the third.

When I first visited that grave yard, which was situated in a heavy growth of timber, there was an old church near by, built by setting poles in the ground and siding up with rough split boards, and covered with the same.

"Moore's settlement" in the forks of Wood river was commenced in 1808, by George, William and Abel Moore, William Bates, Ransom Reagan, Mr. Wright, Samuel Williams, Mr. Vickery, and a few others, and their families. On George Moore's farm was a block house fort where the settlers assembled when apprehensive of Indian attacks. At the time of the massacre of Mrs. Reagan and the children there was but one man in that fort. He was George Moore, a gunsmith, who made and repaired rifles for the settlement. Of those who took refuge in the fort that night there is now (1898) probably but one living, Mrs. Nancy Hedden, a daughter of Capt. Abel Moore's. She resides at San Diego, Cal., and was at that time about a year and a half old.

Such is the true history of the Wood River massacre. I have taken much time to trace out all the facts here stated, and I believe them to be correct. I have often been over the ground where it occurred and have been well acquainted with the Moores and their descendants all of my life."

The two following letters are introduced for reference purposes, only; they lead up to what follows:

"The Northern Indians—We are really afraid that we shall sorely repent of the lenity shown these savage allies of the 'defender of the faith,' last winter; when, if we had suffered them to lie down in the bed they had made for themselves, we should have suffered little from them hereafter. But this consolation remains, that we erred on the side of humanity.

They have committed several murders lately—A letter from the Illinois territory, says, "Much do I fear that we shall find that the armistice has had the effect of pampering the savages in the winter, for war in the summer."

Extract of a letter from Col. Anthony Butler, commanding Michigan territory and its dependencies and the western district of upper Canada, dated 12th Feb., 1814 to Governor Edwards.

"The principal object of this letter is to apprise you of my having some time since dispatched a small but active and and confidential detachment to St. Joseph's; who seized Mr. Bailly (agent to the Michilimacinac company) and five others, with all the British merchandize in that quarter; and after traversing with great celerity, 600 miles, in going and coming, lodged with me the prisoners, safely. Whilst they were at St. Joseph's they discovered that Dixon had ascended Lake Michigan as high up as Green bay, with five large boats loaded with merchandize for the Indians. From the Green bay he ascended the Fox river to a certain point where the goods were landed, and he procured pack horses and penetrated into the interior, exciting the Fals Avoines and Winnebagoes as he went on, by speeches and presents, to be ready for war. Emissaries are sent to the Kickapoos for the same purpose, and each are promised that the Sacs and Sioux shall unite with them. A Fals Avoine Indian has been with me; his nation will not engage in the enterprise which Dixon meditates; but the Winnebagoes who are restless and turbulent, are assembling and holding councils, and will coalesce with any other Indians, or march alone against the point Dixon shall direct, who is said to possess as much influence over them as he does over the Sioux. It is not supposed that he intends an expedition against this territory, but rather that he will attack your territory, or some part, perhaps, of the Missouri, at last nothing of this sort may take place; Dixon may not be able to collect a sufficient force to act; or the Indians may refuse, after they are assembled, to march against the point he will advise; yet as the event of an attack is possible, and the information comes to me direct, and in such terms, and by such means, as leaves no reason to doubt Dixon's views, his intentions or his object; it became my duty, as a citizen, and more so as an officer of the Government, to apprise you of the communications I had received upon the subject.

From Niles, Vol. 6, 113—April 16, 1814.

Copy of a letter from Governor Edwards to General Harrison:

"UNITED STATES SALINE, ILLINOIS TERRITORY, March 17.

SIR—The Indians have realized my expectations, by recommencing hostilities in this territory.

The information which I have from time to time received, leaves no doubt on my mind that Dickson has been engaged ever since your battle on the river Trench, in preparing for a descent upon St. Louis,

&c. The last I heard of him previous to my arrival at this place, he was at Green bay, distributing presents to the Indians, and some of the Pottawattomies of the Illinois had gone to meet him at that place

Since I came here, I have received a letter from Col. A. Butler, commander at Detroit, stating that the movements of the Indians who submitted to you in October last, indicate hostility—confirming all my information of Dickson's designs—and strengthening suspicions I had previously entertained that the Sioux intended to unite with the enemy. He had learnt that Dickson had penetrated into the interior of the country, and thinks his object is to attack this territory, and a part of Missouri. He concludes by saying, 'as the event of an attack is possible, and the information comes to me direct, and in such terms, and by such means as leaves me no reason to doubt Dickson's views, his intentions or his object, it became my duty as a citizen and more so as an officer of the Government, to apprize you of the communication I had received upon this subject."

As those plans were contemplated and in train of execution, before the disaster of the Niagara frontier happened, it is to be presumed, that their influence will be decisive. And I am sure I need not say to you, that a larger body of Indians can with more facility attack St. Louis and Cahokia, than any other point on the American frontier. You must know the amount of force provided for repelling any attempt they may make. I presume you will be convinced, that if it be the object of the enemy to produce a diversion of any part of our forces from Canada, that he will make his attempt in time to secure that object.

The recent alarms and the want of protection, are depopulating the territory. The settlements are so isolated and detached, so equally exposed, and the points of attack so numerous, that it would be impractical to raise any force from the local militia by draft, and if raised, it would be useless, unless it were mounted, which I have no power to order.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, sir, your most obedient servant,

N. Edwards.

Six Niles, 113—April 16, 1814.

To allege that Governor Edwards formed the expedition to Prairie du Chien which is reviewed at length a little later, without giving his reasons would be unfair, therefore the following letter is set out in full:

"Kaskaskia, I. T., March 22, 1813.

"A few days ago, I transmitted to you important information relative to the British and Indians in the upper parts of this territory. An express yesterday, brought me information that 18 pieces of cannon and a British officer had arrived at Prairie du Chien. The ice is now completely out of our rivers. Some spies that I sent up the Illinois river are returned, reporting that they saw too much Indian

signs to proceed as high up as they were directed. The express states that an Indian was discovered a day or two past very near to Fort Russell; he evidently was a spy.

"I have melancholy presages of what is to happen in the country, particularly at Prairie du Chien, or rather at the mouth of the Ouisconsing. Should the British take possession of that place, I need not point out to you the difficulty of retaking it, or the importance of it to them. By water we should have to ascend7 00 miles, by land not less than 400. Seven thousand Indians may easily be assembled at that place. Last year in time of peace, there were 3,377 there in the months of April and May. The following facts, which you need not doubt, will show its importance: goods can be carried there from Montreal by way of the Utawas river, more expeditiously, with less expense and more safety, than by way of the lakes. It is a fact that a canoe from Montreal by this route, arrived with dispatches to a gentleman at Cahokia, in 33 days. On his return he went in the same canoe to Makanac, by the Illinois river and could thence have descended to Montreal in nine days. The traders of Montreal have passed from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, thence into the north-west, and have been brought into collision with the Hudson Bay company. The British can easily push a trade up the Columbia river. And combining all these facts, a person tolerably acquainted with the geography of the country, the nature of the fur trade, the inducements with the North-west company to retain it and the evident policy of the British in supporting it, can have no doubt of their inducements to occupy the mouth of the Ouisconsing.

"These anticipations make me feel for my country's honor; certainly it must be destructive of its reputation to permit such plans to be realized. The point I have mentioned, once fortified, will be more difficult to take than Malden. I am well apprized of all the objections that may be made to these speculations, on the score of provisions; but those who make them cannot know much of the supplies that can be furnished by the settlements of Green bay (where there is an elegant merchant mill, fine farms, etc) and Praire de Chien itself.

"I never could see the advantage of so great a struggle for Malden. Montreal once taken, it would fall of itself; and one single expedition would drive to the Mississippi country all the Indians that ever had intercourse with that place. It would not cut off the intercourse as has been supposed.

"Notwithstanding I have regularly communicated information which must have shown what our situation would be at this time, and notwithstanding our present difficulties, I am now as I was last year, totally without any instructions, acting upon my own responsibility. I have had great success in raising volunteers from the local militia; and neither they nor myself have been idle. I again set out tomorrow for the frontiers."

Letter from Governor Edwards to Governor Shelby, copied in 4th Niles Register, page 148, which in turn was taken from the Kentucky Argus.

Governor Edwards for so long a time had endeavored to take Prairie du Chien and fortify it, that, (in the absence of General Howard) Governor Clark finally consented to carry the scheme into execution by sending a force of men to that point to build and garrison a fort, thereby the better to control the country contiguous, and restrain wavering Indians from joining the forces of the British. Col. Robert Dickson, Indian trader and British officer, had occupied the place as a storeroom for the furs of his company and as a vantage point for his country. At the time of which we treat, Dickson was using the point especially as a recruiting station, and just before Clark set out on his expedition, had left for Green Bay and Mackinaw with 85 Winnebagoes, 120 Falsavoines* and 100 Sioux,† where they might more effectively oppose the Americans. Behind him, Colonel Dickson left a small detachment of "Mackinaw fencibles" under command of Captain Deace to defend the place, or in case of necessity to evacuate and notify him of danger from the enemy. Naturally, the time was propitious for Governor Clark's investment, and very naturally too, Deace with his handful of men withdrew without firing a shot. The remaining Sioux and Foxes who had been hovering near declared to remain friendly with the Americans. At first the frightened inhabitants fled, but upon finding the Americans in no mood to be revengeful toward them, all returned.

Governor Clark's force which consisted of 200 men, enlisted for 60 days, left St. Louis in five barges under his immediate command May 1st, 1814. At the mouth of Rock river the Sacs made a demonstration against the expedition by the irregular firing of small arms; but on taking from them their canoes and otherwise impressing upon them the strength of the command, the affrighted savages sued for peace. At Dubuque's mines the Foxes were more tractable and readily fell into an agreement of peace.

Once landed the militia at once began the erection of a temporary defense, while 60 of Major Taylor's company of the Seventh infantry under command of Lieutenant Perkins took possession of the old house belonging to and occupied by the Mackinaw company as quarters, using it for the like purpose. Then work at the new fort was begun on what was considered one of the strongest positions on the western waters. Two block houses were built on its angles and another on the bank of the river at the extreme of a ravelin, formed to preserve a communication with the river. The fort was finished in a few days, named after Gov. Isaac Shelby of Kentucky, Ft. Shelby, and was occupied by the regulars.

With the capture of Prairie du Chien all of Dickson's papers, letters and his journal fell into the hands of the Americans from which an entry is copied:

"Aug. 2nd, 1813.

"Arrived from below, a few Winnebagoes with a scalp, Gave them five carrots of tobacco; six pounds powder; six pound ball."

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* Menominees.

† Twenty days before Clark's arrival at Prairie du Chien.

All his letters were found to have been signed: "Agent and superintendent to the western Indians."

Governor Clark remained long enough with the troops to see the place safely in the hands of the Americans; but utterly ignoring the probability that the British would surely return, he returned to St. Louis a few days before the fort was completed, leaving Lieutenant Perkins for shore duty and two of his largest armed boats in the river under command of Aid-de-camp Kennedy and Captains Sullivan and Yeizer, whose united force amounted to 125 men. Still later, the time of enlistment having expired, Capt. John Sullivan withdrew his company and 32 men from the forces of "The Governor Clark" under Yeizer and sailed back to St. Louis, leaving the boat of Captain Yeizer alone with the little band of regulars to defend the new fort against the combined forces of English which were even then on the march to retake it. "The Governor Clark" carried one six-pounder on her main deck and a three-pounder and ten howitzers on her quarters and gangway and that she, with the regulars was considered invincible may be found from the following lofty extract from a St. Louis paper of the time, of issue July 2nd, 1814.

"Last Saturday an armed boat under command of Capt. John Sullivan brought his company and 32 men from the Governor Clark, to St. Louis, their period of enlistment having expired, leaving Captain Yeizer in command of the Governor Clark. The fort is finished, christened Ft. Shelby, and occupied by the regulars, and all are anxious for a visit from Dickson and his red troops."

Alas for human and military vanity! Captain Yeizer was dislodged without delay and with little effort, leaving Lieutenant Perkins and his slender garrison of 60 men to defend the place against the attack of 1,200 Indians and British troops.

On the return of General Howard to St. Louis he at once perceived the danger of leaving the new fortification with so slight a garrison and without delay put under motion a relief expedition under Lieut. John Campbell U. S. A. to ascend the river as expeditiously as possible, to reinforce the garrison; but before the expedition had a fair start disaster befell the American troops as it fell upon Lieutenant Campbell himself.

On the 17th of July a body of 1,200 British and Indians arrived before the place and demanded its surrender. Lieutenant Perkins answered that he should defend it. Before this answer had been received by the British however, the latter had opened a brisk fire upon the boat, "The Governor Clark," from a battery of one or two three-pounders, which was quickly answered by the boat with its six-pounder. To silence the boat, if possible, the enemy crossed to an island fronting the village, which position enabled them to reach within pistol shot of the boat, and fire upon it from the heavy screen of trees, thus rendering harmless the grape which poured from the boat.

The galling fire of the enemy became so harmful that the boat moved down the river to avoid it, but in so doing ran a gauntlet of

musketry for nearly nine miles. Retiring still further down the river, Captain Yeizer sent his skiff with nine men still further down to reconnoiter, where the party came in sight of Captain Riggs' boat in deadly conflict with the Indians, in Campbell's battle. Much maneuvering was thus required by the reconnoitering party to enable it to return to "The Governor Clark," which in the meantime had fallen in with the sutler's and contractor's boats of Campbell's fleet, thus augmenting his own strength, and in turn affording some protection of those boats the three fell down stream and later arrived safely at St. Louis.

The loss of Captain Yeizer was seven wounded; Lieutenant Henderson, Ensign St. Pierre and five privates, one of whom died on the way down stream after the amputation of a leg.

For several days Lieutenant Perkins made a gallant defense of the Shelby, but when ammunition and provisions ran out he was forced to surrender.

Dickson's conduct in paroling them and furnishing them a protecting guard until all danger from the Indians down stream had been passed was magnanimous enough to command a retraction of some of the many bad things which the newspapers had said about him and his alleged blood-thirstiness in dealing with American prisoners.

Thus in a moment was dissipated the dream of Governor Edwards!

Returning from their trip to Prairie du Chien, which Governor Clark had regarded as successful, it was a source of much pain to be admonished by General Howard that it might prove worse than futile, and that reinforcements to make Ft. Shelby strong enough to resist a siege or an attack which would be sure to follow, should be sent at once to take the places of those withdrawn. Accordingly Lieut. John Campbell, of the First regulars, was entrusted with command of the expedition, consisting of 42 regulars and 65 rangers.* Three keel boats were supplied, with the contractor's and sutler's boats in company, making a party, including boatmen and women, of 133. Rock river was reached without event, where the commander with a slender guard visited the Sac village, just above—the home of Black Hawk—to ascertain the disposition of the Sacs of that place. He was received hospitably and assured of their friendliness with every mark of good faith. He made the Indians many presents and remained there the greater portion of the day.

Setting sail up stream, he was accompanied by the good wishes of all; a fair wind for his keel boats and auspicious auguries for the voyage. But the wind, blowing briskly at the start, soon enlarged into a gale which separated the boats and drove the contractor's and sutlers' boats far ahead† with the ammunition and their slender sergeant's guard. The cargoes in two barges were endeavoring to follow, while the commander's boat had fallen two miles behind; the latter inclined to the last or lee side in search of the main channel.

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* Left July 19, 1814.

† Meeting the "Governor Clark" as we have seen.

As the gale increased this boat drifted into shallow water within a few yards of the high, grass-covered bank, waist high; a few steps from the boat an umbrage of willows set out from the shore.

At that point Lieutenant Campbell thought proper to remain until the wind subsided, comparatively secure. Far from being secure, the Indians, who, in the meantime had received word of the repulse of the Americans at Prairie du Chien, started in pursuit of the expedition, and easily overtaking it at that point, opened a galling fire on the unsuspecting boat, killing with the first fire all the sentries.

On each shore the savages were observed in motion; some in canoes were rapidly crossing to the battle ground, until it was declared about 700 Indians were assembled within a few yards of the boat. With a concerted whoop, the Indians commenced a tremendous fire, which was answered with a swivel and small arms from the barge. At that critical juncture Lieutenants Riggs and Rector, of the rangers, who commanded the two barges ahead, dropped down. Riggs' boat stranded about 100 yards below Campbell's, and Rector, an Illinois officer, to avoid a like misfortune and the raking fire of the enemy, anchored above; both barges then opened a brisk fire upon the enemy, but as the latter fired from coverts little harm was done them. Lighted arrows were fired at the sails, at first without effect, but after an hour of unequal contest Campbell's barge ignited and the flames rapidly spread. To relieve it, Rector cut the cable of his boat and fell down to windward of Campbell's boat and took off the survivors. Finding it impossible to render assistance, Riggs, with a number of wounded on board and in danger of being blown to shore, made the best of his way down stream.

In this bitter engagement, three regulars were killed and 14 were wounded; two died on their passage down; one ranger was killed and four were wounded, while Lieutenant Campbell and Doctor Stewart were desperately wounded. Two women and a child were also severely wounded, one woman and the child mortally. Lieutenant Riggs, who rejoined the other boat at St. Louis, had three men killed and four wounded. The contractor's and sutler's boats were joined by the returning troops, who had been driven out of Ft. Shelby by the English and Indians and reached St. Louis safely. That bloody engagement lasted two hours and 20 minutes ‡ and it was indeed one of the bloodiest and fiercest of the war. To chastise the perfidious Sacs, became at once the duty of Governors Edwards and Clark, and Maj. Zachary Taylor was selected for the purpose; to ascend the river and punish them. He left Ft. Independence with a force of 334 effective officers and men in keel boats Aug. 2, 1814, and reached Rock river without meeting any opposition, on the afternoon of the 4th. Later, great numbers were discovered about the mouth of Rock river, running wildly in every direction. Opposite the mouth of the river Major Taylor reported the presence of an

‡ Stevens' Black Hawk War, 48 *et seq.*

island, which with the western shore of the Mississippi, was covered with horses, ostensibly placed there for the purpose of inviting a raid; but the plan, if so conceived, failed. The treacherous wind played another vicious prank by suddenly rising and shifting until by the time Major Taylor reached the head of the island mentioned, which he computed to be a mile and a half long, it blew a hurricane, quarterly, down the river. With great difficulty he finally landed at an island of six or eight acres,covered with willows, near the middle of the stream and about 60 yards above the other island, intending to remain there until the storm passed. That was about 4:00 o'clock p. m., and large parties of Indians appeared on both sides of the river, while others were crossing, backward and forward; but not a shot was fired. Far into the night rain added to the misery of the men. About day light the boat of Capt. Samuel Whiteside was fired on and a corporal was mortally wounded. The willow island appeared filled with Indians and when fully light, Major Taylor prepared to drive them out; but with great composure they waded down to another island just below, upon reaching which, Captain Whiteside, to the left, fired into them. Returning the same, the Indians retreated. When Captain Whiteside again opened fire, Captain Rector was ordered to drop down with his boat and rake the island below with artillery, and to fire on every canoe he could find passing across the river. But the Indians had successfully scattered and no canoes appeared on the river, so he dropped further down to destroy several canoes lying on shore. After finishing the last boat and securing his men safely back on board, the artillery sent down by the British, opened fire on the little fleet from behind a knoll about 350 paces away, and badly shattered Lieutenant Hempstead's boat. Exposed to this merciless fire the little flotilla fell further down stream for more than half a mile. In addition to the artillery, shot from small arms was poured into the Americans from all sides, Capt. Stephen Rector here receiving, as had his brother Nelson in Campbell's battle, the brunt of the attack. He was attacked at the beginning of the engagement by a very large party, but with his three pounder and muskets, the latter were driven off.

For two miles the fusillade was poured into Taylor's men with great damage and not till three miles had been covered were they able to effect a landing in safety to hold a council.

In that battle Major Taylor had 11 men badly wounded, three mortally, and with the outnumbering horde of savages and English against his 334 men and officers, he conceived it would have been madness to continue the unequal contest, with no prospect of success. At the council which followed he put the question to his officers direct and to a man, his position was sustained. Accordingly the expedition, a pronounced failure, fell down the Mississippi to the "Lemoine,"

Returning again to the settlements, we find continued murders; the reasons for which may be found, in a measure, to be stated in the following letter:

"ST. LOUIS, 12th of January, 1826.

"Upon entering the duties of Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Territory of Missouri, I was informed by General Benjamin Howard, who commanded the western department, that, in June, 1813, the principal chiefs of the Sac and Fox nations visited him, and offered the services of their nation to the United States, in the war then carried on by the British and certain Indians, against the United States. In answer to General Howard's refusal to accept their services, the chiefs expressed much regret, and observed that, when war was all round them, it was impossible to restrain the braves from taking part; that they preferred the American side; but, as the Americans would not suffer the Indians to join them in the war, they must go and join the British, who had invited them to do so. Without loss of time, I sent an agent after the Sacs and Foxes, inviting them all to meet me, in council, at Portage des Sioux, on the 28th of September, 1813. In that council the Sacs and Foxes agreed not to join either party in the war, and to proceed, agreeably to my wish, to the south side of the Missouri river, and remain on the lands of the United States, outside of the settlement, and near the Osages, during the contest. In 1814 a part of the friendly Sacs became restless in their peaceful situation, and determined to return to their old village. More than half of the nation took their families beyond the settlements, returned, and attempted to rob the United States factory on the Missouri, which was defended by the friendly part of that nation, which remained south of the Missouri river. Failing in their attempt on the factory, they scattered and robbed the upper settlements on the Missouri, and returned to their old village on Rocky river, and immediately commenced a destructive warfare against the settlements of the Territory, and continued it till about June or July, 1815. The Sacs of Rock river, in conformity with the second and third articles of their treaty, entered into the 13th day of May, 1816, delivered up 22 horses which they stole after they were notified of the treaty of peace with Great Britain."

On August 5th, while working on their farm near Shoal creek, Mr. Henry Cox and his sons were attacked by a party of Indians, who killed and sadly mutilated one son and took another prisoner.

As a relief, however, to this constant repetition of blood and murder, with no offset in revenge, comes the remarkable story told of Thomas Higgins, a native Kentuckian,* a ranger in the Illinois service, a resident of the Silver creek country,† near the Bradsby's, and an altogether redoubtable man in fact and fancy. To single out his remarkable and desperate battle, one might be incredulous, and probably by the time this narrative is finished he *will* be *hopelessly* so. But we have Mr. Higgins' word for the truth of every part of the same, so what can the historian do, but record the story verbatim:

A "station" or block house, Hill's fort I believe, had been erected about eight miles southwest of the present site of Greenville, which in those days was one of the many points of rendezvous for the rang-

* Born 1790.
† Came to Illinois in 1807.

ers while ranging over the Territory, and at that time it was garrisoned by 11 men, including Thomas Higgins, under command of Lieut. John Journey, of Capt. Jacob Short's company.*

On the 20th day of August,† signs of Indians in the neighborhood were discovered in the vicinity; at night a party of them was seen prowling about the premises, to rout which the garrison left the fort the following morning before daylight. Before traveling far Lieutenant Journey found his command surrounded by 70 or more Indians, who without delay opened fire on the whites, killing Journey and three others and wounding two others named William Burgess and John Boucher. The horse of Higgins was shot in the neck and fell, but soon rose to run; but Higgins, "to get one more pull at them," declined to move while the others were hastening away to cover, and, leveling his gun, the foremost Indian fell dead. Then mounting his wounded horse, Thomas could easily have escaped had not Burgess in his agony, cried out from the grass, "Tom, you won't leave *me?*" "Come on," shouted Higgins. "I can't come; my leg is smashed to pieces," replied poor Burgess. The appeal was too pow-powerful for Higgins, who dismounted and endeavored to place Burgess on the animal's back, to get him back to the shelter of the fort; but the horse took fright, ran, and left both men to the mercy of the pursuing Indians. Determined to yet save the wounded man, Higgins told him "to limp off on three legs, and he would protect him." Slowly the poor fellow crawled on his hands and a knee through the grass to safety, while Higgins remained to fight it out with the Indians.

He had reloaded his gun and stood ready to make the charge count for as much possible, a good deal as I remember the man in the picture of my boyhood, "The Trapper's Last Shot," only he had no horse like the trapper.

Thus standing, three Indians appeared to close in on him, at which he turned to run for a ravine nearby, of which he remembered; but scarcely had he proceeded a rod when his leg, wounded in the first fire from the Indians, failed him, and he could run no more. The largest of the Indians drew a bead on him to fire, which Higgins believed he must receive if he could not dodge. He dodged, but received a bullet in his thigh and fell, momentarily. As he was rising, two other Indians fired and both balls hit the unfortunate Higgins, driving him again to the ground; but with loaded gun in hand, he rose again to receive the three who were now so close as to touch him perhaps. They had thrown away their guns, believing that of course they could easily despatch him with their knives, and were rushing upon him, whooping and yelling, with spears, knives and tomahawks raised high in the air. He hoped to frighten them off by feints of shooting, to enable him to retain his load until the last stratagem had been worked; but they refused to frighten and in a moment more all had been over with Thomas Higgins. In that supreme moment, he raised his gun and fired, bringing down the largest Indian, dead.

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* Edwards, 347-8.
† Reynolds' Pioneer History, 378; Annals, 746.

The two others, furious at the loss of their companion, rushed upon Higgins with savage fury to finish his career of Indian fighting. They pressed the encounter with knives, slashing the prostrate man inhumanly; with the tomahawk one Indian cleft the side of his head, nearly severing an ear and leaving the bone bare. The force of the blow felled him again, and in an instant a spear was presented to his breast, and all that remained mortal of the redoubtable Higgins was again upon the "point" of extinction, but the stricken and fainting hero, with four bullets in his body, grasped the spear with such strength that when the Indian attempted to withdraw it, he was happily restored to a standing posture by the obliging Indian, who sought to extricate it, and thus the battle was brought to a less unequal period. In his extremity, Higgins had again grasped his gun, with which, when again erect, he brained his antagonist, leaving but one foe remaining with whom to settle; but the blow broke the stock of his gun and reduced it to a state of hopeless uselessness--and with another antagonist waiting to be considered, the bloody drama was in a decided state of incertitude—until help from the garrison came.

This terrible affray was witnessed from the stockade, (which had been regained by the troops) with incomprehensible equanimity, until a Mrs. Pursley became so excited that just as that last Indian was upon the point of getting the agencies of death nicely in motion, she shrieked that "she could not stand and see so brave a man as Higgins murdered by the Indians," so she mounted her husband's horse and rode forth to the rescue. The men of course could not lag, with that brave example before them and they followed. In all human probability the Indian had just covered a few degrees of the circle of the blow which was to kill his enemy, when he saw the party and fled or was killed, when Higgins fainted.

Governor Reynolds tells us that he had the story times without number direct from Higgins and has related it to us in his "Pioneer History." Judge James Hall has also recounted it in his communications to the editor of "Annals of the West," wherein he gave the story credence, because Higgins had likewise told him the same story; thus it comes to us from two distinct sources, yet from the same original

But Higgins attempted to tell it to Judge Joseph Gillespie, who has recorded much of value in Illinois history, in the most careful and conscientious manner, and who in this instance took the trouble to run the same down by cross-questioning Higgins rather severely and by getting the real facts from a disinterested witness of the fight who was one of the so-called rescuing party, one Hiram Arthur, "a remarkably honest and truthful man, who was in the fort, and observed it all." He, Arthur, branded the story thus: "about nine-tenths of the account of the melee is all bosh." He conceded Higgins' bravery but added that he "was in the habit of telling tremendous yarns." Accordingly Judge Gillespie committed his judgment January 25, 1883, to paper.

It is unfortunate that we are obliged to doubt so fine a piece of tragedy, but when so high an authority as Judge Gillespie has seen fit to pronounce it untrue, I am compelled to adopt his version of the affair. Gen. Benjamin Howard, commander of the government forces, whose services were needed more then than ever, died on September 18th, which melancholy event added as much or more to the general gloom than any of the disastrous defeats of 1814.

Almost the last murder of the year was that of Mrs. Jesse Bayless, who was killed one Sunday evening in Sugar creek bottom,* not far above the present town of Aviston. It seems that the dogs, annoyed at the presence of something strange about the premises, began a furious barking. Some hogs that had strayed were thought to have been the agency which caused Mrs. Bayless and her husband incautiously to approach the thicket where the object or objects seemed to be. In an instant a volley of musketry disclosed the presence of Indians and Mrs. Bayless was mortally wounded. Carried to the house of her father, Mr. Bradsley, she soon thereafter died. This was practically the last casualty, and the campaign in Illinois, with sporadic cases of theft and other small annoyances, may be said to have closed. Over in Missouri, however, Illinois Indians continued a constant warfare well into the year 1815, after the treaty of Ghent had been signed and promulgated; but those raids, wicked as they were, should not be treated in this place. They continued until the war department assigned Andrew Jackson to this department, with orders to report to St. Louis, there to attach himself to the head of the troops he would find awaiting him and march against the Rock River Sacs for the purpose of annihilating them. Duncan Graham, head of the British intriguers at that point, had formed a profound respect for Andrew Jackson, by reason of the New Orleans affair and other events, and without ceremony at once fled to Canada.

Up to that hour the messengers sent from St. Louis to Rock river had been killed or sent back; but when Graham left, messengers were at once despatched to St. Louis to inquire why no treaty was being offered them and why they could not meet their esteemed American friends in a friendly council without any further misunderstanding, that they had in reality been desiring a good understanding for some time; in fact the United States could not act half quick enough to please them. The treaty of Portage des Sioux followed in 1815 and following that in 1816, the other recalcitrant Sacs went down to St. Louis and there signed the treaty which was supposed to end the troubles between the white and red men for all time.

That the English had formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Tecumseh, under which they had promised to sustain the Indians as an independent sovereignty in their claims to the country south of the lakes, and made the line established by the treaty of Greenville the permanent boundary between the Indians and the United States, never to be abrogated without the consent of the contracting parties, is not now doubted. Of course, the former of the

* Present Clinton county, where O. and M. R. R. crosses a stream.

two propositions was not mentioned at Ghent, but the latter was made the subject of the *sine qua non*, which means, as we know, "without which nothing," no treaty. The British plenipotentiaries insisted, until it became apparent that further insistance meant no treaty, and they yielded the point. †

During the war it has been estimated that 300 horses were stolen by the Pottowatomies of Illinois alone from Illinois and Missouri settlers.

Statement of property destroyed by Illinois Indians in the war of 1812-14, which belonged to residents of Missouri:

Sacs, and Sacs and Foxes	$22,561 93
Winnebagoes	4,160 00
Pottowatomies	2,950 00
Kickapoos	486 75
Sacs and Puants	75 00
	$30,233 68

Every male person who could load a rifle went into service, and many women lent their help to make bullets and load guns, while many another helped in the fields, maintained near the forts during the absence of the ranging. Most of this paper has been confined to individual loss and defences and one or two campaigns to the Illinois river, but the fact should not be lost that those Illinois rangers, though they won no battles and made no brilliant battlefields, were constantly on the alert, ranging from one blockhouse to another between the Wabash, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Illinois. In fact it may be said of them that in a general sense the whites met with nothing but losses from 1810 to 1815; but the fact remains that without the efforts of those same rangers, the Indians had not only swept every evidence of civilization from the confines of Illinois territory, but Missouri as well. The least tribute I can pay to their memory is to attach to this paper the names of as many as I have been able to gather from records and a very wide correspondence, and that I shall do after singling out one in particular, whom Judge Hall has seen fit to mention at some length

Colonel John Moredock.

The name of Colonel John Moredock has been mentioned casually, but to give it the importance deserved by that noted frontiersman, a brief summary of his career has been taken from Judge Hall's "Sketches of the West."

He was a member of the Territorial Legislature of Illinois, a distinguished militia officer and a man generally known and respected by the settlers of that region.

He was the son of a woman who had been married several times and as often widowed by the tomahawk of the savage. Living always upon the frontier, she was finally left husbandless with a large family of children, at Vincennes, where she was induced to go further west

† In Niles, vol. 6, p. 114, may be found incontrovertible authority on this point. Speeches by Governor Proctor.

once more, with a party about to remove to Illinois, whence a few families had recently preceded them. Mrs. Moredock and her friends embarked at Vincennes in boats, intending to descend the Wabash and Ohio rivers and ascend the Mississippi. The party proceeded in safety until the Grand Tower on the latter river was reached, where, owing to the embarrassments to an easy navigation, it became necessary for the boatmen to land and drag the boats around a rocky point, swept by a violent current. At that point a party of Indians, lying in ambush, rushed upon them and murdered the whole party, Mrs. Moredock with all her children, except John, included. He fortunately had been consigned to another party.

When just crossing the threshhold of manhood, John Moredock found himself the last of his race, in a strange land. Regardless of the disadvantages arising to a man in those wild regions, when at his best, enjoying peace and plenty, he formed the resolution of executing vengeance on that band of savages before thought of personal comfort should ever receive recognition, and without loss of time he took up his quest. It was ascertained that the outrage had been committed by a miscellaneous party of 20 or 30 Indians, formed into a band to plunder and murder. The band was spotted by Moredock and its actions for more than a year were watched accurately, before the moment arrived that permitted him to strike. At length he learned that the Indians were hunting on the Missouri side of the river, nearly opposite the American settlements. He raised a party of young men and pursued them; but that time they escaped. At the head of another party, he soon thereafter sought them and had the fortune to find them one evening, encamped for the night, on an island, in security as they thought. Moredock's band, about equal in strength to the Indians, waited until the dead of night and then landed, turning adrift their own canoes with those of the enemy, which meant annihilation to one of the two parties of men. The fight ensued, in which every Indian was killed save three, who plunged into the river for safety and thereby escaped, while the whites lost not a man. But Moredock was still unsatisfied so long as a single representative of the murderous band remained. He learned the names and persons of the three Indians, whom he now pursued with secret, yet untiring diligence, until one by one, the last one fell by his hand. Nor did he falter at that period. He had resolved never to spare an Indian, and,with that passion ruling his breast, he roamed the forests silently and alone. If he met an Indian alone, that Indian was seen no more in his native haunts; if a party was met, too large to attack, one by one, its members generally met the same fate, for he had skilled himself so thoroughly in the use of the rifle and the wonderful and numberless expedients by which the woodman subsists, pursues an enemy or conceals himself and his design from discovery, that he became invincible. Thus by his mastery of the woodman's skill, he became practically invincible.

Colonel Moredock was a square-built, muscular man of remarkable strength and activity. In athletic sports he had few equals; few men

were willing to oppose him in single combat. Sternly courageous, he pursued a determination with the coolness and constancy of fate; but withal, he was not cruel or unsocial by nature. On the contrary. he was a man of warm feelings, and even temperament with his neighbors. At home, he conducted a large farm with industry and success, gaining a deserved popularity with all his neighbors by his popular manners and benevolence. Away from the trail, he was cheerful, convivial, hospitable; and no man of the Territory achieved a larger acquaintance or respect. In the service from 1810 to 1815, he was an officer in the ranging service, acquitting himself with credit and receiving at its close, the command of the militia of his county, at a time when such an office was honorable and desirable. At the formation of the State government, his name was prominently mentioned for the office of Governor, but his unqualified refusal to serve, compelled his great following to seek another. At a green old age, he died.*

While it may not be said that such hatred permeated the breast of every Illinois pioneer in June of 1812, it is a fair presumption, that most of the militia, with records against the Indians of more or less of an aggravated and personal nature, harbored such sentiments to a modified degree, without carrying them to the extremity of death at sight, because few deaths among the Indians from the militia, as a body, have been recorded.

Another story has been told of Moredock †

In December, 1814, whilst the command of Capt. James B. Moore, consisting of about 50 rangers, had charge of a drove of cattle near a grove on Sugar creek, on the trail between Camp Russell and Peoria, Indians were discovered near by, one of whom was singled out for pursuit. After a hot chase William Hewitt overtook the Indian, who without resistance, surrendered himself and gun. Moredock, unfortunately, was of the party and coming up at the moment of surrender, raised his gun to fire. Hewitt protested vigorously, but to no purpose as the Indian must have interpreted, because upon seeing the apparent futility of Hewitt's efforts to save him, he wrenched the surrendered gun from Hewitt's hand and pulled the trigger just as Moredock's bullet crashed through his head. Poor Hewitt fell dead as the result of his intercession and that death attributable to Moredock, may properly be called the last in Illinois resulting from the war, and should have awakened the men to a sense of humanity for the future.

Rosters.

‡"May 1, 1809, Abram Clark was appointed captain of a militia company in St. Clair county. The following appointments followed:

May 2, William Whiteside, major; William B. Whiteside, captain.

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*Another phase of Moredock's character is given by Governor Edwards, later on; probably authentic.

†Hist. St. Clair county, 126.

‡Also published in Illinois State Historical Library publications, No. 3, Territorial Records of Illinois.

May 3, Elias Rector, adjutant general; Shadrach Bond, Jr., lieutenant colonel commanding; John Moredock, major; Elihu Mather, adjutant of the St. Clair regiment; Jean Beauleau, Etienne Pincenneau, John Scott, James Moore, William Preuitt, Francois Racine, Henry Munroe Fisher, James Stockton and Franklin Jarvis, captains; George Dement, Joseph Manegle, George Atchison, Enoch Moore, first of a cavalry company; Jacob Ogle, second of a cavalry company; John Teaters, Pierre Lizje, Samuel Kinney, Samuel Judy and Isaac Ferguson, lieutenants; and William Blair, Henry Mace, cornet of a cavalry company; William Scott, Jr., Baptiste Saucier, Francois Dernette and Harry Cook, ensigns of the St. Clair county regiment.

May 4, Michael Brisbois, lieutenant, and John Mario, cardinal ensign of a company at Prairie du Chien.

May 5, David Anderson, captain of a company in Randolph county.

May 6, Pierre Menard, lieutenant colonel commandant; Robert Robinson, major; Giles Hull, Thomas Leavens and Antoine La Chappelle, captains; John Worley, Absalom Cox, William Goings, Jesse Griggs and James Hughes, lieutenants; and Daniel Hull, William McBride and Benjamin Vermillion, Jr., ensigns; all for Randolph county.

The following list contains the names of all officers of the milita appointed from Governor Edwards' induction into office to the close of the war and the subsequent disturbances, until the treaty of 1815 at Portage des Sioux, after which the territory relapsed into tranquility.

May 7, Andrew Barbeau captain, and Pierre LeCompte, lieutenant, for Randolph county.

May 17, Michael Jones, adjutant of regiment of Randolph county, and Antoine LaChance, ensign."

June 23, a new battalion of militia having been formed in that part of Randolph county, lying on the Ohio river, Governor Edwards directed the commanding officers of companies therein to hold elections for the purpose of electing captains and for the recommendation of a major.

Governor Edwards having returned to assume the duties of his office, and learning that some of the officers of the militia were in many ways unworthy the commands to which action Governor Pope had appointed them, it was resolved to call an election whereby the men could select officers whose names were to be submitted to the Governor for appointment. This general order was issued on July 4, and from the immediate and continued appointments to office in the militia, it is to be presumed the elections were duly held.

Of course Governor Edwards was Commander-in-Chief.

His different aids, were Nicholas Jarrot, William Rector, William Mears and Shadrach Bond, Jr.

Brigadier general, William Rector.

The general's aids, John H. Robinson and David Anderson.

Brigade inspector, Benjamin Stephenson.

Adjutant general, Elias Rector and Robert Morrison.

His aid, Thomas T. Crittenden.

The first and third (the new one for the Ohio and Wabash country) regiments were from Randolph county; the second was from St. Clair county, the officers of which appear to have been as follows:

First Regiment.

(Consisting of two Battalions.)

Colonel, Michael Jones, who was subsequently removed, and Thomas Levin was made lieutenant colonel commanding.

Majors, Thomas Levans (or Levin), James Hughes, Isaac White and Pierre LaCont (or LeCompte)

Adjutants, David Anderson and Elihu Mather.

Quarter master, Ezra Owens.

Provost marshal, John McFerron.

Judge advocate, James Finney.

Fife major, Benjamin Fort.

Captains, Stace McDonough, Robert Gaston, Philip Trammel, James Ford, Hamlet Ferguson, William Simpson, John Beard (who resigned), Philip Fouke, William Alexander, Pierre LeCompte, Absalom Cox, Otho Lewis, (who resigned), John Lacey (who resigned), Owen Eavans, William Boone, Jacob Fisher, John Cochran (who resigned), Jesse Griggs, Clement Drury (who resigned), Samuel Levering vice Philip Fouke removed, Philip Fouke reappointed, Ajalon Dillingham, William C. Greenup, vice Levering, deceased, Henry Lewis, vice Fouke moved away, Gabriel Duscher and John Cockran (spelled Cochran above).

Lieutenants, Jacob Fisher, Thomas Roberts, Jesse Griggs, Clement Drury, Isaiah Levans, William McBride, Nicholas H. Stephenson. John Hibbins, Francis Wheatly, Samuel Levering, William Everett, George Steele, Bazil Levens, Antoine Louvier, William C. Greenup vice Samuel Levering promoted, John Thomas, Philip Rochblave, vice Greenup promoted, Henry Connor, Elias Bancroft, Antoine Blay, Jr., Antoine Blay, Sr. and Hypolite Menard.

Ensigns, Thomas Wanley, John Hill, Antoine Louvier, William Everett, Antoine Danis, John Pillars, George Steele, Dickinson Garrett, John Murphy, James Smith, James Gill, Joseph Z. Wamsatt, James Lee, Henry Clendennen, Philip Rochblave, Samuel Vermillion (who resigned), Adam Woolwrick, William Worley, Thomas V. Swearingen, Jacob Bowerman, Otho Lewis and Henri Rochblave.

Quarter master's sergeant, Clement C. Conway.

SECOND REGIMENT (St. Clair county).

Consisting of three battalions, one of them called "The Light Infantry."

Colonel—William Whiteside.

Majors—John Moredock, William Prueitt, Samuel Judy.

Adjutants—James Smith, William B. Whiteside (who resigned), and Samuel Judy.

Surgeon—Trueman Tuttle.

Provost Marshal—Simon Vanosdal.

Judge Advocate—Russell E. Hicoock.

Bugler—Simon Wheelock.

Captains—Amos Scott (Squires), Jean Beaulieu, Etienne Pincenneau, John Scott, William Preuitt, Samuel Judy, Toliver Right, Abraham Clark, Jacob Short, Abraham Stallions, John Lowton, William Edes, Valentine Brazil, Samuel Whiteside, Edward Ebert, Jean Baptiste Duford, Solomon Preuitt, Isaac Griffin, William Savage, James D. Thomas, Nathaniel Journey, vice William Edes, resigned, Isaac Ferguson, Henry Cook, vice Judy, promoted, and Nicholas Churzo (Jourange?)

Lieutenants—Joseph Maneagle, Pierre Lize, William McDaniel, William Gilham, Valentine Brazil, Henry Cook, Solomon Prueitt, Abraham Stallions, Moses Quick, Jacob Ogle, John Vaughn, Andrew Bankson, Daniel Primm, John Lindley, James Bradsby, Josiah Roberts, Pierre Martan, John Goings, Titus Gregg, Samuel Allen, Isaac Gilham, vice Cook, promoted, and Hypolite Maillette.

Ensigns—John B. Saucier, Nicholas Fargeon, Phillip Rader, James Duett, James Bradsby, Samel Whiteside, Thomas Rotter, James Thomas, William Griffin, Christopher Barnhart, Thomas Greene, Titus Gregg, Augustus Pinsino (probably Pincenneau), George Mitchell, Isaac Gilham, Peter Waggoner, Marshall Hawkins, John Scott, vice Barnhart, Samuel Gilham, vice Isaac Gilham, promoted, Samuel Swagert, Elijah Talbot and William Bradshaw.

SECOND REGIMENT.

FIRST BATTALION.

Major John Moredeck.

Capt. Jacob Short	80	Capt James B. Moore	71
Capt. John Scott	75		
Capt. Abraham Stallions	55	Total, First Battalion	372
Capt. Edward Ebart	91		

SECOND BATTALION.

Major Samuel Judy.

Capt. Amos Squires	61	Capt. Cale Jourange	..
Capt. Samuel Whiteside	56		
Capt. Solomon Preuitt	60	Total, Second Battalion	259
Capt. Henry Cook	79		

THIRD BATTALION.

Major William Preuitt.

Capt. Valentine Brazil	..	Shoal Creek company	..
Capt. Isaac Griffin	30	Total, Third Battalion	69
Capt. Nathaniel Journey	49	Aggregate	700

THIRD REGIMENT.

(Consisting of two battalions.)

Colonel, Isaac White.

Majors, Philip Trammel, Hamlet Ferguson, Owen Evans and William Simpson.

Adjutant, Henry Kenyon.

Paymaster, Francis Leach.

Quarter Master, John Murgly.

Surgeon, Henry Oldham.

Surgeon's Mate, Thomas Shannon.

Drum Major, John Ormsby.

Fife Major, James Hensley.

Quarter Master's Sergeant, John Choiser.

Sergeant Major, John Campbell.

Captains, Willis Hargraves, James Trousdale, Joseph Mott, William Alcorn, who died from his wounds; Thomas Griffith, Leonard White, John Cooper, William McHenry, vice Mott removed; Lewis Barker, vice Cooper resigned; Thomas Williams, David Snodgrass, resigned; Thomas Green, John Cole, James Fox, Rice Sams and John Bradshaw.

Lieutenants, Joseph Riley, resigned; Adrian Davenport, Jr., David Snodgrass, Arthur Jourdan, Gabriel Titsworth, Thomas Wells, Henry Kenyon, did not accept; Eirey (probably Ira) Ledbetter, Frederick Busel, vice Davenport, resigned; William H. Ramsey, Jarrot Trammel, vice Jordan. removed; William Maxwell, James Simpson, resigned; James Fox, Samuel Waters, Samuel McGowan, William Hughes, Thomas Whitaker, Levi Hughes, Thomas Reid, Martin Harwick, Vincent Larkins, Lewis McMillan, John Patterson and Daniel T. Coleman.

Ensigns, William Simpson, Jr., Irvin Wilson, Jarrard (probably Jarrot) Trammel, Jr., Edward Prator, Samuel Waters, Walker Daniel, John Forester, resigned; William Thrash, John Scroggin, vice Porter; Edward Prather, Curtis Anderson, David Tude, Dickenson Garrett, William Maxwell, John Bushfield, John Hargrave, Leonard Waller, John Hogan, William McFallridge, John Tweedy, Stephen Kirkendal and Irvail Borin.

About Nov. 28, 1811, the Fourth regiment was organized from the Wabash country, which consisted of two battalions, one of them "the rifle company" for which the following officers were elected and later appointed by Governor Edwards:

Lieutenant Colonel, commanding, Philip Trammel.

Majors, James Ford and Willis Hargrave.

Adjutant, George E. Hart.

Paymaster, Francis Wheatley.

Quarter Master, John Murphy.

Quarter Master's Sergeant, John Choiser.

Surgeon, Henry Oldham.

Surgeon's Mate, Thomas Shannon.

Judge Advocate, James Ratcliff.

Provost Marshal, Adrian Davenport.

Drum Major, John Ormsby.

Fife Major, Nathan Mays.

Captains, Leonard White, Lewis Barker, William McHenry, Thos. E. Craig, John Graves, John Wicks, James Steele, Benjamin, Wilson, James A. Whiteside and James McFarlin, vice Wilson, resigned.

Lieutenants, Jarrot Trammel, Frederick Bucks, Asa Ledbetter, William R. Ashley, John Campbell, James Davenport, Alfred Wood and Edmond Rose.

Sergeant Major, Absalom Ashley.

Ensigns, James Bradbury, William Maxfield, John Scroggins, John Damerwood, John Lucas, William McCormick, Joshua Williams, Elbert Rose and Elisha Gordon.

Thus stood the field and staff roster of the Illinois militia on June 18, 1812, when war was declared between this country and Great Britain.

On Sept. 14, 1812, Governor Edwards, by proclamation, set off the counties of Madison, Gallatin and Johnson.

Subsequent to the declaration of war, as changes were needed in the four regiments, they were made by Governor Edwards down to Dec. 6, 1815, as follows:

First Regiment.

Captains—James Creath, William Boone, George Franklin, Henry Barbeau (resigned), Archibald McNabb, John Cockran, Otho Levans, Absolom Bradshaw, Thomas Roberts, William Belderback, Absolom Cox (independent company mounted volunteers).

Lieutenants—George Franklin, John Lacey, William Belderbeck (2d Lt), James Clendenin, Adam Woolrick, Samuel Raner, John Belderback, Amos Paxton, Archibald Steele, David Anderson, Geo. Creath, William McBride.

Ensigns—James Clendenin, John Belderback, Archibald Steele, Francois Menard, Amos Paxton, James Clark, John Wooton, John Sykes, John Vance, Samuel Mansker, Cyrus Fulton.

Judge Advocate—John McFerron.

Provost Marshal—Jacob Fisher,

Surgeon—George Fisher.

Surgeon's Mate—William Reynolds.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Colonel—Samuel Judy.

Majors—John Scott, Amos Squire.

Captains—William Jones, Ephraim Woods, Augustus Trotier, August Pinconneau, Samuel Judy (an independent company), Enoch Moore, William Arundell, John Stuntz, John D. Thomas, Thomas Pullum, Robert Gill.

Lieutenants—Hugh Walker, John Springer, Louison Parois, John Giger, Thomas Cox, R. C. Gilham, William M. Going, Eli Savage, J. Preuitt, Jacob Clarke, John Jarvis, Jr., Joseph Duncan.

Ensigns—William Crownsur, Thomas Finley, Baptiste Shamberger, Thomas Cox, Thomas Nicholson, Etienne Douza, James Chambers, Henry Carr.

Surgeon—James R. Eustis.

Judge Advocate—John Reynolds.

THIRD REGIMENT.

Major—Thomas Griffith.

Captains—John F. Smith, Daniel T. Coleman, James B. Bailey, William Thornton, Martin Harrick, John Shultz, Thomas Lawrison.

Lieutenants—John Harris, Ebenezer Kealough, John Tweedy, Stephen Smith, William Hickam, William Richy, James Fisher, James Johnson.

Ensigns—Nathan Longston, William Johnston, John Whitaker, Isaac Borin, William Tripp, John Shultz, John Fisher, Robert Miller.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

Colonels—Willis Hargrave (vice Ph. Trammel, resigned).

Majors—Thomas E. Craig, Leonard White.

Captains—Jarrot Trammel, Harrison Wilson, John G. Damewood, Joseph Pumroy, Daniel Boltinghouse, Moses Garrett.

Lieutenants—John Forester, Samuel W. Kimberly, Archibald Roberts. Henry Stum, S. Clayton, Nathan Clampet, Seth Hargrave, John Townsend, John Compton,

Ensigns—Harrison Wilson, John G. Wilson, James Hodgkins, Wyatt Adkins, Hiram Tedwell, William Eubanks, Samuel Hargrave, George Viney and James Chism.

Paymaster—Leonard White.

Adjutant—Henry Kenyon.

Surgeon's Mate—Walter White.

Aide-de-Camps to Commander-in-Chief—Nelson Rector, Hugh H. Maxwell.

Adjutant General—Benjamin Stephenson, William Alexander.

Chaplain—Joshua Oglesby.

Capt. George Kennedy, at Prairie du Chien; Lieut. James Kennedy, same.

By reason of frequent enlistments, discharges and re-enlistments among the militia, it has been found almost impossible to place before the reader any systematic statements of their services or complete rosters of the various companies; but such records as we have at hand are here reproduced:

Pay roll of company of militia commanded by Capt. William Alexander of the county of Randolph, Illinois Territory, by order of Ninian Edwards, Governor of said Territory. (July 4th to July 29th, 1811.)

Captain—
William Alexander

Lieutenant—
William McBride

Sergeants—
Amos Chaffin
David Everett
George Wilson
John Anderson

Corporals—
Adam McDonald
William Dees
George Cochran
Joseph Robinson

Privates—
Joseph Vassume
George Martin
James Curry
James Murtry
Calvin Laurence
Idmar Patton
Drury Stephens
Leonard St. John
John Hill
John McBride
John Lively.
Daniel Hull
James McNabb
Jean B. Iondrow

Privates—*Concluded.*
Joseph Conway
Robert Robinson
Alexander Camudy
Joseph Petoin
John Pillers
Joseph Miller
Daniel Winn
Jerome F. Pure
John F. White
Arch. Snodgrass
Amos Robinson
Edward Lay
John Crawford
Daniel Bilderback
Robert Haggins
Israel Bailey
William Welch
George Creath
John May
James Gill
Robert McDonald
Edward Rolls
John Fisher
John Baptiste Pera
Joseph Butea
Louis Dore
William Bilderback
Joseph E. Verman
Henry Null
James White
Simeon Brundage
Eli Lankford
James Eden

Capt. Henry Cook's company. (Formerly the company of Capt. Samuel Judy, who was promoted.)

A list of the first company detached from the Second regiment of militia, Illinois Territory, for a three month's tour, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, 3rd March, 1812. Inspected at Cahokia.

Captain—
Henry Cook

Ensign—
Christopher Barnhart

Sergeants—
Samuel Gillham
Wm. Bradshaw
Charles Gillham
Thomas Kitchell

Drummer—
Hiram Beck

Fifer—
Bolin Sheperd

Privates—
Arons, John
Anderson, Robert
Adkins, John
Ackles, Richard
Andrew, Thomas
Bradshaw, Jonas
Bradshaw, Field
Bill, Jesse
Blankenship, Thomas
Cox, Thomas
Dilliplain, Joshua
Dodd, Michael
Downing, Thomas
Elliott, Alexander
Emmert, Andrew
Fase, George
Finley, John
Gillham, J. Clement
Gragg, Ezra
Gillham, William

Privates—*Concluded.*
Green, Royal
Graham, Jonathan
Hawks, John
Hewitt, George
Hutton, Samuel
Johnston, John
Kirkpatrick, John
Kick, Justus
Kitchens, Charles
Linvill, Aaron
Ledbetter, Merrill
Luster, Joseph
Linder, Jacob
Lockhart, Bird
Moon, David
McFadgin, James
McDow, John
Newman, John
Newman, John, Jr.
Ogle, Joseph
Prewitt, William
Quigley, Samuel
Ryan, William
Rogers, Henry
Rendell, Thomas
Samples, Benjamin
Samples, David
Starkey, John
Smith, Uton
Talbot, John
Vanhoofer, Abraham
Vickery, John
Wilson, James
Wardin, Hardin
Wodams, Absalom
Waddle, Davis
Willbanks, Willey
Whiteside, Robert
Whiteside, Jacob

Mustered and inspected by Elihu Mather, Adjutant Second regiment, Illinois Territory Militia.

Capt. John Scott's company.

A list of the third company, detached from Colonel Whiteside's regiment, the 3rd of March, 1812, as infantry.

Captain—
John Scott

Lieutenant—
Titus Gragg

Ensign—
Philip Roder

Sergeants—
John Mitchell
Jacob Randleman
William Cerns

Corporals—
Burdette Green
Christopher Hatterman
James Porter
John Stallions

Privates—
Atchison, George
Bradshaw, Absalom
Bradshaw, James
Clover, James
Carr, Leonard
Cullen, Patrick
Clark, Jacob
Cramer, Phillip

Privates—*Continued*—
Eyman, Jacob
Fry, Joseph
Goldsmith, Charles
Hogan, Prior
Huffman, John
Hawk, Robert
Jerome, Asyl
Jamison, Alexander
Jones, Martin
Johnston, James
Miller, Abraham
Moore, John
Moore, Enoch
Mears, William
Patton, Robert

Privates—*Concluded*—
Porter, John
Robins, John
Ramey, Thomas
Ramey, George
Sink, Daniel
Todd, Thomas
Trout, Jacob
Toland, Isaac
Wells, Alexander
Winters, John
Whaley, James
Whaley, Baker
Whiteside, David
Whiteside, John L

Mustered out and inspected by Elihu Mather, adjutant Second regiment militia, Illinois Territory.

Capt. Jacob Short's company. (First.)

Muster roll of mounted riflemen, detached from the Second regiment of militia, Illinois Territory, for a three months' tour by order of the Commander-in-Chief, March 3, 1812.

Captain—
Jacob Short

First Lieutenant—
John Moredock

Ensign—
Henry Carr

Sergeants—
Robert Middleton
Alexander Scott
George Mitchell
William Arundel

Privates—
Borrier, Jacob
Bregance, John
Bankson, Andrew
Bier, John
Brigham, John
Cooper, John
Clover, Adam
Carmack, Isaac
Eastes, John
Eckman, David
Guyee, Daniel
Hendricks, James
Hayes, Zachariah
Hoke, Elijah

Privates—*Concluded*—
Hill, Peter
Jarvis, Fulden
Kennedy David
Marney, Thomas
Middleton, William
Middleton, Robert
Myers, John
McKinney, Daniel
Porter, Thomas
Phillips, William
Quigley, William
Rittenhouse, William
Radcliff, Charles
Risenbough, Peter
Scott, Samuel
Stout, Henry
Steele, William
Short, Hubbard
Shook, Samuel
Tidwell, Hiram
Wisser, John B.
Walker, John
Wilderman, James
Wills, Peter
Wilderman, George
Walker, Henry
Waddle, John
Williams, Jeptha D.
Walker, William
Wilderman, Jacob.

Mustered and inspected by Elihu Mather, adjutant Second regiment, the 3d of March, 1812, as infantry.

Capt. James B. Moore's company.

First company, April 15 to May 3, 1812.

Captain—
James B. Moore

First Lieutenant—
Jacob Ogle

Second Lieutenant—
John Vaugn

Ensign—
Simon Wheeler

Sergeants—
John T. Lusk
Septimus Mace
Thomas Piper
Jesse Miller

Privates—
Biggs, William
Biggs, Isaac
Bonham, Samuel
Bear, Joseph
Bloom, John

Privates—*Concluded.*
Badgely, Hiram
Davidson, John
Gillham, Isham
Gillham, William
Goings, Pleasant } Probably Going.
Goings, William }
Kirkpatrick, James
Kirkpatrick, Francis
Lemon, William
Moore, J. Milton
Mace, Henry
Morgan, Arthur
Ogle, Joseph
Rutherford, John
Robinson, David
Robinson, Israel
Shook, Aaron
Talbot, Thomas
Talbot, Joshua
Teter, Philip
Vanarsdale, Simeon
Wright, Richard
Wilson, Cath
Walker, Charles T

Capt. James B. Moore's second company.

A muster roll of a volunteer company of cavalry, commanded by Capt. James B. Moore, of St. Clair county, Illinois Territory. By order of his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor, from July 27, 1812, to Aug. 11, 1812.

Captain—
James B. Moore

First Lieutenant—
Jacob Ogle

Second Lieutenant—
Joshua Vaughn

Cornet—
Simeon Wheelock

Sergeants—
John T. Lusk, 1st
Septimus Mace
Thomas Piper
Jem Miller

Corporals—
William Reed
James McKinney
John Davidson
Pleasant Goings

Privates—
Ackerman, David
Bonham, Samuel
Biggs, Isaac
Bell, Jesse
Briggs, Wm., Jr
Blankinship, Thomas
Bradshaw, Absalom
Beck, Guy
Cox, Matthew J
Crocker, John
Clark, Isaac
Dunnigan, Isaiah
Deleplain, John

Privates—*Concluded.*
Davidson, Wm. C
Foucher, Anthony
Gillham, Isham
Gillham, Ezekial
Gillham, Clement
Good, John
Gillham, Charles
Gillham, William
Hays, Zachariah
Huitt, John
Jervis, Fielding
Kirkpatrick, James
Kirkpatrick, Francis
Moore, J. Milton
Moore, Daniel G
Mace, Henry
Morgan, Arthur
Matheny, Charles R
Nowlan, Bennett
Ogle, Joseph (son of B. Ogle)
Otwell, William
Porter, William
Quick, Moses
Robinson, David
Robinson, Israel
Randle, Thomas
Shook, Aaron
Sanders, George
Teter, Philip
Talbot, Thomas W
Talbot, William
Vanarsdale, Simeon
Walker, Charles P
Wilson, Cath
Wright, Richard
Wilbanks, Hardy
Whiteside, John L
Wright Isham
Whitney, Aaron

A muster roll of a detachment of mounted riflemen commanded by Ensign Samuel Whiteside, of St. Clair county, Illinois Territory. By order of his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, from Aug. 7 to Aug. 22, 1812.

Ensign—
Samuel Whiteside

Privates—
Titus Gragg
John Swigert
Henry Taylor
Azor Gragg
Abram Howard
Wm. Pursley
John Pursley
Joseph Borough

Privates—*Concluded.*
Matthew Roach
John Lacey
David Porter
John Howard
Abram Vanhoozer
Roland Hewitt
Alexander Biram
John Davidson
Jacob Smelcer
David Gragg
Charles Kitchens
John Gragg

Capt. Samuel Whiteside's company.

A muster roll of a volunteer company of mounted riflemen, commanded by Capt. Samuel Whiteside of St. Clair county, Illinois Territory, by order of His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of said Territory. Date of enlistment August 22nd; enlisted to Nov. 13th, 1812.

Captain—
Samuel Whiteside

First Lieutenant—
Titus Gragg (or Greig)

Second Lieutenant—
John Swigert

Ensign—
Henry Taylor

Sergeants—
Jesse Creek, 1st
Azor Gragg (or Greig), 2nd
Abram Howard, 3rd
Wm. Simpson, 4th

Corporals—
John Pursley
John Waggoner
William Pursley
Harmon Gragg

Privates—
Armstrong, Aaron
Bishop, Benjamin
Burgess, William
Bridges, Allan
Borough, Joseph
Bayne, Ellsworth
Brisco, John
Bradshaw, Jonas
Brundage, Simeon
Barnsback, George
Baimmie, Louis
Cornelius, Daniel
Chelton, William
Carter, David
Davis, Samuel
Delorme, Huber
Ferguson, John

Privates—*Continued.*
Ferguson, Joseph
Fulmore, John
Groats, William
Gragg, John
Howard, William
Howard, John
Hewitt, Roland
Hanlon, Matthias
Hewitt, George
Higgins, John
Hawk, Philip
Harmon, George
Jacobs, John
Johnson, James
Kinder, George
Kitchens, Charles
LeCompt, Isaac
Lacey, John
Lamotte, Joshua
Lee, Samuel
Lee, Joseph
Langlue, Raphael
LaBrau, Baptiste
McFarling, Walter
Marney, James
McFadgin, James
Million, Jesse
Myers, Joseph
Ogle, Jacob
Posey, Jubilee
Plant, Pierce
Phillips, William
Pixley, John
Powell, John
Patterson, Joseph
Pullum, James
Paine, John
Preuitt, William
Porter, David
Pierce, Daniel
Roach, Matthew
Right, William
Stockton, Samuel

Privates—*Continued.*
Samples, Benjamin
Sampler, David
Smelcer, Jacob
Stockton, Robert
Sweeten, Moses
Smith, Thomas
Tolley, James
Teeter, John

Privates—*Concluded.*
Tramble, Toussant
Tucker, Napees
Turner, John
Vanhooser, Abram
Williams, Joseph
Whiteside, Joseph
Warren, Benjamin

Muster roll of general and staff officers of a detachment of militia of Illinois Territory, ordered into the actual service of the United States, and commanded by His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Territory aforesaid:

No.	Names.	Rank.	Commencement of service.	Expiration of service.	Remarks.
1	Ninian Edwards	Commander-in-Chief	Sept. 2, 1812	Nov. 10, 1812	
2	Elias Rector	Adjutant General	Sept. 10, 1812	.. do	
3	Benjamin Stephenson	Brigade Major	Sept. 2, 1812	.. do	
4	Nath. Pope	First Aid	Sept. 20, 1812	.. do	
5	William Rector	Second Aid	Oct. 10, 1812	.. do	
6	Nelson Rector	Volunteer Aids	Oct. 18, 1812	.. do	
7	Robert Todd				

"Endorsed, examined, approved, certified and returned by me according to law, to the Commander-in-Chief.

ELIAS RECTOR,

Adjutant General Illinois Territory."

Capt. Absalom Cox's company.

Muster roll and inspection return of a detachment of the First Regiment of Illinois militia under the command of Capt. Absalom Cox at Kaskaskia, the 3rd of September, 1812.

This detachment did not go to Peoria, but was no doubt left behind to protect the settlers.

FROM CAPTAIN ABSALOM COX'S COMPANY.

Captain—
Absalom Cox

Lieutenant—
Thomas Roberts

Ensign—
Adam Wobrick

Sergeants—
Robert Foster
William McDonald
Richard Robinson
Samuel Reiner

Corporals—
John Irwin
Shadrach Lively
Amos Lively
Edward Clark

Privates—
Allen, Solomon
Beatty, John
Baggs, George
Clark, James
Little, William
Lively, Reuben
McBride, Thomas
Miller, John
McFarland, James
McClinton, John
Pillere, John
Patterson, James
Ross, Andrew
Smyth, John
Steel, Archibald
Thompson, Robert
Thompson, William
Wilson, John

FROM CAPTAIN ALEXANDER'S COMPANY.

Boggs, Jesse	McLaughlin, Wm.
Chalfin, Seth	Jarvis, Matthew
Connor, George	Robston, Hugh
Marvel, Chester	Warley, John

FROM CAPTAIN HENRY LEVON'S COMPANY.

Adkins, James	McMurtry, Abraham
Glenn, George	Vermillion, Benjamin
Lamer, Patrick	

FROM CAPTAIN JOHN COCHRAN'S COMPANY.

Bowman, Jonathan	Johnston, David
Clendinin, John	May, William
Crain, Squire	Steele, James

FROM CAPTAIN McDINEY'S COMPANY.

Ball, James	Garner, Charles
Barber, Alexander	Hall, William
Beson, Thomas	Lard, Samuel
Belsher, George	Petel, David
Fulton, Cyrus	Wingate, Adam
Garver, William	Sleter, James

FROM CAPTAIN GREENUP'S COMPANY.

Beatt, Alexis	Lessauree, Pascal
Beatt, Louis	LaChasspell, B.
Beatt, N.	LeMiene, Louis
Baker, George	Mitchell, James D.
Bearwais, Alexis	Montrow, B.
Curry, Joseph	Paxton, Amos
Chinia, J.	Segar, Louis
Charleville	Smyth, James
DePreet, Francis	St. Pierre, Robert
Gendeon, Jean	Tolouse, Francis
Lee, Ralph	Troupa, Manuel

FROM CAPTAIN GABRIEL DECOCHE'S COMPANY.

Alter, Auguste	Louglore, Etienne
Barboure, Andre	Rilguer, Joseph
Godere, Alexis	Roy, Andre (or Roi)
Godere, Joseph	Tongue, Francis
Gidier, Jean Marie (or Godere)	Tongue, Joseph
Louglore, Francis	Vasseuer, Joseph

(Signed) DAVID ANDERSON,
Inspector-Adjutant, First Illinois Militia.

Capt. Thomas E. Craig's Company.

A muster roll of a company of volunteer riflemen, raised in Illinois Territory, under the command of Capt. Thomas E. Craig in the ser-

vice of the United States, by order of His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of said Territory, from the 5th September to the 2d December, 1812.

Captain—
Thomas E. Craig

Lieutenant—
John Forrester

Ensign—
Harrison Wilson

Sergeants—
Walker Skantlin
Charles Hill
John G. Wilson
Phil Buckner

Corporals—
Robert Preston
Joseph Lepan
Joseph Gordon
Willis Wheeler

Musicians—
John Ormsby, drummer
Nat. Reeves, fifer

Privates—
Elias Hubbard
Thomas Hatfield
Jacob Yocum
Stephen Fowler
Moses Rawlings
John Hazleton
John Woods
Robert Harris
William Corn
Charles Druyer
Henry Jenna
Arthur Owens
James Drake
Samuel Kimberly

Privates—*Concluded.*
Richard Hayden
Robert Cox
Hiram Higgins
Randall Davis
William Gable
Lewis Young
Edward Farley
Sampson Dunn
David Stanley
James Wright
Enoch Brown
Edward Stokes
Jacob Willis
Elisha Livingston
John Powell
Samuel Green
Dennis Clay
Russell E. Haycock
David Johnston
John Clendenin
Joel Crane
Squire Crane
Alex. Barbour
Spencer Adkins
Amos Paxton
John Farney
George Glun
Michael Burris
John Lord
Lasadore Gander
Inlam Bart
Peter Bono
George Connor
Richard Hazel
John Campbell
David Sipley
George T. Woods
Antoine Sander
Lewis Freedom
John B. Genam
Edward Miller

Capt. Willis Hargrave's Company.

We, the undersigned, being formed into a company of mounted volunteers, under the command of Willis Hargrave, as Captain, tender to your Excellency our services, to perform a tour of duty against the Indians on the frontiers of Illinois Territory, and hold ourselves in readiness to march at a minute's warning to any point you may direct.

Captain—
Willis Hargrave

First Lieutenant—
Wm. McHenry

Second Lieutenant—
John Graves

Ensign—
Thomas Berry

Enlisted Men—
Boatright, Thomas
Berry, Joel
Battenhouse, Daniel
Bradbury, John
Blackford, Ephraim
Blackford, Reuben
Buck, Frederick
Covington, Edward
Cates, Robert D
Carr, James
Cannon, Simon

Enlisted Men—*Continued.*

Chambers, Barnabas
Davenport, James
Dunnell, Josiah
Dover, John
Deekers, Michael
Fowler, William
Fleming, Philip
Garrett, Dickinson
Garrison, James
Hannah, James
Hargrave, Seth
Harris, Gillam
Howard, Abner
Hamilton, Alexander
Long, James
Lisanbee, Jeremiah
Love, John
Lawton, John
Lane, Joseph
Maxwell, Wm.
Moulding, Taylor
Moulding, Richard (a spy)
Moulding, Lee
May, Morris
Mileh, David
Morris, John
Morris, George
Mitchell, John
McKinney, Thomas

Enlisted Men—*Concluded.*

McAllister, Thomas
McDaniel, James
McCormick, William
Potter, Rial
Smith, John
Small, James
Slocumb, Charles
Summers, John
Stovery, Thomas
Stewart, Eli
Stern, Philip
Standlee, Neadham
Stewart, Charles
Snodgrass, David
Sparks, Charles
Trammel, David (a spy)
Trammel, Thomas
Trammel, James
Upton, Joseph
Upton, Thomas
Wilson, James
Williams, Aaron
Wheeler, Henry
Whooley, David
Whitford, Martin
Winkler, Adam
Wheeler, William
Williams, Thomas
Young, Nathan

In a morning report of Sept. 12th, 1812, made at Camp Russell, "of the troops under the command of Maj. Benjamin Stephenson," it will be found that Maj. Stephenson's command for that date comprised the companies of Captains James B. Moore, W. B. Whiteside, Absalom Cox, Jacob Short, Willis Hargrave, Samuel Whiteside, Nathaniel Journey, and Amos Squires, with an aggregate of 570 men.

In another "morning report" dated Oct. 10th, 1812, we find "troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Whiteside" to have been the companies of Captains N. Ramsey, Thos. E. Craig, Willis Hargrave, Absalom Cox and James Trousdale, with a combined force of 316 men; the staff return on the back of which included, present: one surgeon, one surgeon's mate, one adjutant, one sergeant major, and one judge advocate.

Capt. Philip Tramell's company (Leonard White's):

Muster-roll of a detachment of mounted militia called into the service of the United States under the orders of His Excellency, Governor Edwards, to guard military stores from Shawneetown to Camp Russell, under the command of Philip Tramell, Lieut. Colonel of the 4th Regiment, Illinois Militia, acting as captain, from the 12th day of October to the 31st day of October, 1812:

Captain—

Philip Tramell

Sergeant—

Morton Ewbanks

Privates—

Blue, Solomon
Cumins, William
Campbell, John

Privates—*Concluded.*

Gillard, John
Inman, James
Lee, James
Murphy, John
McFarland, James
Pompey, servant to Philip Tramell
Sibley, David
Sibley, Isaac
Wilson, Covington
Wheeler, William

I do certify that the within muster-roll exhibits a true statement of the detachment for the purpose mentioned therein, and that James Ratcliff furnished a wagon and team for the purpose of transporting military stores from Shawneetown to Camp Russell, which was employed in the United States service from the 5th day of October until the 31st; the same month, with Adam Croach, wagoner, William Morrison furnished wagon, team and driver, for the same purpose, from the 9th of October to the 31st of same month. Meed McLaughlin and Davis Gillard each furnished wagon and team and driver, for the above purpose, from the 31st of same month.

PHILIP TRAMELL,

Lieut. Colonel 4th Illinois Militia, now acting as Captain in place of Leonard White.

Capt. Dudley Williams' Company, 4th Regiment, Oct. 14th to Nov' 5th, 1812, "against the late invasions of the hostile Indians."

Captain—
Dudley Williams

Lieutenant—
David Moore

Ensign—
Reuben Linn

Cornet—
Alfred Lindsey

Sergeants—
Joseph Ferguson
John Reed
Henry Griffin
James Moore

Corporals—
Wm. Magee
James Brown
Thomas Armstrong
John Jarrot

Privates—
Armstrong, William
Bramlett, Harvey
Barnes, Allan
Bridges, Joseph
Brownfield, Charles
Blasingham, James
Calhoun, Daniel
Cravens, William
Casten, Thomas

Privates—*Concluded.*
Cain, Robert
Clark, Richard
Coshler, Daniel
Cook, James
Davis, Asher
Dilkerson, Hiram
Davis, Isaac
Fuel, Henry
Futral, Thomas
Fort, Micajah
Futral, Wilburn
Ferguson, John
Griffith, Hiram
Hallin, John
Harrison, Furnas
Hallin, Andrew
Jennings, Samuel
Ladd, Elijah
Mathias, William
Mitchell, Jeremiah
Matthews, John
Maybury, John
Neal, John
Randolph, James
Rascow, Jesse
Reas, Samuel
Show, John
Stevens, Ezekial
Thomas, Matthew
Walker, John
Wolf, Redden
Walker, Samuel
Woolf, James
Williams, Joseph
White, Thomas

I certify that the foregoing is a correct muster-roll of my company, and that they were mustered into the service of the United States Saline, on the 14th day of October, 1812.

DUDLEY WILLIAMS, *Captain.*

Examined and approved:

B. STEPHENSON, *Brigade Major.*

Also endorsed by a certificate of Philip Tramell, Lieut. Colonel of the 4th Regiment, Illinois Militia: "That this company found their

own provisions from Christian county to the United States Saline, and back again, which going and coming may be considered 160 miles."

Captain Judy's Spy company, 1812.

Muster roll of Captain Samuel Judy's company of mounted spies, called into service under the command of His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Oct. 18th, 1812, to Nov. 12th, 1812 (spy company).

Captain— Samuel Judy.	Privates—*Continued.* Griffin, William Larmer, Patrick (or Larner) Lusk, John T Moore, George Newman, Joseph Nix, Ambrose Right, Tolivar Radcliff, William Reynolds, John Smith, Thomas Stockden, Davis Waddle, Alexander
Privates— Adams, Calvin Adkins, John Cox, Thomas Clark, Edward Cook, Henry Cosey, Pierre (or Crossey) Frazier, Robert Gilham, Isom (or Isaac) Going, William Gilham, Samuel	

Muster roll of regimental and staff officers ordered into service by His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Illinois Territory, from the 18th day of February to the 16th day of June, 1813:

Names.	Rank.
B. Stephenson	Major
Phillip Tramwell	Major
Nathaniel Journey	Adjutant
George Fisher	Surgeon
William Reynolds	Surgeon's Mate
Daniel G. Moore	Quartermaster
Aaron Whitney	Sergeant Major

I do certify that the foregoing muster roll exhibits a just statement of the regiment and staff officers, as above stated, this 16th day of June, 1813.

B. STEPHENSON,

Brigade Major.

Sergeant James N. Fox's detachment.

Muster roll of a detachment of rangers on the frontier of Johnson county, under the command of Sergt. James N. Fox, from Feb. 17th, 1813, to March 1st, 1813. This detachment being called into service by order of His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of said Territory.

Sergeant— James N. Fox	Privates—*Continued.* Edwards, William Flannery, James Griffin, Daniel Harris, Buckner Norton, John F Rawlinson, Shadrach Rawlinson, William
Privates— Blane, Mose Buchan, James Deason, George Davis, John	

ELVIRADE, RANDOLPH COUNTY, ILLINOIS TERRITORY,
May 4th, 1813.

SIR—A short time ago I received a letter from Colonel Bond, informing me that you had authorized him to request me to raise and organize three additional companies of rangers. I immediately wrote you that I supposed what had been done would be sufficient, and that those three companies who, through me, tendered the President their services as rangers, would be accepted.

They have been notified by me that they have been accepted, but lest some accident may have prevented my letter from reaching you, I will here give the names of these officers, all of whom have been chosen by their companies and approved by me:

Captain—
James B. Moore

First Lieutenant—
David Robinson

Second Lieutenant—
Arthur Morgan

Ensign—
John Huitt

Captain—
Samuel Whitside

First Lieutenant—
Joseph Borough

Second Lieutenant—
Samuel Gilbaur

Ensign—
Arthur Armstrong

Captain—
Jacob Short

First Lieutenant—
Nathaniel Journey

Second Lieutenant—
Andrew Bankston

Ensign—
John Journey

These officers and those of the companies raised here last year are all exceedingly anxious to be commanded by Benjamin Stephenson as their major, with the exception of an ensign and a lieutenant who were absent at the time. They have unanimously petitioned me on this subject. The privates comprising the battalion are equally desirous of it, and I can most conscientiously say that, in my opinion, the Territory does not admit of a better choice.

The Legislature of this Territory, at its last session, by the solicitations of certain individuals, was induced to ask for this force and to recommend John Murdock (Moredock) to be authorized to raise and command it. But I beg leave to observe that the force I have raised has been upon a different plan altogether. Murdock has not raised a man and has endeavored to throw every impediment in my way. He is not qualified, either by his knowledge or experience, for the command, and those who have recommended him will not pretend to say that his habits do not form a most important objection.*

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

N. EDWARDS.

* All which is also herein quoted, must be regarded as slightly exaggerated.

From a "daily and weekly report of a detachment of rangers of the Illinois Territory, under the command of Benjamin Stephenson, brigade major, April 17, 1813," it is found that the command was made up of the companies of Capt. B. Whiteside, Capt. James B. Moore, Third company; Capt. Samuel Whiteside, Capt. Jacob Short and Capt. Nicholas Jarott, the muster of which, with the exception of Moore and Short, are not to be found.

Capt. James B. Moore's (3d) company:

Captain—
James B. Moore

First Lieutenant—
David Robinson

Second Lieutenant—
Arthur Morgan

Ensign—
John Huitt

Sergeants—
Thomas Jordan
Jacob Young
Benjamin Marney
James Hutton

Corporals—
Isaac Basey
James Talbot
Henry Randleman
John Crawford

Privates—
Enoch Moore
Jesse Miller
Joseph Miller
David Miller
Abraham Miller
John Enoch
Jonathan Knox
Anthony B. Connor
Samuel McFarland
George Lary
Thomas Johnston
Hugh Roylston
Marcus Pelham
Peter Wills
Thomas Marney
Solomon Strong
Amos Shook
Francis Pelham
William Forgason
Hiram Huitt
Joseph Forgason
Ornan Beman
John Finley
Fielding Porter
John Ryan
Stephen Laery
Elihu Axely

Privates—*Concluded.*
William Ryan
John Stallings
David Porter
John Waddle
John Briscoe
John Moore
Jacob Clark
John Clover
William Harrington
David Moore
Thomas J. Mattingly
Willy Harrington
Felix Clark
Stephen Rector
Joshua Vaughn
Charles Gillham
George Richardson
William Griffin
William Going
Pleasant Going
Fleming Cox
Bartley Cox
Aaron Whitney
Martin Wood
Bennett Nowlin
Henry Mace
Isaac Smith
Daniel Winn
Roland Huitt
Edward Crouch
Isaac Carmack
Elisha Taylor
Andrew Robinson
William Hogan
Prior Hogan
Robert Hawke
Richard Windsor
Jude Converse
John Hogan
William Chance
Josiah Langford
John Callino
Daniel Converse
Janus Marney
Benjamin Edwards
Alexander Biron
George Hawk
Eli Langford
Jacob Luntzford
John Marney
Thomas Marney
John Ferguson
Jesse Harrison

Examined and approved:

B. STEVENSON, *Brigade Major.*

Capt. Jacob Short's company.

Muster roll of a company of mounted rangers, commanded by Capt. Jacob Short, called into the actual service of the United States by his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, from the 27th day of February, 1813, to the 31st day of May, 1813, inclusive:

Captain—
Jacob Short

First Lieutenant—
Nathaniel Journey

Second Lieutenant—
Andrew Bankston

Ensign—
John Journey

Sergeants—
John Brigance
Alexander Scott
George Mitchell
James Wyatt
Robert Thomas

Corporals—
Richard Ackless
Robert Lynn
George Soy
Nicholas Darter
George Wise
Samuel Ware

Privates—
Anderson, Robert
Adair, William
Allen, Solomon
Alexander, Hugh
Bankson, Elijah
Barnes, Ellsworth
Brimberry, Jacob
Boucher, John
Brickey, Preston
Bateman, Abraham
Brooks, Taphney
Burgess, William
Cox, Benjamin
Clark, Isaac
Corathers, John
Clark, Janus
Craine, Squire
Drocker, Jacob
Drocker, Thomas
Darneal, Isaac
Duncan, John Sr
Duncan, John Jr
Davidson, James W
Dodge, Stanley
Edes, Matthias
Edes, William
Fray, Joseph
Fulton, Cyrus
Gaston, Robert
Gragg, Jacob
Hopton, John
Hill, Nathaniel
Hill, Jesse
Hill, Burrill
Hawkins, Martial
Huse, Robert
Journey, William
Johnston, David
Kerns, Jacob
Lloyd, David
Lee, Samuel Sr
Lee, Samuel Jr
Linley, John
Liveley, John
Lard, John
Liveley, Reuben
Lard, James Jr
Mattocks, Alexander
Moore, James
Moore, William
Morris, Thomas
Miller, Edward
McKinney, Daniel
McElroy, William
McNeal, Abel
Neal, Henry
O'Neal, William
Posey, Aden
Patterson, Samuel
Preuitt, Field
Preuitt, Joseph
Pritchard, Jacob
Rutherford, John
Scott, Francis
Sealey, Henry
Swigart, George
Swigart, John
Short, Hubbard
Stout, John
Scott, John
Short, Moses
Stout, William
Smalley, Abraham
Thomas, Abraham
Tilford, William
Virgin, William
Wakefield, Charles
Wakefield, George
Watley, Henry
Woods, John
Wilderman, Jacob
Walker, John
Wakefield, John A
White, Andrew
Whitley, Mills
Winghart, Adam
Walker, William
Wright, Peter
Whitley, John
White, David

Examined and approved.

B. STEPHENSON,
Brigade Major.

Capt. William Boon's company.

Muster roll of a company of mounted volunteers of Randolph county, Illinois territory, commanded by Capt. William Boon, and called into service by His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of said territory, from the 6th day of March, 1813, to the 5th day of June, 1813:

Captain—
William Boon

First Lieutenant—
John Lacey

Second Lieutenant—
William Bilderback

Ensign—
John Bilderback

Sergeants—
Robert Gaston
Louis La Chapelle
Michael Buyat
Amos Chaffin

Corporals—
Joseph French
Adam Wolrick
Zophue Brooks
Henry Barbeau

Privates—
Alexander, Robert
Bailey, David
Bilderback, Charles
Barnett, William
Bowerman, Jacob
Bilderback, Daniel
Buyat, Benjamin
Bart, Julian
Barbeau, Antoine
Chaffin, Ellis
Cochran, George
Craine, Joel
Connor, Henry
Cossy, Peter
Clarke, Alexander
Clyne, John
Cola, ——
Creath, George
Dolin, Peter
Drury, John
Dory, Louis
De Gognie, Gregone
Davis, Ralph
French, Levi
French, Samuel
Fisher, William
Garner, Charles
Godier, Erne
Gaston, William
Gadier, John
Glenn, Isaac
Glenn, Thomas
Garner, Francis
Garner, William
Gendron, Baptiste
Godier, Isadore
Hughes, James
Honnon, Jacob (or Hannan)
Hull, Daniel
Lee, James
La Franbris, Joseph
Lively, Shadrach
Leone, Jabez
Lazadder, Jacob
Machan, John
Montroy, Francis
May, Jacob
McDonough, Stace
Philhart, Jacob
Pillet, Peter
Pesio, ——
Pascal, ——
Roberts, Elias
Roy (or Roi), André
Robinson, John
Roberts, John
Robinson, James
Snodgrass, Archibald
Steele, Archibald
Tilford, William
Teabeau, Henry
Thompson, Robert
Tamarava, Levi
Tamarava, Jean Baptiste
Wootan, John
Wadley, Thomas
Winghart, Adam
Young, John

Examined and approved.

B. STEPHENSON,
Brigade Major.

Capt. Nathan Chambers' company.

A muster roll of a company of militia in the Illinois Territory, under the command of Capt. Nathan Chambers, as footmen. Called into the United States service by his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, from the 12th day of April, to the 12th day of May, 1813.

Captain—
Nathan Chambers

Ensign—
John Savage

Sergeants—
Henry Carr
John Nichols
James Bankson
Joseph Duncan

Corporals—
William Scott
James Crocker
Charles Cox
Henry White

Privates—
Armstrong, William
Abernathey, Robert
Abernathey, Miles
Baker, Abraham
Broom, John
Bankson, Patton
Bone, Barnet
Bond, Burnet
Chambers, James
Crocker, Arthur
Crocker, William
Crocker, John
Duncan, William (or Dunkin.)

Privates—*Concluded.*
Duncan, Robert, Sr. } or Dunkin.
Duncan, Robert, Jr. }
Farrar, Robert
Fike, Abraham
Gilbreath, Hugh
Gaskill, Paul
Gaskill, Jonathan
Holcomb, Joseph
Hagerman, Benjamin
Hutton, Henry
Hill, Jonathan
Johnson, Malcom
Journey, John, Sr
Langston, Nathan
Minson, Abram
Maddox, Leven
Middleton, Robert
Middleton, Reuben
Moore, Robert
Mooney, Bryant
McCracken, James
Nichols, George
Nichols, Pleasant
Nichols, Thomas
Peek, Daniel
Pea, John
Petty, James
Robertson, John
Swan, Francis
Scott, Samuel
Van Winkle, Job
Wakefield, Simeon
Wakefield, William

Lieut. Daniel G. Moore's company.

Muster roll of a company of volunteer infantry. Commanded by Lieut. Daniel G. Moore, and called into service by his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, from May 9, 1813, to June 9, 1813.

Lieutenant—
Daniel G. Moore

Sergeants—
Martin Jones
William P. Rowdon
Benjamin Stidman
Zadock Newman

Corporals—
George Moore
James Beaman
John Russell
Eli Savage

Privates—
Beck, John
Bows, John

Privates—*Concluded.*
Beck, James
Braman, John
Bartlett, William
Cosby, Hezekiah
Ennis, Jesse
Ennis, William
Fullmore, John
Hill, Burrill
Hill, James
Jones, William
Kirkpatrick, John
Kirkpatrick, Harrison
Kirkpatrick, Thomas
Lorton, John
Moore, Abel
Newman, Joseph
Newman, John
Riggor, Henry B
Starkey, Jesse

Capt. William Jones' company—(1813).

A muster roll of a company of volunteer infantry, commanded by Capt. William Jones, ordered into the service by His Excellency, Ninian Edwards, governor of the Illinois Territory, May 9, 1813 to June 9, 1813.

Captain—
William Jones

Lieutenant—
John Springer

Ensign—
Thomas Finley

Sergeants—
Edward Reavis, 1st.
John Whitley, Sr., 2nd.
David White (spy) 3rd.
Robert Brazil, 4th.

Corporals—
Solomon Preuitt
Jacob Gragg
Matthew Means
David Smeltzer
David Smelson
Andrew Lockhart

Privates—
Anderson, James, Sr.
Anderson, James, Jr.
Brazil, Richard
Brazil, William
Bateman, Abraham
Brazil, Valentine (spy)
Bateman, William
Cox, Ephriam
Cox, Henry
Chilton, Matthias
Chilton, Joshua
Chilton, James, Sr.
Chilton, James, Jr.
Chilton, William
Dollarhide, Aguilla
Davis, William
Finley, Howard
Finley, Moses
Finley, John
Finley, James
Ferguson Isaac
Giger, John
Green, John

Privates—*Concluded.*
Green, Henry, Jr.
Green, Henry, Sr.
Green, John
Henson, Benjamin
Henson, John
Hill, John
Hopton, John
Howard, Wm. (spy)
Higgins, John
Hill, James
Hill, Burrell
Hott, John
Howard, Abraham (spy)
Hutton, George, Sr.
Hutton, George, Jr.
Jones, Martin
Jones, John
Lindly, Joseph
Lindly, John
Lockhart, Byrd (spy)
Lockhart, William
Lindly, Simon, Sr.
Lindly, Simon, Jr.
Lindly, Samuel
Lockhart, Andrew
Neely, Jacob
Preuitt, Fields
Roberts, William (spy)
Roberts, Andrew
Stubblefield, Wm. (spy)
St. John, Joseph
Stubblefield, Easly
Smeltzer, Herman
Tayee, George (spy) (or Tayes)
Tayer, Bartier (or Bartlett Tayes)
Tetrichs, Jacob
Tetrichs, Charles
Tetrichs, Abram (spy)
Tetrichs, Peter
VanHoozer, Abraham
Whitley, Mills
Whitley, John, Jr.
Whitley, Randolph
Walker, Henry
Whitley, Elisha
White, Robert
White, David S.

Capt James B. Moore's company—(4th company.)

A muster roll of Capt. James B. Moore's company of mounted rangers of the Illinois Territory, under the command of Maj. Benjamin Stephenson, from the 1st day of June to the 16th day of the same month, 1813, by order of His Excellency, Ninan Edwards, governor, &c.

Captain—
James B. Moore

Lieutenants—
David Robinson, 1st.
Arthur Morgan, 2nd.

Ensign—
John Hewitt

Sergeants--
Daniel Converse
Jacob Young
Benjamin Marney
James Hutton

Corporals—
Isaac Basey
James Talbot
Henry Randleman
John Crawford

Privates—
Axley, Elisha
Brisco, John
Beeman, Orman
Biron, Alaxander
Clark, Jacob
Clover, John
Clark, Felix
Cox, Fleming
Crouch, Edward
Connor, Anthony B.
Carmack, Isaac
Cox, Bartlett
Converse, Jud
Chance, William
Collins, John
Davidson, Samuel D.
Enochs, John
Edwards, Benjamin
Ferguson, William
Ferguson, Joseph
Finley, John
Ferguson, John
Gillham, Charles
Griffin, William
Going, Pleasant
Going, William
Glenn, George
Harrington, William
Harrington, Wylie
Huitt, Hiram
Huitt, Roland
Hogan, William
Hogan, Prior
Hawk, George
Hogan, John
Hawks, Robert
Harrison, Jesse
Jordan, Thomas
Johnston, Thomas

Privates—*Concluded.*
Knox, Jonathan
Lary, George
Lacey, Stephen
Lankford, Eli
Lankford, Josiah
Luntzford, Jacob
Moore, Enoch
Miller, Jesse
Miller, Joseph
Miller, David
Miller, Abraham
Marney, Thomas
Moore, John
Moore, David
Mattingly, Thomas G.
Mace, Henry
Marney, John
Marney, James
McFarland, Samuel
Nowlin, Bennett
Pelham, Marcus
Pelham, Francis
Porter, Fielding
Porter, David
Royalston, Hugh
Ryan, John
Ryan, William
Rector, Stephen
Richardson, William
Robinson, Andrew
Ramey, Thomas
Roberts, Elias
Strong, Solomon
Shook, Amos
Stallings, John
Smith, Isaac
Taylor, Elisha
Vaughn, Joshua
Vanarsdall, Simon
Wills, Peter
Waddle, John
Wood, Martin
Winn, Daniel
Windsor, Richard
Whitney, Aaron

The following interesting document, taken from Brink's "History of Madison County," is reproduced for its value in dates and names:

"EDWARDSVILLE, September 24, 1814.

SIR—This day there was an election held at this place for a captain and first and second lieutenants, by the volunteers that have of late been raised in consequence of your request to Isam Gillham and J. G. Lofton, Esq. The company detained the election until about the 4 of the o'clock in the afternoon in hopes we would have been joined by Mr. Stout and a party from that neighborhood. On being disappointed, we proceeded to elect John G. Lofton, captain, Thomas Kirkpatrick, 1st lieutenant, and Samuel G. Morse, 2d lieutenant, and intend when orders are received, to elect the balance of the officers, so as to dispose of the officers in each settlement which may join. We assure your Excellency that the old men have volunteered with a spirit that reflects an honor on the old veterans of '76. The notice

of the election was so short in this settlement that the people had not general notice, but there remains no doubt but the company will be complete before this reaches you—there are 70 on the list now. The above officers were elected by a unanimous vote.

Very respectfully, yours,

THOS. KIRKPATRICK,
G. CADWELL,
Judges of the Election."

Last men called into service; Captain Boultinghouse's company.

Captain—
Daniel Boultinghouse

First Lieutenant—
John Groves

Second Lieutenant—
Robert Tavery

Third Lieutenant—
John Morris

Ensign—
Thomas Tavery

Sergeants—
William Nash
Stephen Stanley
James Boyd
James Hopkins
Tira Robinson

Corporals—
John Wilson
Robert Boyd
David Haney
William Cummins
Asa Ross
Robert Clark

Privates—
Adkins, Wyatt
Adkins, William
Adkins, Jesse
Burney, John
Brown, John
Boultinghouse, James
Boultinghouse, Daniel
Burney, Charles
Brown, David
Buckles, John
Burney, William
Beck, John
Bowman, Jesse
Corn, James
Clayton, Archibald
Cates, Robert D
Coley (Cooley), Henry
Collins, Hugh
Chambers, Willis
Chambers, Thomas
Culbertson, Joseph
Chambers, William
Clark, William
Chaffin, Elias
Dunlap, James
Dover, John
Daniels, David
Daniels, John
Dennis, John
Daniels, Joseph
Davenport, James
Dickinson, Charles
Davidson, Samuel
Ferret, John
Gaston, Thomas
Gaston, James
Gaston, John
Gaston, Robert
Hencely, James
Hencely, Charles
Harris, Nathan
Hargrave, Seth
Hix, James
Henry, Alden
Hyde, Ezekial
Hampton Jonathan
Hannah, Brier
Hart, John
Haynes, James
Jones, Hiram
Kirkendall, Benj
Kirkendall, Jesse
Lane, Rolin (Rollin)
Lucas, John
Lawry, Joseph
Lamb, Moses
Lezenby, Charles
Morris, John
Martin, George
Morris, George
Meriday, William
Moore, John
Martin, John
Meloy, Edward
Michel, Edward
Martin, James
Metcalf Joel
Morris, James
McHenry, Daniel
McAllister, Thomas
McCormick, William
McGee, William
McGahan, John
McCoy, William
McAllister, John
McCann, George
Porter, Real
Potter, Edward
Patton, James
Pool, Thomas
Poley, John
Perry, John
Read, William
Rowan, Archibald
Reede, Elijah
Stumm, George
Stanley, Needham
Steward Jonathan
Selph, Eli
Steward, Charles
Steward, Philip
Snodgrass, Daniel
Stafford, Robert
Sweeton, Moses
Stark, Edmond

Privates—*Continued.*

Stumm, Henry
Trask, William
Tramell, Jarrard (Jarrot)
Taylor, Merritt
Taylor, Nimrod
Vaughn, William
Wilson, Irvin
Wilson, James

Privates—*Concluded.*

Wilson, Arvin
Wheeler, Henry
Walls, John
Wilson, Thomas
Walden, Reuben
Whitaker, John
Young, Nathan

PIONEER TRIP.

A Trip From Pennyslnania to Illinois in 1851.

(By W. W. Davis.)

"Perhaps the most famous year in modern times was 1809. Darwin, Tennyson, Gladstone, Mrs. Browning, Lincoln, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edgar A. Poe, were all born in 1809. Another year of remarkable events was 1851. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, and Tupper the proverbial philosopher, visited the United States; Joanna Baillie died, Jenny Lind was married, and the World's fair in London, all took place in 1851. In that year, too, my father and I made a trip to Illinois.

It was a great undertaking for that day. It meant a round trip of 3,000 miles by rail, canal, stage and steamboat. There were no railroads across the continent, and traveling was tedious. Iowa and Illinois were on the frontiers, and Ohio was the focus for most emigration. People generally moved by wagon, and the journey from eastern Pennsylvania occupied a month. They took a solemn farewell of their friends, as they never expected to see them again.

At 11:00, Wednesday morning, June 3, we took the cars at Lancaster an old town, founded long before the Revolution, its North Queen and East King streets testifying to the loyalty of the early inhabitants. Through Harrisburg, over the Susquehanna, Huntington, Lewiston, along the picturesque Juniata.

Wild roved an Indian girl,
Bright Alfarata;
Where roll the waters of
The blue Juniata.

Passing Hollidaysburg and 38 miles of inclined planes over the mountains, Johnstown was reached at 2:00 on Thursday morning. Little did the straggling town dream of the overwhelming catastrophe less than 40 years afterwards. Here we were transferred to the canal, our first and last experience of that primitive method of transportation.

George William Curtis calls the Nile the "Paradise of Travel." This can hardly be said of the canal, yet the long ditch has a charm. Slow of course, only as fast as a mule can walk or trot, but then there is no danger of collision, of misplaced switch, of scalding steam, of crushing timbers, or any other dreadful disaster. No rush, plenty of time. True, the accomodations were not luxurious, but you cannot always be at the Waldorf-Astoria. Diogenes would have felt per-

fectly at home. On rising in the morning, a tin dipper was at hand to dip the water from the canal into a tin basin for the face and hands, and common towels were ready to complete the toilet. These were limited in number and soon became saturated with abundant and indiscriminate patronage. A common comb and brush which fastidious folks hestitated to employ. The meals were substantial but monotonous; breakfast, dinner and supper consisting mainly of tea and coffee, bread and butter, ham and bacon, liver and sausage. As much exercise as you pleased, when tired of lying or sitting on the deck or promenading its contracted area, you could readily step ashore at one lock and walk to the next, as they were often only a mile apart. Perhaps the most exciting diversion of the voyage was the gymnastics required of the passengers when the lookout warned of coming obstacles, "bridge" meant a slight ducking of the head, but "low bridge" meant a violent contraction of the whole anatomy to escape contact with some low roadway crossing the canal. Night was our worst trial in the frail bark. There was no sound of revelry. Extemporaneous shelves were placed along the sides, one over the other, and a delicate man below was in danger of being crushed by some stout fellow above. A close curtain swung on wire separated the sexes. Long before day the air in the narrow cabin became distressingly foul, and at earliest streak of dawn, there was a general scramble for the deck and the pure air of heaven.

To the lover of nature, the canal is an ideal method of travel. Rocks and trees, birds and flowers on the shore can be studied leisurely in detail, and every landscape is indelibly photographed on the memory as it slowly vanishes in the distance. The Pennsylvania central was in process of construction, and as we moved through the deep valleys or ravines, we could see the workmen on the track away up on the hillsides. But everything comes to an end, even the novels of Samuel Richardson, and on Friday we reached Pittsburg, 103 miles from Johnstown; time, 30 hours.

At Pittsburg we began our 1,000 miles of sail down the Ohio. Our boat was the "Messenger," a light vessel, the same on which Charles Dickens was a passenger in 1842. It was on his return to England that he wrote "American notes for general circulation," arousing some patriotic indignation. But Boz was not too severe, our manners and methods were certainly crude, and he honestly said so. He was not censorious or uncharitable. For instance, some tobacco chewers who called at his room in Washington, missed the spittoon at five paces, giving Dickens some reason to doubt the vaunted proficiency of American riflemen. He was surprised at the dismal quiet prevailing at mealtime. Nobody says anything to anybody, no laughter, no cheerfulness. Dinners are swallowed as if the necessities of nature were not to be coupled with recreation or enjoyment, and so on. These strictures were certainly justifiable, but there was a good deal of kicking against the presumption of the author of Pickwick in treading upon our American toes.

Sitting on the deck of the Messenger, sailing down "the storied Ohio," as Mr. Thwaites calls the beautiful river, we were ready for any object of interest. A few miles below Parkersburg is Blennerhassett's island. What a world of history and pathos and romance hangs around those wooded shores! You think of the young Irishman and his wife fleeing from the old county, crossing the Alleghenies, and rearing in these primeval solitudes a home of ease and elegance; of Aaron Burr's appearance in this bower of Eden with his dreams of empire; of Jefferson's proclamation and the charge of treason; of Blennerhassett's flight and arrest; of the imposing trial at Richmond before Chief Justice Marshall, and Burr's acquittal. After a hopeless struggle to restore his shattered fortunes, Blennerhassett died on the island of Guernsey, in 1831, while Burr, as we know, with the mark of Cain upon his brow, ended his days in disgrace near New York, the city of his early triumph. William Wirt, an Attorney General of the United States, was the prosecutor of Burr for treason, and some of us may remember his fervid rhetoric in exonerating Blennerhassett from all guilt in the conspiracy.

"Who is Blennerhassett? A native of Ireland, a man of letters, who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours. Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every romantic embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied blooms around him. Music that might have charmed Calypso and her nymphs is his. An extensive library spreads its treasures before him. A philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature. And to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife who is said to have been lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment, had blessed him with her love."

The island has returned to its orignal solitude, and nothing is left of Blennerhassett's happy home but an old well which still furnishes water to an occasional excursion.

We arrived at Cincinnati on Monday morning, the third day after leaving Pittsburg, a distance of 465 miles, and went to the Broadway hotel. Cincinnati was then the largest city west of the Alleghenies, and bore the proud title, "Queen of the West." It was at the head of river navigation in the low water of summer, the depot for all merchandise or produce to be transported to St. Louis or New Orleans, a center of hog traffic and pork packing, and a general metropolis for business and pleasure. Here was Nicholas Longworth with his 200 acres of Isabella and Catawba grapes and wine vaults, and a national reputation for horticultural enterprise. The population was over 150,000 to Chicago's 30,000, five to one, but the ratio is now reversed. The finest hotel was the well known Burnet House.

To Louisville the next morning by steamer Telegraph. A daylight ride of 132 miles. A short distance below Cincinnati, on the Ohio shore is North Bend. On a wooded hill the tomb of President Harrison could be plainly seen. After his death in Washington in 1841,

the body was interred in the Congressional cemetery, but was afterwards removed by the family to this spot The grave was neglected for years. The ground was ceded by John Scott Harrison, his son, to Ohio on agreement that the state would keep it in order, and in 1887 the legislature voted a tax to build a monument. Mrs. Harrison, who survived the general to 1864, is buried by his side at North Bend, which seemed to be a part of the family estate. This son, John, was a man of some note, having been in Congress from 1853 to 1857.

On leaving Louisville, we were obliged to take an omnibus to the foot of the rapids, which interrupt navigation in low water. Our steamer was the Lady Franklin. She was full of freight and passengers. Thirty miles below Shawneetown, Ill., is Cave-in-Rock, the resort of Mason, an outlaw, who plundered flatboats and traders in 1801. Cairo came into view at dusk. A group of small houses and wharf boats, low and desolate, did not make as striking a picture as Constantinople. Passing from the Ohio river into the Mississippi our boat was floating on a waste of waters. It was a rainy season in the west and all streams were over their banks. The bottom lands were covered for miles in every direction. Our pilot made no attempt to keep in the channel, but took short cuts over fertile farms. On the raging current were borne trees, cabins, sheds, stumps, debris of every description. Roosters on a barnyard fence crowed to us in vain for rescue. Just one week from Pittsburg, 1,100 miles, we touched the wharf or levee at St. Louis, a city even then of 100,000 people. The streets leading from the river were narrow, crowded with drays as the steamboat trade was at its height, but they were dirty, dead rats being conspicuous in this rubbish,

From St. Louis, 20 miles up the Mississippi to Alton. Here we had to take stage across the country. Our introduction to the Sucker state. No luxurious Concord coach with upholstered backs, but a rough spring wagon with a canvas cover and soft boards for seats. What roads! A series of swamps.

"We traveled all night, but the continued jolting prevented sleep. Happy dreams of Pullman cars would have lightened our slumbers. We reached Jacksonville about dinner time; 79 miles from Alton in 23 hours. Jacksonville was already the seat of asylums, the blind, deaf and dumb and insane, and also of Illinois college. Here we struck the railroad from Naples on the Illinois river to Springfield, and boarded the first train for that city. This was our destination, and for two weeks we enjoyed the society of our relatives and early friends of my father, who had moved from Pennsylvania.

Dr. William S. Wallace opened a drug store on the east side of the square, married a sister of Mrs. Lincoln, was long a popular physician, and was appointed paymaster during the Civil war. J. Roland Diller was in the postoffice. Obed Lewis carried on the carriage business, married a daughter of Major Iles, and was elected mayor. Reuben F. Ruth opened a harness store on the south side of the square, and was in later years president of the Marine bank. Roland W. Diller and his brother, Isaac R., joined the colony afterwards.

Roland and his friend Corneau continued the old Wallace drug store, which for years was the popular rendezvous in the city for men of all politics. Around the rusty stove gathered Lincoln, Douglas, Judge Logan, Baker, and the worthies of that day whose names have since become so familiar.

Capt. Isaac R. Diller, who acquired his title in the Mexican war, was clerk of the House in 1850; postmaster of Springfield under Pierce from 1853 to 1857; consul at Bremen, Germany, under Buchanan from 1857 to 1361; consul at Florence, Italy, under Cleveland from 1886 to 1890, later making his residence in Chicago. His wife, Lenora, was the daughter of Doctor Heaton, a large land owner in Jersey county, who ended his days in Chicago.

During our stay in Springfield, Mrs. Wallace gave a tea party in our honor, inviting her sister, Mrs. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln and a few others. A table full, a lively company, but of the sayings and doings of the occasion, there is no record. Often since have I wished for the memory of Macaulay and the pen of Boswell to chronicle the table talk of that assembly. The Lincoln of 1851 was not the Lincoln of 1861, whose fame gave every utterance widespread importance. In Congress from 1847-1849, but with no reputation outside the State. No doubt, he told some of the jokes that afterwards went the rounds of the papers, and made him the popular storyteller of his time. He may, for instance, have quoted the lines he composed for the title page of his early arithmetic, but I am not willing to be sworn:

Abraham Lincoln,
His hand and pen,
He will be good,
But God knows when.

Springfield at that day gave little promise of its present beauty and prosperity. All business centered on the public square and the old State house was the most commanding object. Here Lincoln sat as a member of the legislature, and was one of the "Long Nine" who led in the removal of the capital from Vandalia. The desk he occupied in the State house is now a cherished souvenir in the possession of Roland W. Diller. On the north side of the square was a succession of little houses, called by the citizens "Chicken Row." The town had about 4,000 people.

Turning our faces homeward we went by rail from Springfield to Naples, on the Illinois river, 70 miles, and at Naples boarded the steamer Connecticut for the voyage up stream. Heavy rains made the river look like a vast lake, bottom lands covered to the distant hills. We arrived at Peru the next day, a sail of about 200 miles, the limit of navigation on the Illinois. Here, again, the Sucker stage as a change in our method of locomotion, and we were soon floundering through the sloughs of the rolling prairies. It was in early summer and flowers and grass were waving in all their luxuriance. Bryant, the poet, before he became a fixture in New York, came to Illinois in

1832 to visit his brothers who had settled at Princeton, and was inspired by the enchanting landscape to sing one of his noblest poems:

"These are the gardens of the desert, these,
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
For which the speech of England has no name—
The prairies, I behold them for the first,
And my heart swells, while the dilated sight
Takes in the encircling vastness. Lo! they stretch
In airy undulations, far away,
As if the ocean in her gentlest swell
Stood still, with all his rounded billows fixed
And motionless forever."

During a vacation visit in 1846 to his mother and brothers at Princeton, the poet Bryant's stage experience gives a good idea of Illinois roads in rainy weather. "A little before sunset, we were about to cross the Illinois canal. High water had carried away the bridge, and in attempting to ford, the coach wheels on one side rose upon some stones, and on the other side sank into the mud, and we were overturned in an instant. We extricated ourselves as well as we could. The men waded out; the women were carried, and nobody was drowned or hurt. A passing farm wagon conveyed the female passengers to the next farm house. To get out the baggage and set the coach on its wheels, we all had to stand waist deep in the mud. At nine we reached the hospitable farm house, where we passed the night in drying ourselves and getting our baggage ready to proceed the next day."

From Peru to Dixon, an all-day stage ride of 60 miles, a distance now traversed by the Illinois Central trains in two hours. At Dixon, on Rock river, we hired a special team to take us to Sterling, 12 miles west, also on the river. Here we were again among friends from Pennsylvania. Hugh Wallace and brothers, Geo. Woodburn and Ezekiel Kilgour, from Cumberland county. They came in 1837. Hugh Wallace was perhaps the most prominent citizen. He graduated at Washington college, read law with General Porter in Lancaster, was a member of the Illinois legislature 1846-1852, and was appointed by Pierce, register of the land office at Dixon. At his hospitable frame cottage, known as "the fort," he and his noble wife, née Mary Galt, entertained Senator Douglas, U. F. Linder, Judge Leffingwell and other noted men of that time. The western part of Sterling is built on his old farm.

Another esteemed citizen was Col. R. L. Wilson, who was a member of the legislature when the capital was removed from Vandalia to Springfield, and took an active part in that event. The committee was called the "Long Nine," from their height; all were six feet, and consisted of Herndon and Fletcher of the Senate, and Edwards, Dawson, McCormick, Stone, Elkin, Wilson and Abraham Lincoln of the House. Colonel Wilson was clerk of the Whiteside county circuit court from 1840 to 1860, and was appointed paymaster by Lincoln during the war.

Sterling stood high and dry on its lime stone hills along the river, with a population of 200, in houses scattered over the prairie, east and west of the court house. It was a "green county town," as William Penn wrote of Philadelphia in its infant days.

Our visit at Sterling ended, we left Dixon on our last stage ride, for Aurora, 70 miles, and reached there at noon the next day, having stayed all night on the way. The railroad from Aurora to Chicago was the only one in Illinois in 1851, except that from Naples to Springfield. Chicago had only 30,000 inhabitants, but was beginning to boom. Buildings low; no skyscrapers, many of frame. Our hotel was the old Tremont. The streets were covered with plank. Omnibuses were the only means of transit. No union depots, as no through lines of railroads radiated from the city. The purchase of some good corner lots then on State street would have associated our name with Marshall Field's.

From Chicago, a varied and delightful course homeward. Across Lake Michigan to New Buffalo, the western terminus of the Michigan Central, which had not then entered Chicago. It was late at night when we took the train and at 11:00 the next day we were in Detroit. Here resting all night, at 11:00 the next morning we embarked on the steamer Mayflower and after a charming sail, the boat was at her wharf in Buffalo before we were out of our berths. By rail to Niagara Falls. My boyish enthusiasm was aroused as I gazed at last on the wondrous curiosity so often admired in my geography. The suspension bridge below the falls had been erected not long before and was considered one of the engineering triumphs of the age. Cataract House was the principal hotel on the American side. Mrs. Sigourney was a stranger to me then or I should have uttered her appreciative lines:

"Flow on forever, in thy glorious robe Of terror and of beauty. Yes, flow on, Unfathomed and resistless."

Buffalo to Albany over the New York Central, down the Hudson in the Reindeer; New York to Philadelphia via Jersey City, Trenton and the Delaware, Philadelphia to Lancaster.

We were gone nearly eight weeks, June 3 to July 26, traveling by actual measurement 3,226 miles, at an expense for both of us of $180, not much more than the trip would cost today with all our improved facilities.

Although over 50 years have passed since that early tour and my dear father, whose affectionate companionship added so much to its pleasure, has gone to his reward, many of the incidents have the vividness of yesterday. I live the trip over every year of my life. "Haec olim meminisse juvabit.

"Oft in the stilly night.
'Ere slumber's chain has bound me,
Fond memory brings the light
Of other days around me."

NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER MEN OF ILLINOIS.

(Hon. E. A. Snively.)

Considering the part the newspapers and newspaper men have played in the history of Illinois, the entire time of this meeting could be taken up in recounting their victories, and then the half would not be told. For this occasion I have determined to make no reference to any person whose connection with the press began subsequent to 1860, leaving a history of the latter part of the last century to be taken up by some one at a future meeting of the society.

I have selected this period in the State's history, at this time, because with the beginning of the war of the rebellion, there was a complete change in the newspapers of the State. The campaign of 1860 was so closely allied to this change that it should be included in a history of the press of the State, which deals with it as it is today. As we know newspapers there were few of them in Illinois in the years of which I shall speak.

I propose to tell of the newspaper as it was in an era when no one had dreamed of a telephone, an ocean cable, an automobile, a woman's club, the daughters of the American revolution, a steam thresher, a selfbinder, appendicitis, heart failure, or any of the other many modern improvements that now engross so much of our attention.

The average citizen of today, who takes his evening paper with his supper knows little of the paper 60 and 70 years ago, and still less of the struggles of the earnest men who, under the very greatest difficulties, produced the early newspapers of the State.

The first newspaper published in Illinois was published at Kaskaskia and called the "Illinois Herald," the publisher being Mathew Duncan, the first issue dated Sept. 6th, 1814. It was a three column folio, and the most of its space was given up to the publication of the laws of Congress. The paper was subsequently sold to Daniel P. Cook and Robert Blackwell. Mr. Cook sold his interest to Elijah C. Berry, who subsequently became the purchaser of Mr. Blackwell's interest. When Cook and Blackwell purchased the paper they changed its name to the "Illinois Intelligencer." When the seat of government was removed to Vandalia, the "Intelligencer" or at least

a goodly portion of it, went along and the name of the paper was changed to the "Vandalia Intelligencer." Its name was again changed in 1823, to "Illinois Intelligencer," and it was an important factor in the fight against the calling of the constitutional convention in 1824. When the printing material of the "Intelligencer" was divided, that part which remained at Kaskaskia was utilized in the publication of a paper called the "Republican Advocate." Elias Kent Kane was the editor, and after his election to the United States senate, he sold the paper to Robert K. Fleming, who had been in charge of the mechanical department. Mr. Fleming moved the material to Vandalia and attempted to establish a paper there, but meeting with no encouragement, he moved the material to Edwardsville and established the "Illinois Corrector." In about one year the "Corrector" was suspended and the material taken again to Kaskaskia where a paper called the "Recorder" was published, and it continued from November 1828 until October 1833, when the material was removed to Belleville and the "St. Clair Gazette" established.

In July or August, 1818, Mr. Henry Eddy started from Pittsburg with a printing outfit, intending to go to St. Louis and there publish a paper. At Shawneetown the boat was stranded on a sandbar. The citizens of the town, learning Mr. Eddy's intentions, induced him to unload his printing material and the "Shawnee Chief" was given to the world on the 5th day of September, 1818, and Illinois was the proud possessor of two newspapers. After a few issues the name of the paper was changed to the "Illinois Emigrant."

On May 23rd, 1819, at Edwardsville, Hooper Warren began the publication of the "Edwardsville Spectator." Hooper Warren was one of the great men of his day. A most forceful writer, his bravery was a twin brother to his ability. He was opposed to slavery, and in the battle to make Illinois a slave State his editorial pen was one of the greatest weapons in the conflict. He sold the "Spectator" and then repurchased it, moving the material to Springfield, where he published the "Sangamon Spectator." In 1829, in company with two other gentlemen he went to Galena and established the "Galena Advertiser" and "Upper Mississippi Herald." In 1836 he removed to Chicago and established the "Commercial Advertiser," which was the third paper published in Chicago. Subsequently in 1850, he removed to Princeton and published the "Bureau Advocate," and afterwards again removed to Chicago where, in company with Z. Eastman he published the "Free West and Western Citizen."

The fifth paper published in the State was called the "Star of the West," and was published at Edwardsville. A man named Miller, accompanied by his son, owned a printing office in Pennsylvania, which they started with to the West looking for a location. Upon arriving at Edwardsville they were induced to unload the material and set up an office, and the paper was called the "Star of the West." It became an advocate of the pro-slavery constitution and was published from Sept. 14th, 1822, until July 28th, 1824, one week before the convention was defeated.

On the 25th day of April, 1829, the first issue of the "Pioneer," published at Rock Spring, made its appearance. It was printed by Thomas P. Green and his son, but it was edited by Rev. John M. Peck. No mention of the early history of Illinois is complete without bringing out prominently the life and history of Rev. John M. Peck, and paying tribute to his work and worth not only in aiding to defeat the pro-slavery constitution, but for the publication of his Gazetteer and his untiring zeal in behalf of the upbuilding of the new State. The "Pioneer" was a five column folio and was the first religious paper published in Illinois.

Some of the historians assert that the publication of the "Western News" began in 1826 or 1827. This is an error. The "Sangamon Spectator" of Jan. 26, 1828, contains the prospectus of the "Western News" and "Farmers' Weekly Intelligencer." The paper was to be published as soon as 300 subscribers were secured at $1.50 each. Evidently when this prospectus was printed there had been a suspension of some of the papers because it states there was then only four newspapers in the State.

Beginning with the early 30's and from that time on newspapers were established as the towns grew in population, and I will not follow up, in chronological order, the various papers which made their appearance.

The first daily established in Illinois was the "Gazette," published then, as now, at Galena. Its first issue was June 1, 1847, and nine days later the first issue of the "Chicago Daily Tribune" made its appearance.

Prior to the war, the editors of papers had a more extended personal acquaintance—or were known by a much greater proportionate number of people—than are the editors of today. The reason for this can be found in the smaller number of papers then as compared with the present time and the impersonality which now surrounds the papers, and especially the great metropolitan papers.

In the earlier days the establishment of a newspaper was not caused by the desire on the part of the business men to advance the business interests of their town and county, so much as the material interests of the politicians. The majority of newspapers in Illinois, or at least, so far as numbers go, a most respectable minority, were owned and controlled by the politicians of the county seat. While printing material was high-priced, the amount required to establish a political "organ" was small, and the advantages to the party, or a faction of a party, were considered very great. The early history of newspapers shows that many were established. They were published through one campaign and then suspended and the material hauled away to some other field. Thus a part of the old

"Intelligencer" printing office went from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, thence to Belleville and finally again landed at its starting point.

The newspaper then was not published to furnish news, but ideas. The small amount of news furnished, was intended merely to give force and effect to the editorial utterances The paper seldom contained more than one editorial in each issue, and in a majority of cases, the article was written by the local politician whose native sense and acquired education made him the most prominent figure in his party. The editorial was not written hurriedly and neither was it written in the style of a freshman or a sophomore. It was the result of the same study and research which characterizes the minister in the preparation of his sermon. The principles of government, the action of congress and the State legislature were discussed in a manner that showed the development of great study and profound thought. This one article was called the "leader," and the country paper of ante-war days would, under no consideration, go to press without its "leader." If the politicians had not written one and the editor could not, there was recourse to the scissors and one of the exchanges published farthest away. Seldom was the editorial page graced with more than one article. At times of great political excitement more than the usual amount of space was sometimes devoted to the discussion of political matters, but it required a presidential or gubernatorial election to bring this about. There was practically no local news. A matter which now would be served up in a column in any newspaper would then be disposed of in a half dozen lines. Mrs. Jones might give the most elaborate pink tea ever known in the county, but there would be no mention of it in the paper. The birth of a two-headed calf, the sale of a 900 pound hog or a visit of the member of congress might be recorded in a line or two, but it required some such event to produce a local item. The subscription list was small and often paid in cord wood, beeswax, potatoes, pork, cabbage or anything else the farm produced.

While all that I have said of the meagerness of the editorials in the press, it is no doubt true, that the greatest battle, in the newspapers, ever known in Illinois, was that waged for and against the adoption of the pro-slavery constitution. The papers were few in number and small in size. But their columns were filled with such brainy production as never before or since have been known. Among those opposed to the convention were Governor Coles, Morris Bickbeck, John M. Peck, Samuel D. Lockwood, Robert Blackwell, Daniel P. Cook, Henry Eddy, George Forquer and others. Among those who favored the convention were Elias Kent Kane, Jesse B Thomas, John McLean, Samuel McRoberts, Chief Justice Phillips, Judge Casey, and others of equal ability and prominence While but few of these men were actively engaged in the newspaper business, it is but just to them and the craft, that their names be considered when newspaper history is written, because they were all, more or less, financially interested in the publication of the papers of that day.

And each of them, either in the form of communications or in editorials written for the few papers then in existence, placed himself along with the men whose names adorned the editorial columns of the papers. That great contest, to the issue of which Illinois, undoubtedly, owes her position today, was a battle of intellects—a battle of brain against brain—a battle in which every superior mind in the young commonwealth took part, and through the columns of the press carried on a warfare never before equaled. What could not the State afford to pay for a file of the newspapers of that day? What an example and an inspiration they would be to the modern journalist whose only idea is to paint everything as yellow as possible.

When early newspaper men, in Illinois, are mentioned, the mind instinctively turns to Alton and the murder of Lovejoy. His life, his history and his tragic death are familiar to all. He was a type of the old-time editor, albeit, he was a man of far more ability than most of them, and with a courage that was never excelled. Others there were who believed all he believed, who taught, but in a different manner all that he taught. Many of these lived to see the fulfillment of his desires and to realize that the blood of that martyr was one of the seeds of the final abolition of slavery.

The destruction of another newspaper office resulted in a tragedy which marks almost, if not quite, as important an epoch in our history. Some parties in Nauvoo established a newspaper in opposition to mormonism. Only one issue was printed, when the city council, under the lead of Joseph Smith, declared the paper a nuisance and ordered the press and type thrown into the Mississippi river. This outrage on a free press together with other offenses against the laws, lead to the arrest of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, their incarceration in the Carthage jail and their subsequent death.

John Wentworth became editor of the Chicago Democrat in 1836 and continued in that capacity for more than a quarter of a century. He imparted to the columns of his paper much of his unique personality. It was he who gave to the State banks and their currency the name of "wild cat" and for many issues of his paper each column on its first page was ornamented with a picture of the ferocious animal. He was one of the three men who have represented Republican and Democratic constituencies in Congress from Illinois.

Joseph Medill assumed editorial control of the Chicago Tribune on the 18th of June, 1855. It is doubtful if any other paper wielded an equal influence in the earlier years of the Republican party. The State has had no more independent journalist than Mr. Medill. As a general thing he was always to be found in line with his party. The most notable example when he saw his duty to be cut loose from his party fetters was in 1869, when he ran as an independent delegate for the constitutional convention. After his election he was

offered the presidency of the convention by the Republicans, but refused. He had advocated non-partisanship in the selection of delegates and he adhered to his position.

It has been generally understood that Gov. John M. Palmer established the Carlinville Free Democrat, now the Carlinville Democrat. In his "memoirs," however, he says, he and his partner merely loaned the money to the gentlemen who established the paper. It is true, however, that it was understood that Governor Palmer was the power behind the throne in the early days of the paper's publication, and this fact gave the paper a wide influence. In 1878 Governor Palmer came into possession of the Illinois State Register, which he published for some time. Once when he was called upon to defend something which appeared in the Register, he said that while he owned it, he hired an editor and never wrote anything for it except on Saturday night, and then he only wrote checks.

Paul Selby, in 1848, assumed editorial charge of the Morgan Journal, and subsequently, for a time, edited the Quincy Whig. For 18 years he was editor of the Illinois State Journal. He was always firm in his beliefs, and expressed them in a calm, dignified manner. He was conscientious in his work, and in his long career enjoyed the respect of all.

Charles H. Lanphier entered the office of the Illinois State Register in 1836, when the paper was published at Vandalia. When the office was removed to Springfield, Mr. Lanphier went with it, and his connection with the paper continued until 1836, during 20 years of which time he was the editor. Mr. Lanphier was a close personal and political friend of Stephen A. Douglas, and it was he who managed the senatorial campaign in 1858.

Judge T. Lyle Dickey for a short time was the acknowledged editor of a Whig newspaper in Rushville, and it is no doubt true that for two or three years he and James W. Singleton were the real editors of the paper.

John W. Merritt assumed control of the Belleville Advocate in 1848, and three years later moved to Salem, where he published a paper called the Advocate until 1864, when, in company with his son, he purchased the Illinois State Register, which he conducted for a number of years.

Perhaps the one family most noted in the history of Illinois journalism during the period of which I write was the Brooks family. S S. Brooks began his editorial career at Edwardsville about 1832. From there he went in turn to Jacksonville, Alton, Springfield, Quincy, Lewiston, Alton, Quincy, Peoria, Quincy. Upon returning for his third residence in the latter city, he was elected clerk of the circuit court, and was filling that position at the time of his death.

Austin, John P., Martin and Samuel S., all sons of S. S. Brooks, were noted for their connection with the press of Illinois. Austin Brooks began his newspaper career in Shawneetown before he was 21 years of age. Subsequently he went to Mt. Carmel. In 1847 or 1848 he went to Quincy, and from that time until his death in 1870, was

connected most of the time as editor and publisher of the Herald. He was a second edition of George D. Prentice, and no paper in the State was oftener quoted than the Herald under his management.

John P. Brooks began his editorial career in 1848, taking charge of the Canton Register. He afterwards entered the ministry, but at different times was engaged in newspaper work. In 1862 he was elected State superintendent of public instruction.

Martin and Samuel S. Brooks have both been connected with newspapers in the State, but that connection was subsequent to 1860.

In 1855 James M. Davidson began the publication of the Fulton Democrat, which he conducted until 1858. The year following he begun the publication of the Squatter Sovereign, and after changing its name to the Havana Post, sold it to John B. Wright in the summer of 1861. In 1865 he became the owner of the Carthage Republican, which he conducted until his death in 1894. He was recognized as one of the ablest editors ever connected with the press in central Illinois.

Mr. Davidson was no doubt the first country editor to resort to cartoons. He was his own artist. He drew his cartoons on a piece of paper, then transferred them to the bottom of some old patent medicine stereotype cut and with a sharp knife finished the work. They were equally as original and appropriate as any which now embellish the pages of the metropolitan papers and were very properly envied—and often borrowed—by his brother editors.

James Shoaff, for years connected with the press of our neighboring city of Decatur was known all over the State. He was a kind, genial man, a vigorous and forceful writer when he felt the occasion demanded it.

In 1848 John H. Bryant became the editor of the Bureau Advocate, and continued with the paper until 1863. Prior to Mr. Bryant's assuming charge of the paper each issue of the paper was edited by a committee of Whigs, a committee of Democrats and a committee of Liberty advocates, each party having the use of two columns in which to advocate its cause

John G. Nicolay began his literary career prior to the war, as editor of the Pike County Journal, a Republican paper published in Pike county.

I have named a few only, of the most prominent men connected with the press prior to 1860. In a general way, I have selected those whose business was journalism in the strict sense of the word, and leaving out of count those whose connection with the press was a mere temporary matter for the accomplishment of some particular purpose.

So far as I now recall there are only seven persons actively engaged in journalism today, in Illinois, who were so engaged prior to 1860. These are Charles Holt, Kankakee Gazette; William Osman, Ottawa Free-Trader; Ben. F. Shaw, Dixon Telegraph; W. T. Davidson, Fulton Democrat; S. Y. Thornton, Canton Ledger; George W.

Harper, Robinson Argus and H. M. Kimball, Macoupin County Argus. Chas. Holt began his career as an editor in 1848, but he did not come to Illinois until 1864, and since that time has been constantly in the business.

William Osman has been connected as editor and publisher with the Ottawa Free-Trader since its establishment in 1843.

W. T. Davidson became proprietor of the Fulton Democrat in 1858.

S. Y. Thornton became part owner of the Fulton County Ledger in 1856 and the following year became its sole owner and has continued as sole proprietor and editor since.

H. M. Kimball began his career as editor of the Carlinville Free Democrat in 1856.

George W. Harper began the publication of the Banner at Palestine in 1856. After serving in the army he settled in Robinson where he has since published a paper.

Benjamin F. Shaw has been connected with the Dixon Telegraph for almost half a century. He was a member of the Anti-Nebraska Editorial convention which met in Decatur on the 22nd of February, 1856, and was also a member of the first Republican State convention in this State, and he has steadily held to that faith since.

The old time editor was one of nature's most perfect composites. In the office he was type setter, job printer, pressman, bookkeeper, business manager and editor. He was prominent in every movement that was for the benefit of his town. He was secretary for his party conventions and committees. Sometimes he was a leader in the church and superintendent of the Sabbath school, and sometimes he did a great deal more than his share towards raising the government revenue.

He was posted upon all questions from the tariff to the proper time in the moon to plant potatoes. He could discuss foreign affairs or the creed of any religious sect. He may never have been possessed of $100 at one time, but he could discuss financial questions with the head of the bank of England. No man in the community received as little pay (unless it was the preacher) for the amount of good he accomplished. He went about his tasks with a willingness and a cheerfulness that evidenced his patience under circumstances and conditions that often were the most discouraging. He was firm in his convictions but accorded to others the same rights he claimed for himself. Like Charity, as described by St. Paul, the old time editor suffered long and was kind, he thought no evil; he was not puffed up; he vaunted not himself; he rejoiced not in iniquity but rejoiced in the truth; he hoped for all things and endured all things.

A few of the number were in no way creditable to the profession—they were coarse, vulgar and brutal in their editorials, but these soon fell by the wayside while the gentlemen in the sanctum remained as a living monument to the survival of the fittest.

The old time editor saved Illinois from the curse of slavery. He followed along, but more often lead, the march of improvement, and at all times was in the fore-front of all movements to aid in developing the State. As population increased and the time came when the newspaper was a necessity, and not a luxury, he was ready to meet the demands. Many of them suspended their papers and took up arms in defense of the flag, and on their return fitted themselves into the new environment as best they could, but found that in the general conduct of a newspaper, they had to serve a new apprenticeship.

Nearly all of the men who were prominent in the newspaper history of our State during the period which I have briefly and most imperfectly covered, have gone to their long home. On the foundations builded by them has been erected a press that is recognized everywhere as leading that of any State in the Union. At the meetings of the national editorial association, Illinois has for years occupied the seat of honor, and the hundreds of splendid newspapers today which reflect the industry, enterprise and intelligence of the communities in which they are published,owe their beginning to the tireless energy and unceasing toil of the pioneers of Illinois journalism.

THE PART OF ILLINOISANS IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT, 1851-1862.

(Paul Selby, A. M.)

Not only the State of Illinois, but the entire nation, owes a debt of gratitude to an earnest and progressive group of Illinoisans for what has been accomplished, within the last 40 years, in the development of a system of national education based upon instruction in the practical and mechanic arts, as well as in general literature, languages and the abstract sciences, and I felt that it was due to the memories of the champions of this measure, that some record of their labors and achievements should go into the "Transactions" of this Society. In this I refer to the act passed by the Congress of the United States in 1862, and approved by President Lincoln on July 2d of that year, making a grant to each state and territory of public lands in the proportion of 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative or Delegate in Congress to which such state or territory might be entitled, for the "endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life." An evidence of the far-reaching results which have attended the operation of this act, is furnished by the fact that, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ending June 30, 1903, there are now 66 institutions in existence based upon this appropriation of public lands—embracing at least one in each state and territory of the Union except Alaska—having a total valuation of property amounting to nearly $70,000,000.00, and giving instruction in their several departments during the year 1902 to more than 47,000 students.

Although it may naturally occur to some that this subject has been treated with entire accuracy and ample completeness by Mr. Pillsbury in his comprehensive article on "The University of Illinois," printed in the biennial report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Dr. Richard Edwards) for 1887-88—and, while recognizing the value of that excellent article, I have not hesitated to draw upon it for many facts in the preparation of this paper—I hope to be able to present some additional items obtained from other sources,

Jonathan Baldwin Turner.

including contemporaneous journals, the records of Congress and some of the principal actors in securing the enactment of this measure, which may not be without interest in this connection.

By way of preface, it may be said that the subject of founding schools affording opportunities for industrial training, not only for the benefit of the laboring classes, but for the promotion of social and domestic economy in connection with literary and scientific instruction, began to attract the attention of philanthropists and economists at an early day. As early as 1651, during the days of the the "Commonwealth" in England, as appears from an article by the late Prof. Henry Barnard in the "American Journal of Education" of 1871, one Samuel Hartlib, in a volume entitled, "An Essay for advancement of Husbandry-Learning; or Propositions for the erecting a college of Husbandry; and in order thereto, for the taking in of Pupills or apprentices; and also for Friends or Fellows of the same Colledge or Society," proposed a plan of instruction in agricultural pursuits, stock-growing, the study and management of soils, etc., in connection with popular education, in some respects not unlike that championed by the friends of industrial education two centuries later. That he had the sympathy and coöperation of Milton, Cowley and other distinguished men of that period in his enterprise, is shown by their correspondence with him approving his plans. ("American Journal of Education," 1871, pp. 29, 191.) Hartlib, who was the son of a Polish merchant, married an English woman, and spent his life and fortune in the effort to promote his scheme, dying in poverty in 1665. A generation later we find that Thomas Budd, who had come from England in 1678, and a few years later received a large grant of land from New Jersey for building a market and court house at Burlington, in that colony, in 1685 issued an elaborate treatise favoring a requirement that all children should receive at least seven year's schooling; that this should include both literary and mechanical training; that 1,000 acres of land should be set apart for the support of each school, and that the children of the poor and the Indians should receive the same benefits therefrom, free of charge, as other pupils. ("Industrial Training Two Centuries Ago," by George P. Morris—Popular Science Monthly, 1887, p. 608.) These two schemes bear so strong a resemblance to each other as to justify the belief that the later one may have been suggested by the earlier.

It is claimed that Edinburg University was "the first university in Europe to possess a chair of agricultural science," founded "as far back as 1790." Several institutions in England at a later period maintained departments in which agriculture was taught as a science, the most notable being the Royal Agricultural College at Gloucester, founded in 1845. The greatest activity in the development of technical education appears to have been in existence, however, in the continental countries of Europe in the early part of the last century, especially in Switzerland, Germany, France and Belgium, and later in America. An agricultural college was founded in Hofwyl, Switzerland, in 1806—one report says it was established in 1804, as a manual labor experiment. Originally intended for the benefit of the

peasantry class having "no other property than their physical and mental faculties," in the thirty years of its existence it passed through a course of development similar to that of some of our American schools, during which classical and normal departments were added. During the first half of the last century a decided advance was made in this line in many European countries, to which a strong impulse was given by the International Exposition at London in 1851. Another developing cause in connection with technical education, at a later period, has been traced to the Franco-German war in 1871, at least as regards the two countries engaged in the struggle; and it is now conceded that Germany is in the lead in this line, with her rival, France, a close second, followed by Austria, while similar movements have been started in Italy, Holland, Sweden and Russia, and even in Japan and some of the South American republics. In Germany and most of the European states these institutions take the form of technological schools, in which engineering and the higher branches of practical science are taught.

So much has been said by way of introduction to the main topic of this paper, as indicating what had been in progress in other countries, and illustrating "how history repeats itself" under varying conditions, in different periods and among widely separated peoples, possibly, at times, without the knowledge of its most active agents. Coming to our own country, we find that, as early as 1820, the subject of manual labor in connection with the Maine Wesleyan Seminary began to be agitated with a view to aiding indigent students, and five years later the plan was put in operation, including both farm and mechanical industries. Probably the next step taken in this line was the founding of the "Oneida Institute of Science and Industry," established at Whitesboro, N. Y., in 1827, by the Rev. George W. Gale, who afterwards became one of the founders of the city of Galesburg in this State, which was named in his honor. Mr. Gale retired from the Oneida Institute in 1835, and two years later, in conjunction with others who had united with him in locating a colony in Knox county, Ill., matured his plans for the establishment of the "Knox Manual Labor College," which was put in operation in 1838. A few years later, the manual labor feature having been eliminated, this institution took its present name of Knox College.

It is worthy of note that the manual labor feature was incorporated in the plan of several institutions established in Illinois at an earlier period, including Illinois College at Jacksonville, McKendree College at Lebanon, and possibly others. "Agriculture" and "some branches of mechanics" were named by the founders of Illinois College as "part of the system of education whereby the health of the students will be promoted and their expenses diminished," and the college started with a farm of 160 acres, farming utensils, a carpenter shop, and other implements of industry, while I have the authority of the present president of McKendree College, Dr. Chamberlin, for the statement that a manual training department was established in connection with that institution in 1836 and a shop erected. This was before the days of the gymnasium and foot-ball, and although the

manual labor feature, as a part of the "college curriculum," was dropped later, there were still those who, from necessity or choice, availed themselves of the privilege of "working their way through college," and afterwards won distinction as scholars and in professional life, an illustrious example being our revered friend and the distinguished educator, the late Dr. Newton Bateman.

Another institution which adopted the manual labor feature in a more positive manner and had considerable prestige in its day, was the "Ebenezer Manual Labor School," organized by the conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in 1835 or '36, under the presidency of Rev. Peter Akers, who had previously been president of McKendree College. It was located four miles north of Jacksonville and continued in operation several years under three or four different presidents. Three young Chippewa Indians were educated in this school, who afterwards became prominent as missionaries among their people. About the same year Dr. David Nelson, a native of Tennessee and former slave-holder, but denounced as an Abolitionist, established just outside the boundary of the city of Quincy what was known as "Mission Institute," for the purpose of educating young men contemplating becoming missionaries. This school, projected on the manual labor plan, was the successor of another of a similar character set on foot by Dr. Ely and Nelson in Marion county, Mo., from which they were driven by the friends of slavery. A Rev. D. W. Ellmore, who settled in what is now St. Charles township, Kane county, Ill, about 1836, projected the establishment there of a large industrial school, and in 1851 had platted a village as its location, which he had named "Asylum." A bill for the incorporation of the school is said to have been introduced in the legislature, but the consummation of the scheme was defeated by his death by lightning, July 29, 1854. There has been no more prominent institution of this class than Oberlin College, Ohio, which was originally founded as a manual labor school with the avowed purpose of admitting pupils without regard to color; and it is claimed that, during the first 25 years of its existence, a majority of its graduates supported themselves by teaching or by manual labor. Although its management provoked bitter hostility, it still exists and is recognized as one of the influential and prosperous institutions of the middle west.

It would be interesting to follow out the history of some of these institutions in detail did space permit, but this is impracticable within the space allotted to this paper. Their existence marked a transition period in the history of education, implying an effort to furnish to the young an opportunity of securing an education while supporting themselves by their labor. With the passing of the necessity for schools of this character in consequence of the more liberal endowment of institutions and the increased wealth of the people, the term "manual labor school" has undergone a marked change in meaning, implying as it does now an institution whose pupils, while receiving literary and scientific instruction, are qualifying themselves by a systematic training for some business pursuit either in commerce, in the arts, as electrical or civil engineers, or as

skilled mechanics. The manual training and technological schools, existing now in nearly every large city of the country—of which the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, is a notable example—furnish an illustration of the progress that has been made in this direction within the past half century—a progress called forth by the marvelous inventions during the same period, and which it has, at the same time, tended to promote.

The conditions and events already described, while indicating what a progressive and philanthropic class were seeking to accomplish by crude and imperfect methods, often in the face of insurmountable obstacles, naturally leads up to the period in which Illinoisans became prominent and influential factors in a movement which was finally crowned with success and was of interest to the whole nation. From an early period in its history Illinois had been in possession of what was known as a "college" and "seminary fund"—the first based upon a percentage of the proceeds from the sale of public lands within the State, and the second derived from the direct donation of two townships of such lands, in accordance with the enabling act of 1818, empowering the people to organize a State government—both being in practical recognition of the declaration contained in the Ordinance of 1787, that, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Though set apart for a specific purpose, these funds had been appropriated during a period of stress in the State treasury to the payment of current expenses, and never applied to the purpose for which they were intended. Previous to 1850, as population increased and agricultural and other industrial organizations began to multiply, there arose a strong demand for the restoration of these funds and their application to the founding of a State institution, either for the education of teachers or furnishing instruction in branches related to the practical arts and sciences, or both.

One of those who took a deep interest in the question at this early day was Prof. Jonathan B. Turner, of Jacksonville, who had been, for 14 years, a professor in Illinois College, from which he retired in 1847. In a convention of teachers held in Pike county in 1850, he suggested a plan for the establishment of a State university based upon the college and seminary fund—then estimated at about $300,000—which met with the earnest approval of those present, and soon after he delivered an address at Griggsville in the same county, in which he gave utterance to his views in reference to a "system of national education." This is believed to have been the prelude, if not the actual inception—at least so far as the west was concerned—of the measure which, in the next 12 years, was debated with constantly increasing interest, in educational conventions, industrial associations and other deliberative bodies throughout the country. The subject was taken up by the press—especially the agricultural—with the result that Professor Turner was invited to address a convention of farmers, held at Granville, Putnam county, Nov. 18, 1851,

in explanation of his scheme. This convention was held under the auspices of the "Buel Institute," an association composed of members from Putnam, LaSalle, Bureau, Peoria, Marshall and Livingston counties, accustomed to meet two or three times yearly for the purpose of holding annual fairs and discussing topics of common interest. "Buel Institute" was organized in 1846, at Lowell, LaSalle county, where Benjamin Lundy, an early abolitionist and the proselytizer of William Lloyd Garrison, in 1839 projected the issue of his anti-slavery paper—"The Genius of Universal Emancipation"—but which was frustrated by his death soon after coming to Illinois.

The association embraced among its members the more prominent and progressive citizens of that section of the State, many of whom were farmers, including the Bryants (John H. and Arthur), brothers of the poet William Cullen Bryant, of whom the first named still survived until about two years ago at Princeton in Bureau county. Among the speakers occasionally called upon to discuss public questions before the institute, were Owen Lovejoy and others of State and national reputation.

The object of the meeting referred to, as announced in the call, was "to take into consideration such measures as might be deemed most expedient to further the interests of the agricultural community, and particularly to take steps towards the establishment of an Agricultural University." Professor Turner was made "chairman of the committee on business" which, among other items, reported the following:

"That we take immediate measures for the establishment of a university in the State of Illinois, expressly to meet those felt wants of each and all the industrial classes of our State; that we recommend the foundation of high schools, lyceums, institutes, etc., in each of the counties on similar principles, as soon as they may find it practicable to do so."

The report adds:

"After reading the above resolutions, Professor Turner proceeded in an able and interesting manner, to unfold his plan for the establishment and maintenance of the Industrial University.

During the second day's session resolutions were adopted expressing approval of "the general plan for an Illinois State University for the industrial classes presented by Professor Turner," and requesting him to "furnish the outlines of his plan" for publication. Provision was also made for its gratuitous distribution in pamphlet form, with the request that it be copied by the press; appointing a central committee (of which Professor Turner was named as chairman) to call a State convention of the friends of the measure coincidently with the meeting of the next session of the Legislature, and requesting the Governor, in the event of the calling of a special session, to enumerate among the subjects to be acted upon, "the establishment of an Industrial University." In a letter written by Professor Turner

in 1865, giving his recollections of the history of the movement, he says: "This (the Granville convention), so far as I know, was the first deliberative body by whom this subject (of an Industrial University) was ever discussed."

"The Plan," as it was called, was given to the public through the medium of the press, and at once called forth wide comment and discussion. Evidence of the date of its appearance and the character of its recommendations, is furnished in the Patent Office report (Agricultural Department) for 1851, in which it was published in full. As a reason for providing means for the more liberal education of the industrial classes, "The Plan" says:

"The same general abstract science exists in the world for both classes (the professional and the industrial) alike; but the means of bringing this abstract truth into effectual contact with the daily business and pursuits of the one class does exist, while in the other case it does not exist, and never can until it is created. The one class have schools, seminaries, colleges, universities, apparatus, professors and multitudinous appliances for educating and training them for months and years for the peculiar profession which is to be the business of their life. . . . But where are the universities, apparatus, the professors and the literature specifically adapted to any one of the industrial classes? . . . In other words, society has become, long since, wise enough to know that teachers need to be educated; but it has not yet become wise enough to know that its workers need education just as much."

It then proceeds to discuss the questions: 1. "What do the industrial classes want?" and 2. "How can that want be supplied?"

The answer was:

"They want, and they ought to have, the same facilities for understanding the true philosophy—the science and the art—of their several pursuits (their life business), and of efficiently applying existing knowledge thereto and widening its domain, which the professional classes have long enjoyed in their pursuits. . . . They need a similar system of liberal education for their own class, and adapted to their own pursuits; to create for them an industrial literature adapted to their professional wants; to raise up for them teachers and lecturers to elevate them, their pursuits and their posterity to that relative position in human society for which God designed them."

Among the needs of such a system, it was argued, were "a sufficient quantity of land of variable soil and aspects" for experiments in agriculture; "buildings of appropriate size and construction for ordinary and special uses;" "philosophical, chemical, anatomical and industrial apparatus;" cabinets "embracing every thing that relates to, illustrates or facilitates any one of the industrial arts;" specimens in natural history—animals, birds, reptiles, trees, shrubbery, plants, etc. Instruction, it was maintained, should be given in anatomy and physiology; in animal and insect life; the nature, composition and regeneration of soils; in "political, financial, domestic and manual

economy;" "the true principle of national, constitutional and civil law;" "the laws of trade and commerce;" in "bookkeeping and accounts," etc. This part of "The Plan" concluded with the general declaration—

"No species of knowledge should be excluded, practical or theoretical; unless, indeed, those specimens of 'organized ignorance' found in the creed of party politicians and sectarian ecclesiastics should be mistaken for a species of knowledge."

The influence of such an institution, it was contended, should be to teach "that work alone is honorable and indolence certain disgrace, if not ruin;" that "the final object to be attained with the industrial classes, is to make them *thinking laborers*, while of the profesional class we should make *laborious thinkers*." Then, in answer to the suggestion that such a system of education and the themes it involved might be regarded as "too sensuous and gross to lie at the basis of a pure and elevated mental culture," it was pungently added: "If the created universe of God and the highest art of man are too gross for our refined uses, it is a pity that the 'morning stars and the sons of God' did not find it out as soon as the blunder was made."

Whether a classical department should be attached to the proposed institution was a question left to be determined by the future. "The first thing wanted" in the realization of the scheme, Professor Turner argued, "is a national institute of science to operate as the central luminary of the national mind," although this, he thought, had been furnished in the then recent establishment of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. He then adds this significant paragraph:

"To co-operate with this noble institution, and enable the industrial classes to realize its benefits in practical life, we need a *university for the industrial classes in each of the states*, with the consequent subordinate institutes, lyceums and high schools in each of the counties and towns. The object of these institutions should be to apply existing knowledge directly and efficiently to all practical pursuits and professions in life, and extend the boundaries of our present knowledge in all possible directions."

A second convention was held at Springfield, June 8, 1852, the Legislature being then in special session under a call issued by the Governor naming the disposition of the college and seminary funds as one of the questions for consideration. Professor Turner acted as its chairman, and the convention adopted a memorial, which was signed by him and submitted to the Legislature with the proceedings of the Granville convention of the preivous year. While this memorial indicated some modification in the policy advocated by the friends of the measure in Illinois, it also gave evidence of progress, the result of correspondence and comparison of views with its friends in other states. It urged that a beginning be made towards carrying the scheme into effect, in some form, at as early a day as might be deemed prudent by the Legislature, with the added suggestion that, "if possible, it be on a sufficiently extensive scale to honorably justify a successful appeal to Congress, in conjunction with eminent citi-

zens and statesmen in other states who have expressed their readiness to co-operate with us *for an appropriation of public lands for each State in the Union*, for the appropriate endowment of universities for the liberal education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits in each State in the Union."

Here we have the distinct enunciation of the proposition for "an appropriation of public lands for each State in the Union," as a basis for the endowment of a university in each in aid of industrial education; and this suggestion, coming ten years before the enactment of the law of Congress adopting this principle, is believed to have been the very earliest suggestion in this direction, as in "The Plan" submitted at the Granville convention, we had that of a "university for the industrial classes in each of the states." At a third convention held in Chicago, Nov. 14, 1852, more positive ground was taken in favor of action by Congress looking to a donation of public lands. One of the acts of this convention was the organization of the "Industrial League of Illinois," for the promotion of the objects had in view by the advocates of industrial education, (1) "By disseminating information, both written and printed, on this subject;" (2) "By keeping up concert of action among the friends of the industrial classes," and (3) "By the employment of lecturers in all parts of the State," to hold meetings and instruct the people on the question at issue. Professor Turner was chosen principal director of the league and one of its lecturers, while Bronson Murray, then a resident of LaSalle county, and Dr. R. C. Rutherford were the others. Mr. Murray is still living at an advanced age in New York City, while Dr. Rutherford died in that city a few years ago. The convention of 1852 also declared—

"That this convention memorialize Congress for the purpose of obtaining a grant of public lands to establish and endow industrial universities in every state in the Union."

In the plan of action outlined by the "Industrial League," the following were named as departments of a State University proposed to be established in Illinois:

1. A Normal School department for the education of teachers (based upon the seminary fund).
2. A department of Practical Agriculture.
3. A department of Practical Mechanics.
4. A Commercial department.

(Incidentially it may be added that, among the measures advocated at these various conventions, were the establishment of a State Normal University and of Departments of Agriculture and Education in Washington—the first of which was realized by act of the Legislature in 1857, and the others by act of Congress in 1867.)

The action of the convention at Chicago in 1852 established the attitude of the friends of the measure in Illinois, and, by opening the way for united and harmonious action among its supporters in

all the states, went far to insure final success. Its growth from a scheme for a single state institution, based simply upon the college and seminary fund, to a plan for an institution in each of the states, based upon a donation of public lands, furnished an illustration of the process of "gradual development." No enterprise of equal magnitude, either as to the number of individuals, communities or states whose interests were to be subserved, or involving such vast financial results, in connection with the cause of popular education, was ever broached or brought to a consummation in this or any other country.

The principal act of the fourth convention, which met at Springfield, January 4, 1853, Bronson Murray presiding, was the adoption of a petition to the State Legislature requesting that body to memorialize Congress "to appropriate to each state in the Union an amount of public lands, not less in value than $500,000.00 for the endowment of a system of industrial universities, one in each state, to coöperate with each other and with the Smithsonian Institute, for the more liberal and practical education of our industrial classes and their teachers in their pursuits." The response by the Legislature was the adoption, by unanimous vote of both Houses, of a series of resolutions, almost in the identical language of the petition, instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives in Congress from Illinois to support a measure of the character suggested, and authorizing the Governor to forward a copy of these resolutions to the Governors and Legislatures of the other states, and invite their coöperation to the same end.

Meanwhile the subject had been taken up by the press, by agricultural and educational associations, and by legislative bodies in other states. The New York Tribune of September, 1852, had the following: "Prof. J. B. Turner, of Jacksonville, in behalf of a convention at Granville, has put forth a plan for an industrial university, which sets forth the pressing and common need so forcibly that we copy the larger part of it." In a later issue, commenting upon the action of the Illinois Legislature just referred to, the same paper said: "It is worthy of note that one of the most extensive of public land (or new) States, proposes a magnificent donation of public lands to each of the states in furtherance of this idea. . . . Suffice it that the Legislature of Illinois has taken a noble step forward, in a most liberal and patriotic spirit, for which its members will be heartily thanked by thousands throughout the Union." One of the noteworthy indorsements of the same act came in the form of a letter from the Hon. Edward Bates, afterwards President Lincoln's first Attorney-General, addressed to Bronson Murray, then corresponding secretary of the newly organized State Agricultural Society. The letter bore date "St. Louis, Sept. 20, 1853," and was as follows:

"The Legislature of Illinois has done itself honor in passing the resolution, a copy of which accompanied your letter. It is peculiarly fit and becoming in that honorable body to take the lead in the great effort to educate the classes devoted to agriculture and the useful arts, and thus to make productive labor attractive and honorable by

giving it the strength of knowledge and dignity of science. For Illinois is destined to become, and that right soon, the first and greatest agricultural State in the Union."

But the history of a period so pregnant with momentous results for the whole nation, would be incomplete did it fail to make mention of what was going on in other states. In New York, Gov. Washington Hunt, who had been one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of a system of industrial education, in a message to the legislature commended to their consideration the subject of "an institution for the advancement of agricultural science and of knowledge of the mechanic arts," and suggested the setting apart of a portion of the proceeds from the sale of lands for taxes for the establishment of such an institution. The Massachusetts Board of Agriculture memorialized the legislature of that state in behalf of a similar measure, with the result that the latter body adopted a resolution suggesting "that Congress appropriate a portion of our public land to establish and endow a National Normal Agricultural College, which shall be to the rural sciences what the West Point Academy is to the military, for the purpose of educating teachers and professors for service in all of the states of the Republic." The signers of the memorial to the Massachusetts legislature included the names of Marshall P. Wilder, Edward Everett, Henry W. Cushman and John W. Lincoln, besides others of state and national reputation. Among those participating in a convention at Albany, N. Y., on January 26, 1853, to "consider the subject of a practical national system of university education," and serving on a committee to report a plan, appear the names of Pres. Francis Wayland, of Brown University; Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania; Washington Irving, Governor Hunt and Senator John A. Dix, of New York; President Hitchcock, of Amherst College; Prof. C. S. Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution; Prof. O. M. Mitchell, the astronomer and later a general in the civil war; Professor Pierce, of Cambridge, and Rev. Ray Palmer, the noted hymn writer. A. J. Downing, the celebrated painter and horticulturist, who lost his life by the burning of the steamer Henry Clay on the Hudson, in 1852, was an ardent supporter of the measure in its early stage. There were no more influential factors in the promotion of the enterprise east of the Alleghenies, both at this time and at a later period, than Ezra Cornell, of New York, and Judge Asa Packer, of Pennsylvania, both of whom made munificent donations for the endowment of agricultural colleges in their respective states. Among the more active coöperators with Professor Turner in his own State, in addition to those already mentioned, may be named: W. F. M. Arney, afterwards governor of the territory of New Mexico; Jesse W. and Kersey H. Fell, of Bloomington; Gov. A. C. French; David L. Gregg, then Secretary of State but afterwards United States Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands; William Gooding, former chief engineer of the Illinois and Michigan canal; John Wood, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of the State; J. S. Wright, the founder and proprietor of the "Prairie Farmer;" James N. Brown, president, and John P. Reynolds, secretary

of the State Agricultural Society; Dr. J. A. Kennicott, a prominent horticulturist of Northern Illinois, besides the members of the "Buel Institute," whose action first "set the ball in motion" in 1851, and, in the later years of the agitation the great mass of the members of the State Agricultural and Horticultural Societies. Senator Stephen A. Douglas also became a friend of the measure in the later years of his life and, if he had lived until 1862, would have been one of its supporters in the United States Senate. That John A. Logan was not a supporter of the measure on its passage through the House was, no doubt, due to the fact that he was then battling in the field for the integrity of the Union.

So far the history of this measure has been followed from its original introduction to the people at the Granville convention of 1851, through years of agitation, tutelage and development, until it reached substantially the form in which it was submitted to Congress. Its history in that body may be concisely told. On Dec. 14, 1857—six years after the Granville convention and five years after the suggestion, in the memorial to the State Legislature adopted at Springfield, of a grant of public lands—Hon. Justin S. Morrill, then a Representative from Vermont, introduced his first bill granting to each State and territory 20,000 acres of land for each Representative and Delegate in Congress from such state or territory, for the establishment in each, of schools for teaching the agricultural and mechanic arts. This having been reported back unfavorably by the House Committee on Public Lands four months later, he immediately submitted a substitute in which the territories were omitted from the provisions of the act, and this passed the House by 105 yeas to 100 nays. In the Senate no action was taken on the bill at this session, beyond its reference to the Committee on Public Lands, which reported it back without recommendation.

In the early days of the next session (December, 1858), Senator Stuart of Michigan, called up the bill in the Senate, but that body, by the casting vote of the Vice President, refused to consider it. Later Senator Wade of Ohio came forward as its champion, and on Feb. 7, 1859, by a vote of 25 yeas to 22 nays, it passed the Senate with amendments which were agreed to by the House. This bill was vetoed by President Buchanan on the ground (in general terms) of bad policy and doubtful constitutionality.

On Dec. 15, 1861—just four years and one day after the introduction of his first bill on the subject—Mr. Morrill introduced a new bill (known as House Bill 138), which, having been reported back unfavorably by the Committee on Public Lands, was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union. On May 2, 1862, Senator Wade again came to the front by the introduction in the Senate of substantially the same bill as that introduced in the House by Mr. Morrill. This having been reported back with amendments by Senator Harlan of Iowa, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, after several days' debate passed the Senate

by 22 yeas to 7 nays. In the House it was taken up June 17, finally passing that body by 90 yeas to 25 nays, and received the approval of President Lincoln on July 2, 1862. The large decrease in the opposition vote in both Houses, as compared with that of 1858 and 1859, was due in part to the withdrawal, in the first year of the rebellion, of members from the southern states who had been the most determined opponents of the measure on alleged "constitutional grounds." The act, as passed, granted 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative or Delegate from the several states and territories, making the total appropriation on the existing basis of representation 9,272,000 acres, of which Illinois received 480,000. According to the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903, the public lands so far distributed to the states and territories under the act, have amounted to 10,320,843 acres, of which 934,980 acres remain unsold, the amount realized from the lands sold aggregating $11,126,534. This undoubtedly indicates a lack of business judgment in the disposal of lands in some cases at prices far below their intrinsic value, or what might have been realized a few years later; but, as already stated, it has resulted in the founding of 66 State institutions which, but for this act, would never have come into existence, and which now, by accessions received directly from the several states or private donations, have increased their property valuation to $69,660,303, while the institutions themselves, during the year ending June 30, 1902, gave instruction to 47,047 students. By an act passed by Congress in 1890, making an additional appropriation of $15,000 annually from the public treasury to each state, "for the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," with the provision that it should be increased by $1,000 yearly until it had reached $25,000, each state and territory is now in receipt annually of the latter sum, which it would probably not have received but for the original act of 1862.

The approval of the act by President Lincoln, has linked his name for all time with one of the most beneficent and far-reaching measures of that history-making period.

While many minds in different parts of the country had been turned in the same direction during the preliminary stages of the agitation which resulted in the passage of this act, to Prof. Jonathan B. Turner must be conceded the credit of conceiving, developing and placing before the country the most elaborate and comprehensive plan, as well as one most nearly in accord with that finally adopted. During this period he remained the recognized head of the movement in Illinois and the west generally—its representative and spokesman—vigorously supported by the "Industrial League" and other organizations which he had assisted in setting on foot. It necessarily followed that he was in close communication with friends of the movement in other states, especially in the east, where he already had a reputation as an educator as well as a practical and progressive agriculturist. The most efficient support of the measure came through the memorials addressed to Congress by the Illinois Legislature and by agricultural and educational associations, traceable to

influences which he had been chiefly instrumental in setting in motion. Mr. Morrill faithfully reflected the views of these various organizations in his action in Congress Referring to this subject, Professor Turner says in his letter of 1865, to which reference has already been made: "We forwarded to him (Mr. Morrill) all our documents and papers, and gave him all the encouragement we could." Of Mr. Morrill's part in this great achievement, President George W. Atherton, of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural College, in an address at New Haven in November, 1900—after Senator Morrill's death—says:

"It seems certain from our present point of view, that Mr. Morrill's largest fame will forever be identified with the measure which he devised and carried to a successful issue for the establishment and maintenance of a great system of institutions of higher education, to be aided by the United States, organized and controlled by the individual states and fitted in as an integral part of the whole scheme of public instruction."

While there will be no question as to the justice of this tribute to Senator Morrill, it should be remembered that this measure had an earlier history than its introduction in Congress, which was of at least equal interest and importance, and without which it would never have become an accomplished fact. This consisted in the original conception of the measure and, while involving the labor of explaining its purpose to the people, included the duty of creating a public sentiment which should demand its adoption by Congress. The men who did this had a task no less difficult than its friends in the halls of Congress, and which required years for its accomplishment.

When it is remembered that this act, approved by the "Great Liberator," provided for the establishment "in each state" of "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life," and that nearly 50,000 pupils of both sexes and all conditions are now annually enjoying the benefits of 66 such institutions located in 50 states and territories, the following extract from Professor Turner's "plan" of 1851, reads like a prophecy scarcely less striking in some of its features than Abraham Lincoln's "house-divided-against-itself" speech in 1858. Summing up the main features of such an institution as he hoped to see established, Professor Turner then said:

"Let the reader contemplate it as it will appear when generations have perfected it in all its magnificence and glory; in its means of good to men—*to men of all classes;* in its power to evolve and diffuse practical knowledge and skill, true taste, love of industry and sound morality—not only through its apparatus, experiments, instruction and annual lectures and reports, but through its thousands of graduates in every pursuit of life, teaching and lecturing in all our towns and villages—and then let him seriously ask himself, Is not such an

object worthy of at least an effort and worthy of the State which God himself, in the very act of creation, designed to be the first agricultural and commercial State on the face of the globe?"

As a part of State history in connection with this subject, it may properly be added that, while Illinois had been anticipated by several States in the establishment of industrial colleges—notably New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, which had founded institutions of this character, or endowed chairs of agriculture in connection with institutions already in existence before the passing of the act of 1862—and while Michigan was the first State to avail itself of the benefits of that act, steps were taken in the Illinois Legislature at the session of 1867, for the establishment of the "Illinois Industrial University," which was finally located at Urbana and formally inaugurated in March following, with the late Dr. J. M. Gregory as regent. At first it was a regular manual labor school, from one to three hours labor per day being required from each student five days in the week. This feature was soon changed, allowing that labor should be voluntary, except when constituting some part of a regular study, and in 1885, by act of the Legislature, the institution received its present name of "University of Illinois."

While similar changes have taken place in other States, and may be regarded as departures from the original plans of the advocates of "industrial education," it detracts nothing from the importance of the service rendered by them in their successful championship of that measure between 1851 and 1862.

This paper would be incomplete did it fail to present some sketch of the man who bore so conspicuous a part in the events to which it refers. Born in Templeton, Mass., Dec. 7, 1805, Jonathan Baldwin Turner grew up on a farm, but began teaching in a country school before reaching his majority. After spending some time in an academy at Salem, Mass., he entered the preparatory department of Yale College in 1827, supporting himself meanwhile, in part by manual labor and teaching in a gymnasium. Two years later he entered the classical department at Yale, graduating in 1833, and immediately accepted a position as tutor in Illinois college at Jacksonville, which had been established four years previous. In the next 14 years he gave instruction in nearly every branch in the college curriculum, during a part of the time occupying the chair of Rhetoric and English Literature. In 1847 he retired from college duties to give his attention to scientific agriculture, in which he had felt a deep interest. At the same time he took a deep interest in practical education for the industrial classes, and, being a teacher by instinct, he wrote voluminously on educational and theological themes. About 1849-50 he began formulating that system of industrial education with which his name was so prominently identified in later years. After 12 years of almost continuous labor and agitation, he had the satisfaction of seeing the system which he had advocated adopted by act of Congress in the Morrill bill, and approved by President Lincoln—his personal friend—July 2, 1862. An uncompromising foe of slavery, the most

bitter opposition to his plan of popular education, in the earlier stages of its discussion, came from his political adversaries. In his championship in behalf of this measure, as well as in the treatment of all questions of belief and policy with which he had to deal in practical life, he gave evidence of originality, initiative and a certain degree of uncompromising independence which, while it not unfrequently aroused the hostility, commanded the respect even of his opponents and inspired the admiration of his friends. Demanding freedom of speech and of thought for himself, he freely conceded it to others. A radical and an enthusiast in reference to those questions which he deemed of vital importance to the welfare of society—whether of political reform, education or religion—he spoke with a logical power and earnestness which carried conviction to the minds of others and imparted to them the same enthusiasm which inspired himself. His prominence as a political factor was indicated by the fact that he was twice a candidate for Congress, though, representing the minority party in his district, an unsuccessful one. Nearly 66 years of his life were spent as a citizen of Jacksonville, Ill., where his notable career was terminated by his death, Jan. 10, 1899, at the age of a little over 93 years.

No more fitting conclusion can be given to this paper than the following quotation from an address by the late Dr. Newton Bateman —himself an educator of national reputation, for 14 years State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and for a quarter of a century President of Knox College at Galesburg—delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of the University of Illinois, March 11, 1868:

"In the west, the man whose voice rang out earliest, loudest and clearest in this great movement—whose words pealed and thundered through the minds and hearts of the people, * * * whose tremendous broadsides of irrefragable facts and logic, and fiery rhetoric * * * brought nearly every farmer and artisan hurrying to his standard from far and near, and put in motion the imperial columns of our free-born yeomanry—the man who threw into the struggle not only the best and deepest longings of his heart, and who pleaded for the uplifting and regeneration of the masses and for the 'millennium of labor,' as the patriot pleads for his country and the Christian for the salvation of God—the man whose able reports, instructive addresses and thrilling eloquent speeches were caught up and re-echoed by the enlightened press of the whole country, and which furnished at once the material and the inspiration of auxiliary cooperative movements and organizations in many other States—and the man who, as I believe, through all these multiplied and overwhelming labors, was animated not by considerations of self-aggrandizement or sordid gain, but by the loftier purpose of serving his race and honoring God by uplifting and blessing the toiling millions of his children—that man was JONATHAN BALDWIN TURNER."

ILLINOIS IN THE COUNCILS OF THE NATION.

(Mrs. John A. Logan.)

When Illinois was a part of the great Northwest Territory she had her intellectual giants who made themselves heard at the capital. It is not the purpose of this paper to go into a minute history of Illinois or to attempt to give sketches of all her illustrious men. Though long familiar with the history of the most conspicuous characters, there are many whom I have not known personally, for you must remember that Illinois was admitted as a State in 1818. Long before admission, however, Illinoisans had made profound impressions in the councils of the Nation by their superior abilities, acumen and political wisdom.

Among the early settlers in the great Northwest Territory, who cast their lot in that part subsequently included in the boundaries of Illinois, there came from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and North Carolina some remarkable men of collegiate education and rare mentality. These, together with the large number of French colonists, followers of LaSalle, who first settled in Southwest Illinois were without question, in advance in intelligence and erudition of any of the pioneers who had ventured beyond the Alleghanies. Among them we find such conspicuous names as Shadrack Bond, Sr. and Jr.; John Rice Jones; Pierre Menard; William, James and Samuel Morrison; Israel Dodge; John Hay; James McRoberts; Robert Reynolds; Dr. Geo. Fisher; the Andersons, Thompsons, Erwins, McDonalds, McBrides, Clarks, Edgars, Popes, Jenkins, Logans, Marshalls, Beggs, Thomas, and a score of others who have in one way and another contributed to the glory and prosperity of Illinois and made their own names immortal.

The scandals that had been brought upon the Northwest Territory through the dishonest speculations and frauds perpetrated on the Indians and earliest settlers by the connivance of St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory, and his friends, were very grave; his action being so flagrantly wrong that both Washington and Jefferson severely rebuked him. Consequently the movers of the proposition to organize the Territory of Illinois were seriously embarrassed. It required much sagacity, consummate diplomacy, indubitable evidence of sterling integrity and public spirit to secure favorable action by Congress and the government.

It was intended to make not less than three, or more than five states out of the great Northwest Territory, therefore it was a matter

of no small moment that all prejudice should be removed from the movers of the proposition so that the various interests of the new territory should be properly protected.

Shadrach Bond, Sr., the delegate sent to Washington to secure the passage of the bill authorizing the organization of the territory had to exercise much skill in every move he made. He proved himself equal to the commission. He was a farmer originally from Maryland, was a man of unusual ability without much education, but in the matter of managing difficult problems remarkably skillful. He was genial and affable and made a most favorable impression, accomplishing much more than was expected and quite as much as could be done today by the most astute representative from any of the territories that have recently been admitted as states. His only desire was to secure a government that would protect the pioneers and original settlers of the rich territory that was only waiting to be colonized to make it one of the most productive of the Union. The people rewarded him by making him the first Governor after the admission of Illinois as a State in 1818.

The advancement of the Territory from the first to the second grade was naturally rather slow, notwithstanding the activity of the people and marked ability of the delegates in Congress. However, in January, 1818, Nathaniel Pope, the delegate in Congress at that time, introduced a bill providing for the admission of Illinois as a state. Few territories have been so fortunate as Illinois was in their delegates in Congress at the time of their petition, for admission as states. To his far-seeing statesmanship we are indebted for the present prowess of Illinois, commercially, politically and geographically. He appreciated that in all republics there was ever danger of dissolution, should one member of the confederated states have advantages independent of the others. He understood the importance of the commanding position Illinois would occupy through her geographical situation if the proper boundaries were established and maintained. No petitions were placed in his hands setting forth the important points to be incorporated in the bill establishing boundaries and fixing the status of the State and her relations to other states.

In the fertile brain of Nathaniel Pope was conceived the wonderful provisions of the bill under which Illinois was admitted. The clause extending the boundaries "north of the southern bend of the lake" giving extensive coast line on Lake Michigan; extending the western boundary 50 miles west to the Mississippi river, establishing the boundaries on the east and southeast along the Ohio river to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, giving us 150 miles coast on the Ohio river, was a masterful stand evermore as silent barriers against any movement for the dissolution of the Union.

The area included within its boundaries is of such a character that it will continue to furnish support for a population of millions and will also provide channels for the commerce of the world. Nathaniel Pope watched with jealous care, vigilance and fidelity every interest

of the new State so favorably launched through his wise statesmanship. His son, Maj. Gen. John Pope, rendered conspicuous service to his country in the Civil war and thereby added laurels to the name of Pope so prominently identified with Illinois.

Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas were elected United States Senators by the first Legislature. Two more dissimilar men could not possibly have been found. Senator Edwards was a lawyer by profession. He had been on the bench in Kentucky before he came to Illinois. He brought with him to his new home where he was destined to be so fortunate, all the dignity of the judiciary which well befitted him for the Senate. He was a man of imposing appearance, always well dressed, tactful and intelligent, he soon became an important member of the Senate acquiring a national reputation. Mr. Monroe appointed him, on the expiration of his term in the Senate, Minister to Mexico. He became, however, involved in trouble through partisanship in the presidential campaign of 1824, on account of charges of corruption he made against W. H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury. He was called before an investigating committee and failing to prove his charges, feeling ran high against him, and he resigned his mission to Mexico; returning to Illinois to continue his warfare on dishonesty in public affairs by attacking the banking system which had wrought such financial disaster to the new State. Albeit the banking influence was against Mr. Edwards he was elected Governor of the State and was inaugurated with much pomp and ceremony, appearing before the General Assembly, wearing a gold lace cloak over a suit of fine broadcloth, short breeches, long stockings, top boots, he delivered his inaugural address with much dignity and eloquence.

With the prejudice then existing against dress and display it was curious that Governor Edwards should have always succeeded in his campaigns notwithstanding he invariably canvassed, decked out as above described, and was driven from place to place in one of the finest carriages of the times, drawn by four magnificent horses with two colored servants on the box. He would not descend to the low electioneering arts of the times or cater to the mob by providing free whiskey on every occasion as many good men did. In Congress and as Chief Executive of Illinois, Governor Edwards was a potent influence in all that was done for the advancement and development of his State and country.

Senator Jesse B. Thomas was also a large and liberal minded, good natured man, in no sense cultured or a good speaker, but a most adroit and winning man. It was a maxim with him that "no man could be talked down with loud and bold words, but any one might be whispered to death," which is indicative of the frank and honest man that he was. He had no secrets, but won the support of Congress for the measures he desired to pass by his honesty of purpose and sincerity of manner.

Daniel P. Cook, member of the House of Representatives from 1819 to 1826, was one of the most talented representatives Illinois

has ever had. He was accomplished, consistent, morally courageous, a fine speaker, astute in judgment, gracious and sincere in manner, his personality gave him great power in the house. He rose to the chairmanship of the ways and means committee. He secured the donation of 300,000 acres of land for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal. His name has been perpetuated by naming the county of Cook for him.

Almost all the counties in the State are named for men who have distinguished themselves in the service of the State and it is to be regretted that there are not more counties to be named for other illustrious Illinoisans.

Daniel P. Cook was succeeded by Governor Duncan, who was an honest, agreeable man of sound convictions, but little education, and from annals consulted does not seem to have equalled Mr. Cook in ability, statesmanship or effectivness in securing legislation in the interest of his State.

John McLean, of Shawneetown, was also a prominent figure from Illinois. He served one term in the House, and was twice elected to the Senate, but did not live to serve out his last term. He died in 1830. He was one of the leaders in both Houses. The county of McLean was named in his honor.

Elias K. Kane, originally from New York, one of the ablest lawyers of his time, was also twice elected to the United States Senate, but died in Washington during his second term.

Brilliant, finely educated and endowed by nature with all the qualities of head and heart that go to make a manly man, he was enabled to render important service to his State in the Senate as he had in the Constitutional Convention.

Judge Sidney Breese, a college graduate, fine logician and a man of genuine qualities, was also a United States Senator from Illinois. To him belonged the credit of having first agitated the question of railroads. He was not so brilliant or eloquent as some others, but was a prodigious worker and gained many points in Congress for Illinois.

In 1837, Stephen A. Douglas was elected to Congress from the Peoria district. "The Little Giant," as you remember he was called, had occupied his seat but a brief time when he attracted universal attention by his brilliancy and readiness in debate. He knew nothing of reticence, but was a dashing, daring, aggressive man, who would have accomplished more if he had been less impulsive. He was an intense partisan and would probably have followed the Democratic party in its advocacy of slavery but from the fact that he represented a free state and it would have cost him his position. The joint discussions between Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln will ever stand as the most remarkable exposition of political questions and principles that has ever occurred, developing abilities in both men previously unknown to their most ardent partisans.

Mr. Douglas won the prize of election to the United States Senate, but Mr. Lincoln won the popular vote. Douglas' victory did not stay the swelling tide that was carrying the Nation to the conflict of the "impending crisis." In the Senate Mr. Douglas quickly attained the leadership of his party. It is doubtful if the records of Congress have preserved more eloquent speeches than those of Mr. Douglas on the questions he espoused. "The Missouri Compromise," "Kansas Nebraska Bill," "Popular Sovereignty" and other questions of vital national importance, he advocated with all the vehemence of his intense nature. His appeal for the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise as the last hope of averting the Civil War is still ringing in my ears, though 43 years have come and gone since I listened to his burning words as he stood in the Senate pleading for peace at any cost save the dissolution of the Union. His personal magnetism and the earnest words were of no avail, and he had to bow his head in submission to another disappointment, having been defeated for the Presidency in 1860. He was loyal to his country and when he could hold his party no longer, he arrayed himself on the side of the Union and was among the most sincere patriots who hailed Mr. Lincoln's coming to Washington with unfeigned joy, believing that he would save the Union from dismemberment.

Many of the southern Senators, personal friends of Senator Douglas, had left Washington before the 4th of March, 1861, to join the secession movement. I can never forget his deep grief over the state of affairs. Night after night he came to the house where John A. McClernand, P. B. Fouke and John A. Logan and their families lived, to talk over the approaching conflict; or how during the struggle over the Crittenden Compromise he would send for the above named to come to his residence on "I" street, where they met many other loyal democrats who could not follow their party to the destruction of their country and the dissolution of the Union. No man could have done more than Douglas to undo the mistakes he had unwittingly made. Could he have lived a few months longer he would have been a great power in support of Mr. Lincoln and the war measures that had to be adopted. Illinois is indebted to him for much that marked her advancement and gave her power and influence in the Nation, not the least of which was securing legislation that resulted in the building of the Illinois Central railroad.

Lyman Trumbull, that patient, astute, faithful Senator was the antipode of Douglas, in every respect. He was always deliberate, cool and calculating, a good lawyer, able debator. He labored incessantly in the interest of Illinois but within much narrower lines than Douglas. He served his State, however, for 18 years in the United States Senate with great credit and fidelity.

O. H. Browning, his colleague, appointed by Governor Yates to succeed Senator Douglas, was a ponderous sort of a man but one who wielded great influence. After his term expired he was secretary of the interior and for a brief time secretary of the treasury.

During the eventful years between '56 and '61 Illinois had some of the ablest men in the House of Representatives that have ever served in that body. E. B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, the great champion of human rights, Wm. Kellogg, his friend and co-worker, I. N. Arnold, I. N. Morris, John A. McClernand, Samuel Marshall, John A. Logan and many others. These men differed in politics, but were earnest patriots. Washburne was long considered the "watch dog of the treasury" because of his vigilant scrutiny of everything that came before Congress asking appropriation of public money. His New England traits of character never deserted him and made him one of the most careful of legislators. His great abilities, methodical mind and intense devotion to his country caused him to be indefatigable in his duty and enabled him to exert a marvellous influence in the House. After General Grant's inauguration, March 4, 1869, Mr. Washburne was made secretary of state for a short time, before going to Paris as our American minister. Mr. Washburne belonged to the Galena coterie who exercised so much power in State and national affairs. He is said to have been the discoverer of U. S. Grant. Be that as it may, General Grant was indebted to Mr. Washburne for the potent influence he used in his behalf before General Grant had achieved a reputation which placed him beyond need of influential friends.

Mr. Washburne was one of Mr. Lincoln's faithful supporters, advocating with much earnestness every measure and movement suggested by Mr. Lincoln for the salvation of the Union, and freedom of the slaves. Of his brilliant career as a diplomat it is not for me to speak on this occasion. Suffice to say, everything he ever did reflected honor and glory upon Illinois.

Hon. I. N. Arnold, one of the most refined, conscientious and accomplished of men, labored assiduously during his term in Congress for every measure for the development and progress of the varied interests of Illinois.

To him belongs the honor of introducing and causing to be adopted the first resolution in Congress advocating the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. On the 15th of February, 1864, Mr. Arnold moved the adoption of his resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the Constitution should be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States wherever it now exists and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof forever.

The resolution when first introduced provoked much discussion by the foremost men in the House and it was a signal triumph for Mr. Arnold to have passed it. His record is one of unblemished integrity, alike creditable to his State and to himself.

The fearless Owen Lovejoy was the great leader against slavery. It is doubtful if his impassioned defense of himself and his friends in the protection of fugitive slaves has ever been equalled in eloquence and pathos. He devoted his whole life to the advocacy of the emancipation of slaves and left a glorious record as one of the first and most brilliant advocates for human freedom.

Hon. John A. McClernand, a lawyer, a student and an indefatigable worker, made an enviable reputation in the House of Representatives. In the trying months preceding Mr. Lincoln's inauguration there was no more loyal man than General McClernand. He cooperated with Douglas and the "war Democrats" of the House, declaring all the time that if the threats of the south of secession were carried out that he would shoulder his musket to have Mr. Lincoln inaugurated and would join the army to put down the rebellion. He kept his word and was among the first to leave the halls of Congress for the tented field.

Close on to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration came the rumbling sound of the firing on Sumpter, when every man who represented Illinois in Congress arrayed himself on the side of his country and either went to the front to fight for the preservation of the Union or remained to vote for men and measures with which to put down the rebellion.

Mr. Lincoln, as chief executive of the nation, had no cause to grieve over the disloyalty of members and senators from his own State. Those who came to take the places of those who went to the front dared not dishonor Illinois and themselves by affiliating with, or by aiding or abetting, the enemies of the Union.

During the long, sad years of that unhappy conflict, Trumbull and Browning, in the Senate; Washburne, B. C. Cook, S. W. Moulton, A. C. Harding, and many others without regard to party affiliations, loyally and ably represented the great Prairie State which had given to the nation its chief executive in its most trying hour of need.

Immediately following and since the war no state in the Union has been more eminently represented. There has been no time when members of her delegation did not stand in the front rank of American statesmen.

Among the most illustrious was the invincible war governor of Illinois, Hon. Richard Yates, whose keen intuitions, unwavering republicanism, sagacity, genial disposition, kind heart and native eloquence made him the statesman and peer of any man in the United States Senate. Charles Sumner once told me that Senator Yates, in his opinion, "was one of the greatest men who had ever been in the American Senate."

It seemed that the great civil war, with its prodigious events, had developed a race of giants who were destined to be as distinguished in peace as they had been in war. The men who had fought the battles of their country and those who stood on the watch towers at home to protect the government from insidious foes in civil affairs were keenly alive to the possibilities and interests of the State and Nation.

The people, anxious to reward them, elected the genial, honest, loyal, intrepid General Oglesby, first as Governor, then as Senator of the United States. He was as faithful in the Senate as he had been in other high positions.

Gen. John M. Palmer, the gallant soldier and conscientious, able, upright executive, was also promoted to the Senate, where he added lustre to his already illustrious name.

Hon. David Davis, Mr. Lincoln's appointee on the supreme bench, deemed it the crowning glory of his life that he should be chosen to represent Illinois in the United States Senate, where his long experience as an associate justice enabled him to render inestimable service as a member of the Senate judiciary committee.

Shelby M. Cullom, General Logan's colleague at the time of his death, came into the Senate unusually well fitted for the distinguished position of a United States Senator on account of his long experience as a legislator and speaker of the House in the Illinois legislature, governor of Illinois and member of Congress. During the 21 years of his peerless service in the Senate no man has done more for his State or acquired a higher national reputation as a statesman and incorruptible man. Time forbids an enumeration in detail of the important legislation in which he has taken active and conspicuous parts.

Hon. A. J. Hopkins, Senator Cullom's present colleague, is destined to be prominent in all legislation for his State and country. His 20 years in the House of Representatives, where he was a most valuable member, qualifies him to take a high place at once in the Senate. His great pride in his native State, pre-eminent abilities and unswerving integrity are guarantees of his future potent influence in that august body.

I trust it may not seem unfitting in me to speak briefly of that other native Illinois Senator, Gen. John A. Logan. From his majority to the day of his death, his whole life was devoted to the public service, either on the field or in the forum, into which he threw with intensity the whole weight of his gigantic abilities, indomitable energy, dauntless courage, honesty of purpose and loyalty to his country. After serving in the Illinois legislature he entered Congress in 1858, commanding much more attention than would have been expected for one of his age. Resigning after his election to a second term to enlist in the defense of the Union, he followed the flag of his country for more than four years. Immediately after the surrender at Appomattox and peace was declared, he was called to resume his seat in the House. March 4, 1871, in compliance with the behest of his State, he took his seat in the Senate. For evidence of his achievements for Illinois and his country I have only to point you with pardonable pride to the magnificent statue of enduring bronze which was erected by his State, which stands in Lake Park, Chicago, silhouetted by the shimmering waters of Lake Michigan; and to the no less superb one of him in one of the finest parks in Washington, erected by Congress and his devoted friends and admirers. To recapitulate the measures of legislation of which he was the author and active supporter would require more time than is allotted to this paper.

Those chosen to represent the people in the House were, for the most part well equipped for the herculean task of legislating upon the stupendous questions of reconstruction, adjustment of the problems that were the fruit of the Rebellion, and for the carrying out of the many progressive enterprises for the development of the resources of the country and the extension of the boundaries of civilization.

Hon. S. M. Cullom, Gen. John F. Farnsworth, Gen. S. A. Hurlburt, Horatio C. Burchard, Gen. Thos. J. Henderson, Hon. John Wentworth, General J. L. Beveridge, Capt. John R. Thomas, Col. B. F. Marsh, Honorables Wm. M. Springer, S. S. Marshall, Richard W. Townshend, Norman B. Judd, Adlai E. Stevenson, Samuel W Moulton, David J. Baker, Jehu Baker, Wm. R. Morrison, John B. Hawley, B. F. Funk, Eben C. Ingersoll, John A. Logan, Joseph G. Cannon, A. J. Hopkins, R. R. Hitt, Vespasian Warner, C. B. Farwell, and many more illustrious men, have each in his own way contributed to the progress of Illinois and the advancement of the nation.

There have been times when a crisis in national affairs seemed imminent. Illinois has always on these occasions had some one who could step into the breech and help avert the difficulties. I can not forbear mentioning one that occurred during Mr. Johnson's administration when he undertook to eject Mr. Stanton from the war department.

General Logan was then a member of Congress from Illinois at large and also Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. He at once assembled the "Civil Army of ex-union soldiers," stationed his pickets, took up his abode in the war department with Secretary Stanton and protected that officer in the discharge of his duties until the crisis had passed. All of which was done so tactfully that very few knew of General Logan's action. Had Mr. Johnson carried out the schemes his perfidy had planned there is no prophesying what might have happened.

This is only one of the many instances in which Illinois took conspicuous part in the solution of national problems.

Of this galaxy of statesmen many have gone to their reward, but they left behind them immortal names that reflect undying glory upon Illinois as well as themselves.

Of those who remain in Congress to honor Illinois are Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Hon. A. J. Hopkins, Hon. J. G. Cannon, Speaker of the House, Hon. R. R. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, Col. B. F. Marsh, Hon. H. S. Boutell, Col. Vespasian Warner, Hon. George E. Foss, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, Col. James R. Mann, Geo. W. Prince, James R. Williams, and Geo. W. Smith.

No words of eulogy would be too much to speak for them as men and legislators. The high positions they occupy, their long service in Congress, the influence they have in legislative matters, the benefactions they have secured for Illinois, tell in stronger words than I

could utter of their achievements and usefulness. As long as Illinois sends such men to Congress she will not be dislodged from her exalted position as one of the most important states in the Union.

Had I not already trespassed too long, I would gladly mention the names of many more who have honored Illinois and demonstrated that they are "superior men" as the name Illinois signifies. Of those who were given an opportunity by an indulgent people to make for themselves imperishable names and a chance to add lustre to their State, but who have failed to improve their opportunities, it were better to leave in the nitch of oblivion into which they have passed.

THE COUNTRY LAWYER.

(Hon. James A. Connolly.)

The subject assigned me—The Country Lawyer—has its limitations, but I will assume that it relates to all but metropolitan lawyers, inasmuch as it is the fashion of the day to speak of the country as including every place outside the boundary lines of a metropolis.

While the country lawyer might be classically termed "Rusticus" yet if we take him as a class he will be found anything but a "rustycuss," when it comes to a dexterous use of the "nice sharp quillets of the law."

His clothes may not fit him like those of his city brother, but that is the fault of his tailor. His hair and beard may not be trimmed in "fashion plate" style, but that is the fault of his barber.

His office may not be swept and dusted daily; the "Horn Books" may not be bright and clean as in the library of his city brother, and smart clean volumes of reports and digests may not be so numerous, but what are there look like old soldiers just returned from a long campaign—they show that they have seen service.

While Hale, Coke, Blackstone, Chitty, Stephens, Story, if they could return, would feel like unnaturalized foreigners in the offices of his metropolitan brother, they could drop into the country lawyers' office and feel at home, for they would find the cream of their life work holding the place of honor on his book shelves and their names household words in his unpretentious home.

The country lawyer loves "old friends, old books," and before the advent of the reformers, he loved the other member of the famous trinity—old wine—preferably of the Kentucky brand.

The country lawyer is a ruminant animal.

He don't swallow his legal food hastily, but he loiters in the rich fields of the "Horn Books," knee deep in juicy legal provender, and filling himself, retires to leisurely chew it over, until healthy digestion enables him to assimilate it and make it a part of himself.

He don't have to hurry. He don't have to eat, sleep, think, according to a time-table made by some street or steam railroad company. He makes his own time-table, changes it to suit his own convenience, and is, therefore, always on time.

He never runs to catch up, and he never waits at the station, but he makes the trip from sun to sun once every 24 hours just as

well as his hurrying metropolitan brother, even if he does not move forward quite as rapidly to the place where "Finis" is to be written on his last page.

While the metropolitan lawyer may be the clown in the circus, winning the applause of the half tickets, by his quips, his tumbles, and his swelling importance, the country lawyer is the all around variety man who holds the attention of the whole tickets, by his bareback riding, ground and lofty tumbling, tight rope walking, and blowing the trombone in the band.

The country lawyer sits in Congress and Legislature while his metropolitan brother plays Sherlock Holmes in quest of the fugitive dollars.

The country lawyer is the nag that can pull his share of a load of corn to market, or be stripped of his harness, mounted, and run and win a race at the cross-roads.

The country lawyer is something like the poet; he is more born than made, and Humor presided at his birth, for a good joke never gets inside the lines of his circuit without giving him a call, and meeting a welcome.

Skim the cream off your metropolitan bar and what have you left?

Skim the country cream off the milk in the dairy and what have you left?

According to Darwin, it took a long time for the process of evolution to "evolute" the tails off our ancestors, so that their descendants might comfortably wear fashionable trousers, but the process of evolution works more rapidly on the country lawyer, and often, when we find a metropolitan brother winning all the races on the fancy track of a metropolis, until he attracts the world's attention, when the world hunts up his pedigree and training, it finds him as a colt, putting on legal muscle by nibbling the short stubby grass of jury trials around the primitive courts of country justices.

Such early feed in the legal pastures of the country, gives wind and mettle to the legal racer, and makes him a thoroughbred as surely as the limestone blue grass of Kentucky, or the ozone of California give it to the equine thoroughbred.

And when, in his maturer years he wins the metropolitan races, he forgets the plaudits which greet him, while his thoughts turn back with pleasure to the scanty country pasturage of his early days, wherein he had to hustle

"From early morn 'till dewy eve,"

for a living.

With the country lawyer the law is still a profession, while with his metropolitan brother it is a gainful business.

The country lawyer is a good deal of a fixture—he is the trunk of the tree—while his metropolitan brethren are the branches. The

beauty is in the branches, but the *sap* is in the trunk. The branches bathe in the sunshine and wave in the breeze, because the trunk supports, uplifts, sustains them, and gives them new life when they droop and fall.

The country lawyer is an eclectic, while his metropolitan brother is fast becoming a homeopath, dealing in specifics and specialties.

In the broad field of equity the country lawyer roams, confident and at ease, armed with all the weapons of full and even justice, while his metropolitan brother rarely ventures into these fields unless preceded by an injunction, which he relies on as often and as implicitly as the darkey does on his rabbit foot.

The country lawyer can, if he choose, live by the rule quoted by Sir Edward Coke:

"Six hours to sleep, to law's grave study, six,
Four spent in prayer, the rest on Nature fix."

But his surroundings force our metropolitan brother to live by the rule of Sir William Jones:

"Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,
Ten to the world allot, and none to heaven."

Metropolitan law colleges are factories that turn out students as keen, polished pocket knives and razor blades.

Country law offices are factories that turn out students as broad axes, each tempered and fashioned by an experienced workman.

When comes the conflict between right and wrong the broad axe is better than the pocket knife or razor blade, though not so polished or keen of blade.

When truth is to be rescued from the wilderness of falsehood the broad axe is the weapon needed.

When the interests of corporation or capital are involved, the smaller, keener, more polished blades are highly effective, but when the life, the liberty and the property of the individual citizen are assailed, the broad axe is the weapon for their defense.

When the foundations for the structure and jurisprudence of a state are to be shaped the broad axe is indispensable.

As nature, in all her varied moods of storm and sunshine, furnishes the Indian, with tropes and similes wherewith he garnishes his rude speech to the point of moving eloquence, so does nature, in her daily touch of the county lawyer—nature, as it comes to him in the spreading fields, the clear skies, the unstudied gossip of neighbors, and the shrewd but homely speech of those among whom he lives, give to him the strength of speech, a breadth of thought, a copiousness of illustration, an insight into the motives and minds of men, that enables him to touch with master hand the chords that lead to their hidden thoughts, and move them at his will.

The law is a *coy* maiden. She is not to be had for the asking. She dislikes the "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal," and flies from war's alarms.

The rude jostling she meets with in the busy metropolis, where the dollar is Deity, makes her shrink from it, and exclaim with Young:

> "Give me, indulgent Gods! with mind serene
> And guiltless heart, to range the sylvan scene:
> No splendid poverty, no smiling care,
> No well bred hate, no servile grandeur there."

The country lawyer, in his full stature, is an American product.

It does not flourish in Europe. The law there is *not* a coy maiden, but a worried and worn out wife, married to force, but she has no control over the house, except when the old man is asleep, and even then she gives her orders with bated breath, lest it may awake him, to drive her out of the house as he has so often done.

The country lawyer cannot mature under such a regime, for he is a guard on the people's watch tower, and has always been the first to sound the alarm when force or wrong were found attempting to usurp the domain of law.

The country lawyer by years of calm study, undisturbed by smiles or frowns of fortune, years of reflection, of observation, and of friction against his fellows in the every day walks of life, gradually gains wisdom as the bee gathers honey, and strength as the athlete gains it, by daily endeavor, until, year after year in our nation's history, we find him coming from the obscurity of his country law office, to lead the bar of a metropolis, to adorn the bench of state and federal courts, and crystalize into enduring law the wisdom he gained in his country practice and life, by the study of those books which God made—the minds, the thoughts, the aspirations, the feelings of his fellow men with whom he was so long and so closely in touch during his years as a country lawyer.

Life may not bring to him as many golden sheaves as to his metropolitan brother, but if the intellectual part of man survives, and we believe it does, it brings to him that which he can take with him when Charon comes to ferry him over, whereas the golden sheaves, so laboriously gathered, must be left behind in eternal quarantine, as infected baggage, and the country lawyer leaves to the generations that are to follow, the legacy of a jurisprudence enriched by him, for the protection of the life, liberty and property of man.

To the country lawyer the court is a sacred temple where justice is the presiding goddess, to which the lowly and oppressed may flee for sanctuary. To him the bar is an idealized altar for the ministration of sacred rites, not a mere place for the money changer.

The bar of the past was composed of country lawyers, earnest, learned, modest, and conspicuous as an exemplar of all that was high minded and honorable.

It pleaded the cause of the lowly and succored the distressed while yet the gods of mythology were worshiped, before the dawn of Christianity upon the world. Undistinguished for piety, yet it has done

as much in the world's history to curb the passions and shape the morals of mankind as the pulpit. Not boasting its valor, yet its bloodless victories have advanced the standard of personal liberty far beyond where the warrior dared to place it.

For 19 centuries it has stood on sleepless watch in the vanguard of civilization, hurling its lances against the mailed front of wrong wherever it appeared. Though the mists of the centuries have gathered around it, yet they have brought to it the treasured wisdom of the centuries. Time has not dimmed its eyes to discover wrong, nor cooled its courage to defend the right, and the faintest whisper of the oppressed still comes to it with the force of a command to spring to the defense. It is one of the great centripetal forces of the world, holding all the material interests of mankind within their proper orbit, through all the long procession of the centuries.

It has ever been distinguished by good fellowship, and a broad catholic spirit; welcoming the neophyte to its ranks with the same cheerfulness that it recognizes and rewards the merits of its members, encouraging them to roam in all the fields of learning, and cull the choicest blossoms of Science, of Rhetoric and of Poesy, to adorn their mistress—the law.

No narrow jealousies disturb its harmonies. Its fidelity and integrity—enforced by neither edict nor statute—are not to be bought with a price, but are none the less assured by that *lex non scripta* found alone in the breast of honor.

Its highest honors are reached by no royal road, and those who win may wear them more securely than ever king wore crown, full well assured of the unselfish homage of their fellows.

Its highest rewards spring from the consciousness of a trust well kept, a duty well performed. Its best victories are those which lift a feeble right above a giant wrong. Its monuments, more enduring than brass or marble, are found in the tombs of garnered wisdom, gathered from its ripened members, whose names and fame coming down to us through the centuries invite us all to more exemplary lives and higher efforts to adorn our profession.

In ages past the work of the bar was not in accumulating pelf but in laying deep and firm the substructure of society, and its labors have resulted in the security of life, liberty, and property in most of the civilized world. Such was the work of our predecessors.

The country lawyer of today must maintain and preserve what they secured. The burdens laid down by them must be taken up by us, and if we hope that future generations will remember with respect the bar of today, we must see to it that our era is marked by the same love of learning, the same encouragement of modest merit, and the same high standard of personal integrity that marked and made renowned the bar of country lawyers of the past.

THE SALINES OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

(Prof. George W. Smith.)

The evidence that salt was made within the limits of the present State of Illinois by other people than Indians and Europeans, would not be regarded as very trustworthy before a court of the common people. But to the man who is accustomed to look into the things about him in a scientific way, there is abundant evidence that salt was manufactured in Southern Illinois by a people whose history antedates that of the tribes who inhabited this country at the coming of the Europeans.

The evidence of prehistoric salt-making in the southern part of this State, rests very largely upon the fact that in the region of Salt springs and Salt licks, a species of pottery is found whose use can be explained on no other theory so well as on the one which assumes that the vessels were employed in the manufacture of salt.

On the Saline river, which flows toward the east and southeast through the counties of Williamson, Saline and Gallatin, there are two very noted localities. They are about four miles apart. One locality is noted for a very strong salt spring, a strong sulphur spring, and a fresh water spring. This locality has several names, but is usually called the "Nigger Spring," the "Nigger Well" and the "Nigger Furnace." It is four miles down the river from the present town of Equality. The other locality is marked by what in early times was called the "Half Moon Lick," and also by very strong deep wells. This point is about one mile from the town of Equality and very near the Saline river.

The earliest known English people to settle in this locality came about 1800, or possibly in 1802. In the region of the "Nigger Spring" and in that of the "Half Moon Lick," the earliest English settlers found large quantities of all sorts of pottery, tomahawks, arrow heads, vases and other similar articles. In addition to these familiar articles, there was found a species of pottery unlike that found in other localities. These pieces of pottery seemed to be parts of large vessels.

A sketch of Illinois published in Philadelphia in 1837, contains a short account of Gallatin county. The "Nigger Spring" is called the "Great Salt Spring." This sketch says: "The principal spring was formerly possessed by the Indians, who valued it very highly, and it appears probable that they had long been acquainted with the

method of making salt. Large fragments of earthenware are continually found near the works, both on and under the surface of the earth; they have on them the impression of basket or wicker work."

Mr. George E. Sellers, a very noted man of Gallatin county, in an article in the September issue of the Popular Science Monthly for 1877, attempts to disprove the current belief that the markings on this pottery were made by a basket or frame work in which the vessel is supposed to have been molded. His theory is that the impressions were made by wrapping coarse cloth around the vessels as they were lifted off of the mold, which was within the vessel. Mr. Sellers quotes from a number of scientific writers who seem to have either visited the region around the "Great Salt Spring" or else had specimens of pottery from that locality. All the gentlemen who have examined this peculiar pottery are of the opinion that the vessels were used in the manufacture of salt.

Mr. Sellers first visited the place as early as 1854, and he says at that time that all about the salt springs there was an abundance of this pottery. Just above the springs on a ridge which was in cultivation as early as 1854, Mr. Sellers found acres actually covered with the old salt pans. He thinks the people, whoever they were, were accustomed to take the water upon the hill and there in the pans let the water evaporate. Possibly the process was hastened by dropping into the pans large stones, previously heated in a fire. Again all around the "Half Moon Lick" which is near the town of Equality, large quantities of the same kind of pottery has been found. In the report of the Illinois board, World's Fair Commissioners 1893, page 283, Prof. Wm. McAdams says these salt pans have been found in abundance both in and around the salt works in Illinois, and in Missouri, near St. Genevieve. He describes them all as having those peculiar markings to which I have referred. Mr. McAdams found two of these pans entire near the salt works at St. Genevieve, Mo. They were serving for a coffin. It seemed the corpse was put in one of these pans and another pan inverted over the first one, and then some earth thrown over the casket. Professor McAdams says these salt pans are from three to five feet in diameter.

There are traditions that the salt springs, wells and licks on the Saline river in Gallatin county, were operated by the Indians and French for many years previous to the coming of the English about 1800. Certain it is that the French understood the salt making process; the Indians without doubt knew where the springs and licks were. An English gentleman writing to the Earl of Hillsboro in 1770, in speaking of the region around the mouth of the Wabash and the Saline rivers, mentioned the abundance of salt springs in that region.

Capt. Thos. Hutchins in a book called "Topographical Description of Virginia" in describing the region of the Wabash says: "The Wabash abounds with salt springs and any quantity of salt may be made from them in a manner now done in the Illinois country." This was in 1778, 22 years before the coming of any English people.

Mr. Charles Carroll of Shawneetown, told me it had always been his understanding that the French operated the wells and springs several years previous to 1800. A history of Illinois said to have been written by Calvin Leonard and published by Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., about 1870, has an account of salt making by the French and of a massacre of them by the Shawnee Indians. The Chicago Historical Society knows nothing of such a book and I have doubts of its existence. Count Volney who made a tour of North America from 1795 to 1798 spent considerable time in Vincennes in 1798, and speaks of the "brine springs" at St. Genevieve, Mo., but says not a word about the springs on the Saline river. Mr. Wm. McAvoy, now of Equality, says that Gen. Leonard White knew Volney very well and says that General White told him (McAvoy) that Volney stayed a month in the neighborhood of the salt works. I pressed Mr. McAvoy very closely and he still insisted that Gen. Leonard White had often told him of Volney's visit to that locality. But I could not find a single word about the salt works on the Saline in Volney's writings. So I am inclined to think there is some error in Mr. McAvoy's tradition.

The earliest reference I was able to find in the American State papers is in the law of May 18th, 1796. In an act of this date it is made the duty of the surveyors working for the United States and making surveys in the territory northwest of the Ohio river "to observe closely for mines, salt springs and salt licks and mill seats." Evidently there were no wells or springs operated in Ohio this early for in the life of Ephraim Cutler, son of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, he says that in 1796 when he came to the settlements below Marietta that there was no salt to be had west of the mountains except at Marietta, and what was for sale here had been brought over the mountains on pack horses; he says further that this salt was sold for 16 cents per pound.

Mr. Cutler further says that in 1798 the Shawnee Indians told Lieut. Geo. Irving that 50 miles inland from the Ohio river there was a salt spring. Search was made and the spring found near what is now the town of Chandlersville, ten miles southeast of Zanesville. A salt company was organized by four settlements, and men sent to make salt—four men could make six bushels a week by hard work.

In the winter of 1799 and 1800, Wm. Henry Harrison was the delegate in Congress from the Territory of the Northwest. In his report Mr. Harrison says: "Upon inquiry we find that salt springs and salt licks on the east of the Muskingum, and near the Great Miama are operated by individuals, and timber is being wasted: Therefore we recommend that salt springs and salt licks, property of the United States in the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, ought to be leased for a term of years."

The report was referred to the committee of the whole but no definite action was taken on the committee's recommendation. Harrison became Governor of the Indiana territory in the summer of 1800. In 1802 he visited Kaskaskia and was there importuned to

call a convention to take steps looking toward the introduction of slavery into the Northwest territory. The convention was called in the fall of 1802. Among other things, the convention asked Congress to annul the 6th Article of the Ordinance of 1787, and to grant Saline below the mouth of the Wabash to the territory. Congress received the memorial and granted neither of the two requests,

On March 3, 1803, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to lease the salt springs and licks for the benefit of the Government. On June 7th of the same year, Harrison negotiated a treaty at Fort Wayne between the Government and five Indian tribes. This treaty ceded to the United States 2,038,400 acres of lands in what is now southern Indiana and Illinois.

In the same summer of 1803, Governor Harrison leased the saline on the Saline river to a Captain Bell, of Lexington, Ky. I am inclined to think that probably this Captain Bell was at that time working the salt springs on Saline river by permission of the Indians. Reynolds says the first white man to settle in Shawneetown was Michael Sprinkle who came about 1802, and about the same time a Frenchman La Boissiere settled there and ran a ferry to accomodate people who were coming out of Kentucky to the salt works on the Saline river.

Captain Bell no doubt worked the salt springs till the end of 1806, for the records show that for the year 1807 the works were leased to John Bates of Jefferson county, Kentucky.

By Act of Congress, March 26, 1804, there were established three land offices—one at Kaskaskia, one at Detroit, and one at Vincennes, and by the same act all salt springs, wells, and licks, with the necessary land adjacent thereto were reserved from sale as the property of the United States. The Territorial Governor was authorized to lease these salt wells and springs to the best advantage of the Government. On the 30th of April, 1805, Governor Harrison appointed his friend, Isaac White, then of Vincennes, to be government agent to reside at the salt works and receive the rental due the United States. Mr. White assumed the duties of his position and was assisted by John Marshall who probably lived in Shawneetown. Just where White resided is not known, but presumably at what I have designated as the "Nigger well," some four miles below Equality. In 1806, Sept. 8th, Governor Harrison appointed Mr. White a captain in the Knox county militia. From evidence of a private nature, White himself became lessee of the salt works in 1808 and perhaps retained control of them till 1810 or 1811. While Captain White was residing at the salt works he became involved in a difficulty with a Captain Butler and Butler challenged White to mortal combat. The challenge was accepted, and two days before the day set for the duel Captain White wrote his wife, who perhaps was at Vincennes, a very touching letter telling her he expected to be killed. On the same day that he wrote his wife, he made his will, signed, and sealed it. On the day set for the duel Butler and White both appeared on the appointed spot and

they were informed by their seconds that horse pistols were the weapons—distance six feet. Butler backed down and refused to fight, saying that it would be murder and he could not engage in such an affair.

In 1811 Captain White, now a colonel in the Illinois militia, sold out his interest in the salt works to three men, Jonathan Taylor of Randolph county, Illinois, Chas. Wilkins and James Morrison of Lexington, Ky. From the beginning of 1808 to 1811 Leonard White afterwards known as Gen. Leonard White, seems to have been the Government agent. He himself later on became interested in salt-making. In the summer of 1811 Col. Isaac White was in Vincennes and was initiated into the Masonic lodge at that place; and on Sept. 19, 1811, he was raised to the sublime degree of master Mason. Col. Joe Daviess of Kentucky, who was in Vincennes at that time, acted as Worshipful master. Colonel Daviess was in Vincennes in response to an invitation from Governor Harrison preparatory to an attack upon the Indians. On Nov. 7, 1811, Colonel Daviess and Colonel White fell side by side in the Battle of Tippecanoe.

On Feb. 12, 1812, Congress created the Shawneetown land district. Thos. Sloo was appointed register and John Caldwell was made receiver. In this same act a provision authorized the President to reserve not less than one township of the land around the salt works from sale. Leonard White, Willis Hargrave, and Philip Trammell were made a commission to select the lands which should be reserved as the "Saline reservation." They performed their duty and set aside 96,766.79 acres. This was something over four townships. This was and is yet called, the "reservation." About the same time Mr. Sloo notified the general land office that there were saline indications in other localities in southern Illinois and he was accordingly authorized to make reservations adjacent to such springs or licks. Mr. Sloo made a tour of inspection and as a result about 84,000 acres additional were reserved for saline purposes.

From 1807 to the admission of Illinois, Aug. 26, 1818, the entire rental accruing to the United States from the Salines on the Saline river was 158,394 bushels, and the total cash turned into the treasury for the same time was $28,160.25. Ohio turned in $240 in the same time, while Indiana, Kentucky and Missouri made no returns.

In 1818, April 18, an Enabling act was passed by which Illinois was permitted to make a constitution and apply for admission into the union. The act contains seven sections; the sixth section has four parts. Part two reads as follows: "All salt springs within such State, and the land reserved for the use of the same shall be granted to the said State, for the use of said State, and the same to be used under such terms, and conditions, and regulations, as the Legislature of the said State shall direct; *Provided*, The Legislature shall never sell, nor lease the same for a longer period than ten years, at any one time."

In pursuance of this act the constitutional convention met at Kaskaskia in the summer of 1818 and made a constitution. In that constitution are some provisions that used to be a great mystery to me. Act 6 deals with the question of slavery. Section 2 of the 6th article reads as follows: "No person bound to labor in any state, shall be hired to labor in this State except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown; nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at any one time; nor shall it be allowed there, after the year 1825. Any violation of this article shall effect the emancipation of such person from his obligation of service." The 2nd section of the 6th article provides that all indentures entered into without fraud or collusion prior to the making of the constitution, according to the laws of Illinois Territory, shall be held as valid and the person so "indented" must be held to a fulfillment of the agreement in the contract. Section 1 provides that no person could be held to service under an indenture hereafter to be made, unless the person was in a state of freedom at the time of making his contract. And indentures made by negroes and mulattoes are not valid for a longer time than one year. This 6th article deals almost wholly with conditions at the salt works on the Saline river at the time the constitution was made.

Congress, as well as the territorial legislature of the northwest territory, was memorialized time and again for some relief from the 6th article of the ordinance of 1787. As soon as Indiana territory passed into the second grade of political organization the legislature passed a law permitting the bringing into the territory of negroes and mulattoes who were slaves in other states.

The law which regulated the bringing in of the slaves while Illinois was a territory was passed by the legislature of Indiana in 1805. It provided (1) that slaves over 15 years of age might be brought in from slave states and within 30 days the owner might enter into an agreement with the said slave by which the slave agreed to work in Illinois for a stated time for a consideration. (2) If within the 30 days the slave refused to enter into such an agreement his master had 30 days in which to return him to a slave state. This law was applicable in any part of the Indiana territory, but it was specially advantageous to the lessees of the salt works on Saline river. Mr. Sellers says in the article in the Popular Science Monthly that the "Nigger well or salt works was worked almost wholly by negro slaves."

The Rev. Samuel Westbrook, now 95 years of age, told me he came to Johnson county in 1812, and from there finally to Equality in 1826. At that time the wells about the "Half Moon Lick" were vigorously operated. I was very particular to ask him about the use of slave labor, and he seemed to think there were a great many negroes and mulattoes at work in the various forms of industry, but he seemed to think that most of the colored people were free at that time.

In my search for information relative to the use of slave labor in the salt works, I was directed to a colored family seven miles northwest from Equality. I found the man of the house, Mr. Geo. Elliott, about 50 years old, while an unmarried sister was 62 years old. I found these colored people very intelligent and quite prosperous farmers. When I made my mission known, Mr. Elliott said his sister would provide me with all their old papers. His sister brought out a large roll of papers that belonged to their father. From these two colored people and the papers I secured the following facts: Their father, Cornelius Elliott, was born a slave in 1791. His master was John Elliott, of Maury county, Tenn. Cornelius had evidently been a laborer in the salt works on the Saline river from the time he was old and large enough to be of service. In 1819 Timothy Guard, one of the lessees of the salt works, seems to have gone into Tennessee and bought this slave, Cornelius, of John Elliott. He brought the negro to the "Half Moon Lick" and set him to work. Cornelius was a cooper, and barrels were in great demand In 1821 Timothy Guard had it in his heart to set Cornelius free. It appears that Cornelius had earned $1,000.00 in the three years. Either Mr. Guard had received directly the profit of the negro's labor and counted it worth $1,000 00, or else the slave had been permitted to "lay by" his earnings. At any rate I read an indenture on parchment which was written in Timothy Guard's handwriting in which he says that in consideration of $1,000.00, cash in hand, he gives Cornelius his freedom. The document is signed by Timothy Guard and sworn to before John Marshall, a justice of the peace. Following which is a certificate by Joseph M. Street, who was clerk of the court, to the effect that John Marshall was a justice of the peace.

Within a few years after Cornelius had purchased his own freedom he bought the freedom of his mother and three brothers. For one of his brothers he paid the sum of $550.00, and I read the manumission papers. In 1828 Cornelius married a free negress from Kentucky. He then bought 80 acres of land and commenced farming. He afterwards bought more land, and at the time of his death he owned 360 acres of good farming land six or seven miles northwest of Equality.

This story of Cornelius Elliott is probably only one of scores of similar stories which may be truthfully told of the period of "industrial service" in the salt works in Gallatin county.

In 1818, when Illinois became a state, the salt springs, wells and licks, with the lands adjacent, became the property of the State of Illinois. At this time there were in existence five distinct leases of salt wells and springs from the United States to individuals. The leases had been made by Ninian Edwards, representing the government, and all bore date of 1817. One was with Willis Hargrave and Meredith Fisher, a second was with Jonathan Taylor, a third with George Robinson, a fourth was with James Ratcliff, a fifth with Timothy Guard.

The benefit of the unexpired leases from Aug. 26, 1818, to June 19, 1820, fell to the State of Illinois. The legislature which met at Kaskaskia the winter of 1818-19 authorized the Governor of the State

to continue these leases with the above named gentlemen. The Governor was also authorized to lease the Big Muddy Saline for a term of ten years. This saline was in Jackson county, three miles west of the present city of Murphysboro. This saline had been leased to Conrad Will, March 25, 1815 for three years. Brownsville was made the county seat of Jackson county in 1816. The salt wells were near the town, one a half mile above, and one a mile below or down the river from the town. Mr. Will came to Kaskaskia from Pennsylvania about 1811. He bought a drove of cattle and took them back to Pennsylvania. He must have returned shortly after this, for he seems to have been in Kaskaskia some time previous to his leasing the wells in 1815. It is more than probable that either Mr. Will or someone else was working the wells on Big Muddy prior to 1815. At least Mr. Will returned to Pennsylvania the second time, it seems after kettles to make salt. These kettles Mr. Will probably brought down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and then up the Big Muddy on keel boats. He brought his family to Brownsville about 1814 or 1815. They lived at first in a double log house which is said to have stood for many years Help was scarce in Jackson county in 1815, so Mr. Will is said to have gone into Kentucky and brought slaves to his salt works. Conrad Will was a doctor, and his granddaughter, now living in Carbondale, has some of his books. He made salt and ran a tan yard. He served in the Constitutional convention of 1818 and in several of the early legislatures. He has one granddaughter who was born in 1828, several years before Mr. Will's death.

In 1824 the legislature authorized the Governor to lease the Big Muddy saline to James Pearce. In 1827, Mr. Pearce not having accomplished much in his salt making, the legislature relieved him of his obligation relative to the salt works. In 1834 the wells were leased to Conrad Will again till 1840, at this time, 1840, the lands should be sold. There is no record of any income to the general government or to the State from the Big Muddy saline.

At this place, as I have noted, there were two wells about a mile apart. The machinery consisted of a row or double row of kettles set over an open ditch; the sides of this ditch were lined with cut sandstone; at one end of the row of kettles the fires were kept going and at the other end of the row was a smokestack. The kettles were very large, holding about 100 gallons each. To within the past ten years the old furnaces were quite undisturbed, but of late the rocks have all been taken out to make foundations. The old kettles are scattered over the neighborhood and are used chiefly for scalding the hogs at butchering time. One of the wells had a copper pipe running down into the earth through which the water flowed out at the top. A few years ago an enterprising citizen hitched his team to the pipe and twisted it off several feet below the surface. Water still flows out at that point.

There was in the first part of the last century a saline in Monroe county, nine miles due west of the present city of Waterloo. It was owned and worked by Gen. Edgar. The Hon. A. C. Bolinger, of

Waterloo, took the pains to secure some facts about this saline, but he was unable to secure any information of value. Col. Wm. R. Morrison was unable to furnish anything definite, but suggested that Dr. Lewis James, of Old Mines, Mo., might be able to give some valuable facts concerning this saline, but a letter to the doctor failed to bring a response.

In 1826 the United States Senate asked the Secretary of the Treasury for a complete report of all incomes from the salines and also a description of all reservations. In this report from the Secretary of the Treasury no mention is made of salines in Monroe, Madison or Bond counties. However, from reliable sources we know that Judge Biggs made salt in Madison, on Silver creek, and in Bond on Shoal creek. And from an act of the legislature in 1827, it appears that Stephen Galliard and Samuel Montgomery were lessees of a saline on Shoal creek, in Bond county. By act of the Legislature, Jan. 23, 1833, the Governor was authorized to lease the salines in Bond county, or to appoint an agent to take charge of them.

The wells were on section 32, in township 6, range 4. One section was reserved from sale. The first well was just at the edge of the water of Shoal creek. The settlers dug a second well on higher ground and drew the water with ordinary water buckets. The boiling was done in kettles, and it is said there were as many as 90 of them. Many of the kettles are to be found in the locality.

Besides Montgomery and Galliard above referred to, James Coyle, —— Spencer, John Lee, and other made salt here. James Coyle settled near the wells in 1817, and on April 4, 1822, a son, Jeremiah Coyle, was born, and he still lives on the old homestead. I am indebted to the Rev. Thos. W. Hynes for the facts about the Shoal creek saline.

In the early days of salt making on the Saline river wood only was used for fuel. The water was boiled in large cast iron kettles, holding from 60 to 100 gallons. They were placed in rows, and one furnace would sometimes have from 20 to 30 kettles. At first the furnace was close to the well or spring. Timber was plentiful and it was not difficult to keep the furnace supplied with fuel. As time went on the process became more systematic and the works grew. More timber was needed to make more salt. The item of hauling wood three or four miles became a serious one. In those days there were "professional axe-men," expert teamsters," and "skilled firemen." It was a busy scene; 20 or 30 axe-men in the timber, eight or ten four or six mule teams on the roads from the timber to the furnaces, six or eight regular firemen, kettle hands, coopers, salt packers, salesmen, timekeepers, boarding house keepers, freighters, hoop-pole merchants, and hangers-on by the score.

The water was put in fresh at the fire end of the row and moved from kettle to kettle back toward the chimney where there was a large, flat stirring off pan. Attached to this pan was a large draining board; the salt was scraped up to one side of the pan and shoveled

up on this board. The water drained back into the pan and the salt became dry It was then taken to the salt shed, where it was packed in barrels, and was then ready for the market.

When the timber had been used up back three or four miles, then they moved the works to the fuel. The water must now be gotten to the furnaces. This to modern engineers would be a simple problem, but to our friends of 100 years ago, it was not so simple a task. The plan required a long, tedious preparation. Large, straight trees, from 16 to 20 feet long in body were cut. They must be at least ten inches in diameter at the small end; this would make them 14 to 16 inches in diameter at the large end. With a four-inch augur, a hole was bored lengthwise through this log. The opening in the large end was seamed to about six inches in diameter, while the small end was trimmed down to about six inches from outside to outside. Strong iron bands were then put on the large end, and the small end of another log was forced into the large end of the first log. The second log was driven into the first with a sort of battering ram such as we have used to bombard the large hickory trees to knock off nuts in the fall of the year. These wooden pipes were laid from the spring or well to the furnace, which was often three to five miles away. The pipe lines are said to have been always straight, and went over hills and across creeks. However, the country is comparatively level. When the pipes crossed the creeks they weighted the pipes to the bottom of the stream with large castings, in the general form of a horseshoe. These were straddled over the logs and are said to have weighed 250 to 300 pounds. All the pipes made prior to 1850 were made by hand, but about 1850 or probably a little later they were bored by horse power. As said before, the pipe line took a straight line from the well to the furnace. At the well a pump, or rather an elevator was rigged up, a continuous belt with flat buckets riveted to it. This crude elevator raised the water 10, 20 or 30 feet as needed, and thence it flowed down an upright pipe which connected at the bottom with the regular pipe line. I was not able to determine whether or not there were relay stations, but I am inclined to think there were. The cisterns where these elevators were located were called "histing cisterns."

The fact that this piping system was in use in an early day has led to some errors with regard to wells. Some people living in those regions have thought there was a well wherever there was a furnace, and the old furnaces are thick all over the country. This is not the case; there were few wells, but the piping system carried the water in all directions The two chief places where wells were sunk were at the "Nigger Spring" and at the "Half Moon Lick." It has been estimated that one hundred miles of pipe was laid from 1800 to 1873.

The first wells were probably square and were 20 feet in diameter, and about 60 feet deep. They were walled up with logs. All the old wells as they appear to-day are circular and are about 20 or 25 feet in diameter and from four to ten feet deep with sloping sides. The water rose in these wells to within a few feet of the top of the ground. In what may be called the middle period of salt making, pipes were sunk in the bottom of these wells and a stronger brine secured

Timothy Guard, who was connected with salt making as early as 1816 and as late as 1830 or later, dug a deep well near the "Half Moon Lick" perhaps as late as 1825. The well was dug down some 60 feet and walled up and then a boring was made in the bottom of this well. A very fine quality of brine was thus secured, and Guard's well is a very noted place, though few could point out the exact spot. A large tree is growing on the inner margin of this well; its banks are grassy and water stands in it some six feet below the surface of the ground. This well was used till about 1854. About this time a company was formed consisting of Stephen R. Rowan, Andrew McAllan, Chalon Guard, Abner Flanders, Broughton Temple and Joseph J. Castle. They made preparation to manufacture salt on a more extensive scale than ever before. They sunk another deep well at great expense, and expended so much money that the company broke up and Castle and Temple eventually became the owners of the grounds and improvements. These two men proceeded to complete the preparations for the manufacture of salt. Large boilers, engines and pumps were installed. Large boiler iron evaporating pans were placed over the furnaces instead of the kettles. These pans were from 12 to 20 feet wide and extended from the grates to the smoke stack, a distance of 60 or 70 feet. There were three such rows of pans all connected with the same smoke stack. The old pans are lying there now in the weeds and brush. I calculated their area and found they covered about 3,000 square feet. The pans were from ten to twelve inches deep. Coal had been discovered in a near-by hill and it was substituted for wood. A tramway was built from the coal mine to the furnaces.

The water or brine was pumped from the deep wells to the top of the "thorn house." This thorn house was a frame structure resembling in general appearance the false work used in constructing a bridge across a small river. It was 20 or 30 feet wide at the bottom, and extended 60 feet high narrowing toward the top. This would be the end view. It extended some 150 or 175 feet in length. There were quite a number of cross beams, ties and braces and the whole inner space was filled with bundles of thorn bushes. These bundles of thorn bushes were carefully packed in the frame work in such a way that all space was completely filled with them. These thorn bushes were found in great quantities all about the works. On top of this thorn house running its entire length was a trough full of small holes. The brine was pumped into this trough and allowed to flow gently to the other end, and if it did not all trickle through the holes on the first trip it was guided into another trough and caused to flow down it till all had passed through the openings in the bottom of the trough. This brine now trickled through the thorn faggots to the bottom of the structure where it was caught in a large trench and conveyed to a large retaining basin. This "thorn house" was a great mystery to the infrequent visitors to the salt works. There are two explanations of its office in salt making. One that the brine in passing from the top of the structure to the bottom lost by evaporation 40 per cent of the water. This was a great saving of fuel

and labor in the boiling process. Another explanation of its use was this: In evaporating the brine by boiling the water there were deposits of some substance like gypsum in the bottom of the pan which adhered to the bottoms of the pans and if not often removed would prevent the passage of the heat from the fire to the water and thus the pans would be burned. Now the thorn bushes were supposed to have the power to crystallize this foreign matter and thus purify the brine.

This plant was owned and operated by Temple and Castle from about 1854 to 1873. They are said to have made 500 bushels of salt every 24 hours.

In about 1873 Temple and Castle constructed a very complete plant a mile away at the coal mine, thinking it cheaper to move the water to the coal than the coal to the water. The plant was an expensive one and when everything was nearly ready for work, hard times came on, salt became cheap, and the new works were never put into operation. In course of time the machinery was removed, and little is left to mark the new plant.

On Dec. 18, 1903, I visited this region. I spent four days in gathering up the facts concerning this great industry of a former age. It was a pleasant task. Mr. A. D. Blankenship, a former student in the Normal, was kind enough to furnish me a conveyance and accompany me in my investigations. On reaching Equality I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of Messrs. Moore, druggists, who are very much interested in preserving the story of early days about their town. Mr. Harry Moore accompanied me to the old works. The ground is quite level and subject to overflow. The day was an ideal spring day, and as I stood on the spot where for three-fourths of a century a great industry flourished I had a strange feeling. It was deathly still, there were no noises, no bird songs, no cattle, no life. A mile away we could hear the noise of the village, a passing train, and the noise about the coal mine and coke ovens. We soon came to the cinder roads and then we knew we were near the furnaces. Now and then we passed an old well. We had a camera and we took views of wells, pans, thorn bushes, etc. We found the old furnaces. The outlines of the old pans are still to be seen. One old pan is quite well preserved, but it will soon be mouldered back to earth whence it came. We found the old retaining cistern and found the location of the old residence of Temple and Castle. About a quarter of a mile away we visited the noted "Half Moon Lick." This is some one-half quarter long and half quarter wide at the widest part. It is about 20 or 25 feet deep and is destitute of any growth except some willows and tufts of grass. This lick is supposed to have been the resort of wild animals for centuries past. The teeth and bones of mastodons have been found here. We got a fairly good view of this lick.

The afternoon I spent with Mr. McAvoy, a very intelligent and courteous old gentleman who came to Equality about 1855. Mr. McAvoy is a friend of Mr. Temple and is in possession of much valuable information which he has gathered in the last half century.

The second day I visited the "Nigger Well," four miles below Equality and across the river from the town. There was a downpour of rain this day which prevented me from making a close study of this region. However I was able to find the exact spot, the "Nigger Spring" which was salt and is the one evidently just used. The sulphur spring which I found very strong and was evidently formerly in use for the old timbers are still to be seen imbedded in the mud, and the fresh water spring not far away. These were all described by Colonel Sellers as early as 1854. Just to the right as you go down the river toward the southeast is a high range of hills and at the "Nigger Well" the bluffs come close to the river and it is just up on these bluffs where Colonel Sellers used to find the Indian graves and evidences of a village. A few yards below the springs I found a native to the manor born. He had lived in that immediate vicinity for 50 years, and seemed a little surprised to think any one would attach any importance to these old salt springs. He told me that in a little bottom field just in front of his house and lying just below the springs that he had plowed up bushels of broken pottery and that the whole field seemed to be one big furnace. I asked him if any salt had been made there within the last 50 years, and he said that everything looked just as it did 50 years ago. I examined carefully the trees and I am very sure there are many of them 3 feet in diameter and yet Colonel Sellers affirms that in an early day every stick of timber was cut off for fuel. I learned from the native above referred to that there was an old pipe line running from the springs near to an old furnace down the creek, but across from his house, and he said that he was sure the old kettles were there yet, but said they were covered up in the dirt but he was sure they could be found. He said further that another line of pipe led to a furnace further down the river. This line may have led to Weed's works which were one-half mile below the island ripple.

I visited Shawneetown and spent considerable time with Mr. Charles Carroll whom I found to be a very pleasant gentleman. He is probably the best informed man in Shawneetown on early Gallatin county history. I spent some time in the recorder's office verifying some facts which I had gathered elsewhere. Incidentally I took occasion to visit the old flag said to have been carried in the revolutionary war by General Pavey. I also viewed for a few moments the old brick house in which General LaFayette was entertained. This is called the Rawlins house. Finally I viewed with no little interest the humble home in which Illinois' greatest soldier and our honored guest today were married. (General and Mrs. Jno. A. Logan.)

The third day, in company with Mr. McAvoy, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Bunker, and Mr. Smith, I visited again the old salt works on the outskirts of Equality. This second visit was very profitable, for Mr. McIntyre was, from a boy, an employé about the works, most of the time in the capacity of cooper. Mr. McIntyre knew every foot of the ground and with his help I drew a map locating every important

place of interest about the grounds. On this day, in company with Dr. Gordon and Mr. McAvoy, I called to see Uncle Peter White (colored) now 70 years old. Uncle Pete was brought up in the immediate vicinity of the salt works. When he was 10 years old he and three other children were kidnapped and taken into Arkansas and sold. He was afterwards rescued by Watt White. Uncle Peter's memory is good and I gathered some valuable information from him.

On the fourth day I visited the Elliott family previously referred to and also the Rev. Samuel Westbrook now living in El Dorado.

Mr. Westbrook was born in 1809. He came to Johnson county in 1812, and in 1826 he came to Equality and began laboring in various capacities in the salt making business. He was, among other things, a teamster. He had lived in the immediate vicinity of the salt works for the past 78 years and has a very vivid picture of most of the incidents which occurred within that period.

The men and women who have lived in this region from a very early day are very few and their ranks are thinning every day. In a few years there will be none living whose lives cover the period of salt making. And so far as I have been able to find out little, if anything, has ever been written and printed of this great industry of southern Illinois.

Morris Birkbeck.

MORRIS BIRKBECK AND HIS FRIENDS.

(Daniel Berry, M. D.)

Morris Birkbeck was born sometime in the year 1763 in the vicinity of London, England. He died June 4th, 1825, aged 62 years, and lies buried in New Harmony, Indiana. He came up and out of the sub strata of English life. His character we must measure by his work. Of his personality we have an outline in Mr. George Flower's History of the English settlement in Edwards county.

He says: "The father of Morris Birkbeck, also named Morris, was an eminent Quaker preacher, whose good name was well known by friends in America as well as in England. Old Morris Birkbeck, as he was familiarly called, when his son arrived at manhood, although eminent as a preacher, was by no means so for his wealth or worldly possessions. But he gave to his son a much better education than generally falls to the lot of the children of poor Friends.

"Morris Birkbeck the younger, had a thorough knowledge of Latin, and a slight knowledge of Greek. In after life he mastered the French language so as to read it with facility. Whilst a mere youth he was appointed clerk to a Friends' meeting. The duties of this office made him a ready writer, and a systematic arranger of documents and papers of every kind. Very early in life he was placed upon a farm. There it was that he learned by experience farming and farm work. When a young man he hired a farm with no capital of his own, and with a very small capital borrowed from a friend. He worked on the farm with great assiduity, not only with his own hands, but with such labor as his limited means allowed him to command. He watched his own progress, or rather position, with great solicitude. He has often told me, that many times when he took stock, after valuing everything he possessed, even his books and clothes, he found himself worse than nothing, but by perseverance he acquired a little. He afterward took, on a long lease, a much larger farm called Wanborough, containing 1,500 acres of land, near the town of Guilford in the county of Surrey. This farm he worked with great perseverance and spirit, always adopting improvements in husbandry, implements and live stock, that appeared of any practical value. Here he acquired a competence and brought up a family of four sons and three daughters, to whom he gave a liberal education and to whom he was a most kind and indulgent parent."

Here is Mr. Flower's description of the man:

"When I first became acquainted with Mr. Birkbeck he was nearly 50 years old, enjoying excellent health. Mental and bodily activity were combined with unimpaired habits. In person he was below middle stature, rather small, spare, not fleshy but muscular and wiry. With a constitution not of the strongest, he was yet a strong and active man. His bodily frame was strengthened and seasoned by early labor and horseback exercise in the open air. He was capable of undergoing great fatigue without injury. His complexion was bronzed from exposure; face marked with many lines; rather sharp features, lighted by a quick twinkling eye and rapid utterance. He was originally of an irascible temper, which was subdued by his Quaker breeding, and kept under control by watchfulness and care. But eye, voice and action would occasionally betray the spirit work within.

"Mr. Birkbeck was of quick perception and lively conversation, often spiced with pungent remarks and amusing anecdotes. He was a general and rapid reader, and notwithstanding his business occupations, showed a decided taste for scientific investigation, for which he always found time to indulge."

When Mr. Flower first met Mr Birkbeck, Mr. Flower was about 25 years old. Another interesting allusion to Mr. Birkbeck in Mr. Flower's History is this:

"After the downfall of Napoleon, and the peace succeeding a 20 years war, Mr. Birkbeck invited me to accompany him in a journey to France, to which I readily acceded. We traveled together three months in that country, avoiding the usual route of English travel. Passing from North to South to the shores of the Mediterranean, skirting the Pyrennes, and returning through the heart of the country to Paris, we saw more of the country and Frenchmen at home, than we otherwise should, if confined to any one of the popular routes of travel."

Many years ago, through the courtesy of Mr. Alfred Flower, a son of Mr. George Flower, I had the pleasure of reading the manuscript itinerary of that journey written by Mr. Flower himself. It is a very interesting account of a trip undertaken for pleasure and profit, because the two travelers were incidentally studying the Merino sheep industry.

But Mr. Flower continues in his history: "On our return Mr. Birkbeck published his 'Notes of a Journey through France.' It had a wide circulation in England, and was well known in America. It was the first book I met with at Monticello, the residence of Thomas Jefferson.

"About this time Mr. Edward Coles, on his return from a diplomatic mission to Russia, spent some time in England. An introduction to Mr. Coles in London was succeeded by a visit to Mr. Birkbeck's house and family at Wanborough. Here an intimacy and friendship was formed, in consequence of which Mr. Coles, when Governor of Illinois, appointed Mr. Birkbeck his Secretary of State." At this point in Mr. Flower's History, Mr. E. B. Washburne, its editor, makes the following note:

"Edward Coles was elected Governor of Illinois in 1822. His election was followed by a contest which continued for 18 months and which, for bitterness and desperation, is without a parallel in the history of political struggles in the United States. It resulted from an attempt to change the free State constitution of the State into a constitution tolerating slavery. Though Governor Coles was a Virginian and had been a slave holder, he was the leader of the free State men who fought out the great battle of freedom in that terrific conflict. By this time the English colony in Edwards county had become an important factor in the politics of the State. Morris Birkbeck, Gilbert T. Pell, his son-in-law, George Flower and Richard Flower, his father, played an important part in this contest in opposition to the slavery propogandists." I would remark here that much of the time of Mr. George Flower and his father was taken up at this period, in negotiating the purchase of the Rapp colony of New Harmony, Indiana, for Mr. Robert Owen. This purchase was consummated in 1824, at a cost to Mr. Owen of about $140,000.00.

Mr. Washburne continues: "The vigorous and facile pen of Mr. Birkbeck was called into requisition, and his writings were widely read, and exercised a great influence on public opinion.

In 1824, David Blackwell, then Secretary of State, resigned his office, and Governor Coles, recognizing the services of Mr. Birkbeck and his exceptional fitness for the position, appointed him in his place in September, 1824. The nomination had to be confirmed by the Senate, and that body, having a pro-slavery majority, rejected him on Jan. 15, 1825, he having held the office only three months."

English tenant farming became a poor business during the peace following the downfall of Napoleon. Mr. Birkbeck sold out his lease of Wanborough and all his personal property pertaining to the farm. This sale netted him more than $55,000, and this sum we may consider as his contribution to the English enterprise in Edwards county.

He embarked with his family from the port of London, on board the ship America, Captain Heth, in April, 1817. They arrived at Norfolk, Va., in the month of June, of the same year.

Mr. George Flower, who had been traveling through the western settlements searching for the prairie lands, of which he had read in Imlay's work, and concerning which he had great doubt, joined the Birkbeck family party and came west with them. Mr. Birkbeck's observations on this tedious horseback journey from Pittsburg to the prairie land of Illinois, are contained in "Birkbeck's Notes of Travel in America." Read that book and then go over the same route and you will have a better understanding of the man. You shall see, that, as we say in these days, "he sized things up," as he came along —told what this and that locality was fitted for—and you realize that now they are doing just what he predicted for them.

He was now about 55 or 56 years old, just in his ripe prime. We have Mr Flower's pen picture of the man, and the strongest charac-

istics we see there, are: a man of strong, unbending will power; a man of intense nervous energy, where every fibre of muscle—every mental endeavor can be tuned up to high concert pitch, and *stay* there until the work is done; we see that this work is to be directed by inflexible honesty and a very high grade of intelligence. He was a man who would always fall into the right place, because with his bithright of abilty and training he could adapt himself to any place to be filled with prime elements of manhood. He was a man with a broad, catholic mind, made so by wide reading, reflection and experience. If the Territory of Illinois had been a personality endowed with prescience to know the peril and ordeal she was to pass through as an infant State, and had desired to bring up and train a champion, defender and preserver in her distress, she could not have devised a better school than the one through which Morris Birkbeck passed.

I want you to go back and look at the condition of such a man, as we know Mr. Birkbeck to have been, in the England of 1816. Just imagine the galling, bitter, burning irony of the situation that must have tortured his very soul. With all his attainments, aspirations and wealth he was not classed as a *citizen*, could have no lot nor part in the governmental affairs of the land. He was an inhabitant, just that and nothing more. As an inhabitant he was just a grade or two above the rabbits in his lordship's warren and the foxes and pheasants in his game preserves.

As he grew up he saw the sturdy American colonies assert their manhood by throwing off the yoke of servile distinction bred of a thousand years of castle tutelage; standing proud and dominant in the full power and majesty of their re-captured Saxon birthright of freedom. He saw the blood, horror and tumult of the French revolution, where amid untold atrocities the top of society went down and the bottom came up. His Quaker breeding led him to look on such things, and such procedure with disgust and loathing, while his mature reflection recognized the woeful disparity between classes, his sensitive nature and habit of thought counseled moderation in the means to attain better ends. He was anxious and willing, at any cost, to assert and maintain his own manhood, rights and freedom, but his solicitude did not stop here, he was anxious that all men should enjoy the same privileges. From the nature of the case—he was driven to espouse the anti-slavery cause in the land of his adoption. In this work of the English colony of Edwards county, Mr. Birkbeck had a two-fold task. One might say that he fought the pro-slavery men with a sword in one hand, while with the other he waved the olive branch of peace to his neighbors. This English movement into Edwards county was by no means a welcome one to the settlers in the vicinity, neither was it looked upon with anything like friendly appreciation. You must remember they came there only six or seven years after the battle of New Orleans; that many of the victors in that battle were settled around them; and of those who were not with General Jackson behind the cotton bales, many had suffered from depredations and killings by the Indians "egged on by

the British," as the phrase was. To these Mr. Birkbeck's office was one of reason and conciliation. He could make them see the unrighteousness and cupidity of the British cause and action; he could impress them with the sympathy of himself and fellow colonists, because of being sufferers, like themselves, from British injustice. Feeling as he did, the expanding influences of his own manhood, in his newly acquired relief from caste prejudice, he could talk to them of the glorious prospects around them and the social conditions that allowed a man to grow to his full size.

In the work of arousing public indignation against the contemplated change in the State Constitution to admit slavery, Mr. Birkbeck was certainly the acknowledged leader. In the fight that followed the call for a convention he furnished all the ammunition. His pen was ever ready and potent. He could appeal to all classes of society, the illiterate as well as the learned. Over the name of Jonathan Freeman his letters were spread broadcast over the State, sowing the seed of a crop of passionate protest against the plans of the pro-slavery men. Newspapers were few and there were not many readers, but there were thousands of good memories in the land. The percentage of illiteracy, in those days, was something we hardly dare look back upon. But there was an agency that was courageous; which became burning soul inspired ally of Mr. Birkbeck.

The itinerant preacher, the circuit rider, was abroad in the land. These zealous men were coming and going through every settlement with their saddle bags loaded with the gospel and Birkbeck's letters. These letters were read at every meeting and house where the preacher held service or was entertained. The listeners carried them away in their memories and at every house raising, log-rolling, burying, wedding and infare, they were "norated round," as the phrase was used, for the spreading of news.

I heard of Birkbeck's letters 25 years before they were published in Mr. Flower's history. I got them with no tarnish on their intensity and brilliancy.

Nearly 50 years ago I was teaching school in Lawrence county. I wanted to learn something about practical surveying, and one vacation became a pupil of the county surveyor, Mr. Walter Buchanan. This society ought to have a sketch of that man. He was one of the pioneers in a colony of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. He was a man of splendid physique, with a head and face denoting high intellectuality; his manner was genial, cordial and so kind that every one called him Uncle Wat. His education was limited, but he had more than any book knowledge could give. He was a mathematical prodigy. His neighbors said of him, "he is a natural born mathematician." I used to think of him as a mathematical monstrosity. He was full of what he called crank questions, and one could not be with him ten minutes before one was thrown at him. He had a book full of abstruse problems—all invented by himself. Nothing pleased him so well as to have some one give him a hard one, something that

he could think about, as he expressed it. I found some "tough customers" in a new book I had. I copied many of these and read them to him at various times. I would hardly finish reading one before he gave the solution.

I finally came to the conclusion that he was possessed of a sort of sixth sense, something that I could not comprehend; and with this extra sense he thought with circles, triangles, squares, cubes, conic sections, parabolic curves and tangential lines, much in the same way as I thought with words. I never met a man with such a memory. In our long rides about the country, whenever I could lure him away from his tormenting mathematics, I would get him to talking about old times On one occasion, he asked me: "Did you ever hear how Birkbeck skinned the preacher?" I never had. This opened up a long talk about the convention and anti-convention days, and Mr. Birkbeck's work in "heading off" the convention men. In Mr. Buchanan's account: "There was a preacher, Mr. W., who thought he would like to lock horns with Birkbeck on the divine wisdom and holiness of slavery. The letter was printed in the papers. Mr. W. was very proud of it. I reckon he was sure he had squelched Birkbeck, and a right peart lot of other folks thought so too. But Birkbeck came back at him with another letter. There was a right smart chance of scripture in both letters." Here Mr. Buchanan broke into a laugh. "I never can help laughing," he said, "when I think how Mr. W. must have felt and looked when he saw his hide hanging on the fence." "Perhaps he did not realize that he had been skinned," I suggested. "Well," said Mr. Buchanan reflectively, "I know that Solomon says that you can bray a fool in a mortar, but he comes out the same old fool. May be he did not know he was skinned. Everybody else did; and, as proof of the skinning, nobody ever heard any more from Mr. W." With that he repeated the contents of those two letters.

Years after, when I read the letters in Mr. Flower's History, I recognized the fact that I had heard them before, almost word for word. The old feeling of bitterness engendered in that old time struggle, was but slightly toned down in Mr. Buchanan's narration of it. In the summer of 1860 I became acquainted with Mr. George Flower and his wife. Through the courtesy of their son-in-law, Mr. Charles Agniel, I read some of the manuscript of the history. That year Mr. Flower was putting the finishing touches on it. In September of the same year he presented it, together with some valuable autograph letters, to the Chicago Historical society. It was in the society's library a long time before it found an appreciative reader. In 1871 such a reader picked it up and was interested. He lived in the country and obtained permission to take it home with him. During its absence from the city the Chicago fire came. This manuscript and the letters were all that was saved to the society. After other years it thrilled another man, Mr. L. Z. Leiter. He generously contributed the money for its publication. This was done in 1882, the work being edited by Mr. E. B. Washburne. Only a limited number of copies were printed. The book ought to be republished.

Its tenth chapter deals with the convention and anti-convention days, and the spirited language of Mr. Flower gives us a fair view of the ferocity of the struggle.

Perhaps it would be of interest to inquire into the cause that brought on the most critical period in the history of Illinois when, in its infancy, it came very near shipwreck on the rocks of slavery. Momentous as the occasion was, it arose from what we would now consider a very trifling thing. This was a small commercial enterprise known as the salines of Gallatin county.

In the territorial times the land in the vicinity was a government reservation. The government leased these salines to individuals, and when the Illinois Territory was enacted into a State, the salines were turned over to the State. When under the general government control the lessees were allowed to bring slaves into the Territory for the purpose of working these salines. Under this arrangement hundreds and thousands of slaves were introduced into the southern part of the Territory, chiefly from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. The company who held the lease of the salines from the State was composed of Granger, Gard, White and others. The State allowed the work to be done by slaves; but in Article 6, Section 2 of the first Constitution, there was a provision which read thus:

"No person bound to labor in any other state, shall be hired to labor in this State, excepting within the track reserved for the salt work, near Shawneetown, nor even at that place for a longer term than one year at any one time, nor shall it be allowed there after the year 1825. Any violation of this article shall effect the emancipation of such persons from his obligation to service."

Mr. Flower says in his history:

"Here the whole thing was supposed to be settled; everybody thought freedom was established, and, under that belief, emigrants from free states and from Europe came in and began to make permanent settlements for themselves and families. These settlers saw a menace in the practice of the company working the salines. Under the law a slave could be employed there but one year, at the expiration of which time he had to be sent back to where he came from. The truth was, few or any of them were allowed to leave the State, but were paroled out to the friends of the lessees, and in many cases bartered for land or sold for cash."

The general inspector of the salt works for the United States government, and also for the State, was Major Willis Hargrave, of Carmi. He was with General Jackson at New Orleans. He was made a general in the Black Hawk war. He led about 500 White county men into that war.

When the lease of the Salt Works company, with its slave labor privilege, was about to expire, the company could not ask for an extension of its concession from the State, because of the constitutional barrier. But Major Hargrave was equal to the emergency; he would change the constitution of the State. Probably no man in the State had a wider acquaintance than he. As a member of the Territorial

legislature, and State Senator in the First General Assembly, and as inspector of the salines, where everybody came for salt, he had opportunities for making friends possessed by few men.

As this was the first attempt made anywhere in the country by a corporation, or trade monopoly, to run the government, it is interesting to see how the work was started. In this work Major Hargrave was the master spirit. We must not forget that he was a forceful man. With him common, ordinary men were like clay in the hands of the potter. His army experience had taught him the value of organization and the importance of attention to the smallest details.

In his legislative experience he had learned to work the machine that was to accomplish his purpose. His first object, then, was to *shape* that machine to his liking, in the election of members to the coming Third General Assembly. With the spirit of a born tactician and strategist he stealthily placed his scouts and advance guards so as not to alarm the enemy. All the counties were organized. Four or five careful, discreet, thorough-going partisans, men of position, were appointed captains of the movement in their counties. Each of these selected a squad of like character, for work in all the settlements. It was the duty of this detail to talk into being by easy gradations a general, pro-slavery sentiment, and to know how every man in his settlement was going to vote. The next thing to do was to place the battery of newspapers in position

You have seen the leader of an orchestra assemble the players to tune up their instruments, preparatory to the grand overture In some such fashion Major Hargrave tuned up this newspaper artillery. They were not to alarm the people. In the opening of the fight they were to shoot nothing more dangerous than paper wads showing the benign expediency of extending the slavery privilege with a well defined limit.

But as the fight grew, the discharges from these guns began to do some damage, until finally they began to deal in red hot shot and shell calling for a change in the constitution to admit slavery. Happily there were some papers that could not be trained in such fashion. Under such circumstances the election of the Third General Assembly took place.

This Assembly of 1822-1824 contained 54 members—18 Senators and 36 Representatives. Among these were four men directly interested in the salt works as lessees. Leonard White, of White county, and Michael Jones, of Gallatin, were in the Senate; Daimwood of Gallatin, Sloo of Hamilton, and Hargrave's man Logan, of White, were in the House. This man Logan had been elected by his friends in the Methodist settlement in White county, under pledge to vote against any change in the constitution. He it was who introduced the resolution calling for the convention. My authority as to the *manner* of his election is from the mouths of old settlers. The record tells the rest.

Every once in a while we hear men and women sigh for the "good old days, when men were honest." If these people will just look up the transactions of that Third General Assembly of Illi-

nois, they will be better satisfied with things as they are now. The words caucus, ring, boodle and graft were not in use then, but they had the full grown things just the same. This was the method of procedure as recorded by Mr. Flower, and he says he gives it in the words of an eye witness:

"The history of the business appears to be shortly this: Certain members of the Assembly, anxious to introduce a forbidden system among us, formed themselves into a *junto*, or caucus, soon after the commencement of the session, and offered to other members their votes in favor of any proposition which those members had any interest in carrying, in consideration of their pledging themselves to support the measure of a convention. (Doesn't that sound like up to date legislation?)

By the accession of these, their first victims, the junto, in fact, became the legislature, as by comprising a majority of both houses, it was capable of carrying every question, the convention alone excepted.

Other representatives, who had not as yet bartered away their independence, soon discovered that they were completely at the mercy of the junto; and, in order to recover the means of serving their constituents on those points of local interest, which when combined, form the general weal, suffered themselves, one by one, to be bought over, until the function had acquired nearly two thirds of the whole number of votes—the strength requisite to carry their favorite measure, without the accomplishment of which, they declared they would not quit Vandalia.

They repeatedly tried their strength by preparatory resolutions, and at length, on the 5th of February, brought forward the main question; but it was decided against them by a majority of two. They were not, however, to be so baffled. They carried a vote of reconsideration, and the resolution was laid upon the table. On the 11th of February, having gained over the deficient votes by means which it would be invidious to mention, the resolution was again brought forward, and again lost, through the defection of a member who on a former occasion, had voted for it. Notwithstanding this second decision, they persevered in their purpose. One of the party. although in the constitutional minority on the last division, again moved a reconsideration of the question. The speaker declared the motion to be out of order, because the mover was in the minority. They attempted to overrule the decision of the speaker, by an appeal to the house, but the chair was supported by a majority of three. Here, it might be supposed, the question was finally decided, and would have been allowed to rest; but it proved otherwise. On the succeeding day, the vote confirming the speaker's decision was reversed, and the motion for reconsideration, made by one of the minority carried; and to extinguish the vote of the defaulter, and create a favorable one in the room of it, as no such vote could be found in the house, they had recourse to a proceeding, the most unjust and impudently tyrannical that ever, as I believe, disgraced the Legislature of a free country.

By an arbitrary resolution, in direct violation of law, they expelled one of the representatives who had been established in his seat, by a decision of the House, and introduced in his room a man favorable to their views, who had been declared, by the same decision, not to be a representative. Thus was Mr. Hansen illegally expelled from his seat in the Legislature, and Mr. Shaw illegally placed in. Having accomplished this, they brought forward the main question the third time, and carried it by the vote of this man, whom they created a member for the express purpose, at the close of the session."

Ford, in his history of Illinois, confirms this statement, but makes the tergiversation of the Assembly more apparent. He says, on page 52. When the Legislature assembled, it was found that the Senate contained the requisite two thirds majority; but in the House of Representatives, by deciding a contested election in favor of one of the candidates, the slave party would have one more than two thirds; but by dividing in favor of the other, they would lack one vote of having that majority. These two candidates were John Shaw and Nicholas Hansen, who claimed to represent the county of Pike, which then included all the military tract and all the country north of the Illinois river, to the northern limits of the State,

The leaders of the slave party were anxious to elect Jesse B. Thomas to the United States Senate. Hansen would vote for him, but Shaw would not. The party had use for both of them, and they determined to use them both, one after the other. For this purpose, they first decided in favor of Hansen, admitted him to a seat, and with his vote elected their United States Senator; and then, toward the close of the session, with brute force, and in the most bare faced manner, they reconsidered their former vote, turned Hansen out of his seat, and decided in favor of Shaw, and with his vote carried their resolution for a convention."

Mr. Washburne's note in Flower's history p. 205 reads as follows:

"In the account Mr. Flower has given of the celebrated contest between Shaw and Hansen, he has simply followed the accepted historical version. Governor Reynolds and Governor Ford are both mistaken when they state that Hansen was admitted to a seat in the lower branch of the Legislature, in order to vote for Thomas, for United States Senator, and was then put out in order to admit Shaw, for the purpose of having his vote for the convention resolution. Hansen was the sitting member whose seat was contested by Shaw. The contest was settled in the early part of the session, and without any reference whatever either to the Senatorial or convention question. The House decided that Hansen was entitled to his seat. It was only at the end of the session, and after Hansen had held his seat unchallenged for eleven weeks, that he was turned out, to put Shaw in, so by his vote to carry the convention. resolution. The proceeding was lawless, revolutionary, and utterly disgraceful and contributed largely to the defeat of the convention scheme before the people."

After the resolution calling for a convention to change the constitution was carried, until the election in August 1824, the war grew bitter and fierce. The pro-slavery men knew their arch antagonist. It is sometimes, in the opinion of posterity, the highest compliment and tribute to a man's power, that can be given him, to hang him in effigy, and hunt him like a mad dog at the point of a pistol. Mr. Birkbeck achieved both of these distinctions in Vandalia. He was there hung in effigy, and, as a defenceless man, had to flee from the pistols in the hands of partisan blinded, maddened judges of courts, distracted, let us hope, with something beside politics.

But all this did not deter him. As the fight continued he increased in efforts and in strength. His pen neither slumbered nor slept. Just at the close of the campaign he issued an address to the people. This appeared in the Illinois Gazette, and was also printed in hand bill form and sent out by men, hired for the purpose, all over the state. Please observe there was no campaign fund then, and all this expense was borne by Mr. Birkbeck. It was this address that turned the tide of battle, and because of this, and its artistic, intrinsic merit, I cannot refrain from giving it entire.

"An address to the citizens of Illinois for the day of election, and worthy of their serious attention preparatory thereto:

"Blessed beyond all the nations of the earth in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, under a constitution which is the admiration of the wise in every nation to which the knowledge of it has extended, the citizens of this great republic have yet to deplore that there exists within it a system of oppression, greatly exceeding in its cruelty and injustice all other calamities inflicted by tyranny upon its victims, an inheritance of wretchedness, extending from generation to generation.

"In those sections of the republic where this system prevails, a large proportion of the people distinguished from the rest by color, but alike susceptible to pain and pleasure, with minds capable of improvement, though disgraced by their condition, are deprived of all rights personal and civil, and groaning in hopeless servitude. The effect of this evil upon the states, laboring under this curse, (in addition to the every day misery of the slave) is to obstruct their improvement to an astonishing degree, especially by repressing population According to a census made by Congress in 1774, Virginia at that period contained 650,000 inhabitants. New York, including Vermont, and Pennsylvania including Delaware, contained together only 600,000—that is to say, 50,000 less that Virginia alone. In 1820, by the last census, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware contained, omitting fractions, 2,600,000 free persons; having increased above four fold in 46 years, eight of which were under a consuming war. But these states had during this period, delivered themselves from slavery, that still more consuming plague with which we are now threatened. Virginia unhappily remained in bondage; and by the census of 1820, instead of a population of two million and a half, which she probably would have attained, if free, had little more than

1,000,000, of which 445,000 were slaves; exposing a deficiency arising from this source in that single state, of 2,000,000 of free persons. In the value of land and the amount of manufacturing and commercial capital vested in public institutions, canals, hospitals, seminaries of learning, etc., the contrast is still more remarkable; a ten-fold proportion in favor of the free state is probably below the truth. To this add the number and vast superiority of their towns and cities and cultivated farms, with the industry, tranquility and security of the inhabitants.

"Pursue the comparison throughout the Union, and such is the lamentable result; misery and vice, restraining population where slavery prevails, and drying up all the sources of prosperity.

"We are assembled this day to make our election between freedom and its blessings, and slavery and its curses unutterable; between good and evil. Indiana, our sister state, has given us an example of wisdom by an overwhelming majority against a slave making convention. Ohio, another sister rejoicing in her own freedom, is exerting herself in the generous hope of laying a foundation of universal emancipation; as appears by an earnest appeal to the Union lately issued by her legislature. United as we are with these states in a solemn compact against the admission of slavery, let Illinois prove herself worthy of their affinity, and coming forward with one consent on the side of wisdom and virtue, let us disappoint the hopes of a short sighted party among us, who would sacrifice our permanent interests to their mistaken views of temporary advantage. The individual who presumes thus to address you is no politician; has no object at variance with the general welfare; no ambition but to be a friend of mankind, and especially his brethren of this State."

Here spoke the patriot; the lover of his kind; the far seeing man of affairs; the keen logician and broad minded statesman.

Through the courtesy of Hon. James A. Rose, Secretary of State for Illinois, I present here the vote of Illinois by counties in the election held Aug. 2, 1824.

Counties.	For Convention.	Against Convention.
Alexander	75	51
Bond	63	240
Clark	31	116
Crawford	134	262
Edgar	3	234
Edwards	189	391
Fayette	125	121
Franklin	170	113
Fulton	5	60
Gallatin	597	133
Greene	164	379
Hamilton	173	85
Jackson	180	93
Jefferson	99	43
Johnson	74	74
Lawrence	158	261
Madison	351	563
Marion	45	52
Montgomery	74	90
Morgan	42	432

Counties.	For Convention.	Against Convention.
Pike	19	165
Randolph	357	284
Sangamon	153	722
St. Clair	409	506
Union	213	240
Washington	112	173
Wayne	189	111
White	355	326
	4972	6640

Majority against the convention, 1,668.

I want you to notice the counties that gave those large pro-slavery majorities. Look at them then, and now. While the rest of the State has been advancing with leaps and bounds, these, blest with a wealth of material facilities, are creeping along in much the same old, old fashion. Why? Let me tell you.

The body politic is sometimes attacked with a peculiar disease. As the sociologist has not yet recognized this lesion, or complaint, I venture to give it a name. It is communal atrophy, or arrest of development. It is really an interesting study in ethnology. To understand it we must take a lesson from Darwin. More than 60 years ago, this gentleman, in his book—"The Origin of Species"—showed to the world that in his study of the laws of animated nature he found there were three great paramount principles, which he called Natural Selection, The Survival of the Fittest and Cross Fertilization. He proved conclusively that cousin-ship marriage was a crime against nature; that the infraction of this law of cross fertilization, whether in plants or animals, was followed by the penalty of degeneracy, decadence and annihilation.

The priests and preachers could not use Darwin in their business; but the stock breeders, the flock masters, the agriculturists, horticulturists and floriculturists did. By following the laws, Darwin indicated; each, in his line, selecting the best unrelated individuals as progenitors, and continuing this practice through all succeeding generations, they have given to the world the four distinct types of horse; they have bred the horns off the ox; the bristles off the hog; given us many sorts of sheep, each sort having a distinct grade of wool; and they have adorned, beautified and rendered more endurable what the preacher calls "this vale of tears" with fruits and flowers such as the garden of Eden never saw.

Strange to say, Darwin, with all his acute penetration, failed to recognize the fact that our mutual Uncle started out to breed his nation on these same three principles, 200 years before Darwin was born. He gathered in the best, bravest, most virile men, and the most womanly women that broad Christendom could furnish; here was natural selection; the weakest of these succumbed in the perils of early colonization, here was the survival of the fittest; these survivors of all the contributing nationalities, intermarried and their

progeny have done the same, until now Uncle Sam presents to the admiration, respect and fear of the world, a new type of men and women, such as never trod the earth before.

But there was an exception. There were two sorts of early colonists. The first, who *broke into* the country by their own energy. Nothing could have kept them out. The second, those who, lacking this initial force, were brought into the country as menials to the first class. This was notably the case in Virginia. The lot of these was an unhappy one. Their services were supplanted by slaves. Left to their own devices they could not make headway against the large plantations and the new order of things. They moved away into the mountain regions of southwestern Virginia, eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, carving out little farms in the fertile valleys to supply their simple wants. Here they remained isolated for generations. There was no intermingling with the bounding, strenuous new life that was accomplishing wonders all around them. There was no chance to improve the stock by cross fertilization. On the contrary, there was constant intermarriage among closely related families with resulting degeneracy, or communal atrophy.

The more adventurous among these left their mountain homes and came to the Illinois Territory, hoping, in time, to carve out a plantation and own a slave. They formed the majority of the population in the counties along the Ohio river.

Intermixed with these, and forming settlements north of them, were many emigrants from the Carolinas, Georgia, Central Kentucky and Tennessee. These were men from Scotland, Ireland, France and Germany. They had lived long enough with slavery to learn to hate it and all that followed in its train. These men helped make the State and did manful duty in fighting against a change in the constitution.

Standing here and looking back over the 80 years that mark a dazzling phenomenon of progress, in which the emancipated soul—freed from the shackles of untold centuries of caste, creed and kingly prerogative—has given to the world a constantly accelerating series of glorious, transcendent actualities, that so far surpass the most fervid, audacious dreams of the older philanthropists, philosophers, men of invention and men of business, as the tidal wave surpasses the tiny ripple of a brooklet; we can hardly realize the tremendous destinies that trembled in the balance of that slender 1,600 majority for freedom.

But look at the logic of the situation: With Illinois as a slave state, and Missouri already doomed, nothing could have saved Wisconsin and Iowa from the same fate. Kansas and Nebraska would have remained impotent possibilities in the womb of the great American desert.

We must remember that the flow of emigation in 1824 was a small affair when compared to the movement of later years. At that time the contributing nations of Europe had not recovered from the Napoleonic scourging.

With Illinois as a slave State, and with the sure prospect of a further spread of slavery in the northwest, small as the stream of emigration was, it would have ceased coming to the United States. It would have been directed to Canada, or deflected to Australia, New Zealand and to the Dutch and Huguenot colonies at the Cape of Good Hope.

The eastern states would have dwindled in poverty. There would have been no incentive to domestic manufacture.

With the spread of slavery in the northwest, there would have been no trumped up excuse for a war with Mexico. There would have been no acquisition of California; no gold discovery that has changed the whole material and social features of the country; go which ever way you will and for thousands of miles you are among neighbors.

There would have been no civil war. The slave power would have had eminent domain in this land, and the present United States, instead of being a triumphant actuality, would have remained the feverish dream of an enthusiastic lunatic.

That feeble majority was brought about by the work of a few intrepid men who were willing to fight for better things. Foremost among these was Morris Birkbeck. Look back at the situation and the desperate crisis. There was the State—an immature maiden in the grasp of rapacious lust and cruel greed—crying for a deliverer. Birkbeck came to her relief. With masterful strength and tact he encouraged her friends and beat off her enemies; took her by the hand, led her, turned her face toward the Goddess of Liberty and bade her smile. She owes to her fearless champion a debt of eternal gratitude.

Now in the plentitude, gladness and majesty of more mature years, let her erect to the memory of this man a monumental shaft fitting to his worth and work. Let it be surmounted by an enduring bronze figure of her defender in her hour of need, that all generations may see and learn to love him. Let this grateful tribute rise on the lake shore of the city he made possible, facing the east whence he came, facing the sun in his rising—that his radiant beams shall gild the benignant countenance with a glory akin to that he caused to gleam on the face of the maiden Illinois.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MAJ. GEN. JAMES D. MORGAN.

(By Hon. William H. Collins.)

James D. Morgan was born in Boston, Mass., Aug. 1st, 1810. His father was a sea captain in the East India trade. When nine years of age he quit school, and, thrown upon his own resources, he became an apprentice in a cooper shop. Active and full of the spirit of adventure, so quiet and prosaic an employment did not suit him and at the age of sixteen years, he shipped for a term of three years upon the ship Beverly.

When about 30 days at sea, a mutiny broke out. This was suppressed, but later, the vessel burned to the water's edge, the crew escaping in boats. They were several hundred miles from land. Drifting in their boats, they suffered great privation and severe hardships, but finally landed upon the coast of South America.

He returned to his native city and found employment with Peleg Churchill. Among the papers left by the general, I find the following contract: 'Boston, Oct. 27, 1832. This agreement made and concluded between Peleg Churchill on one part, and James D. Morgan on the other part, witnesseth: That the said Morgan agrees to work for the said Churchill one year from the 29th, at the following rates as foreman of his, the said Churchill's fish store or shop, as the case may be. The first six months, the said Churchill is to pay the said Morgan $1.42 per day, including evenings when the business shall require it, and $1.50 per day the last six months: *Provided, however*, that if the said Churchill shall want the said Morgan in the cooper shop before the first six months shall expire, then the said Churchill is to pay the said Morgan $1.50 per day from the time he commences in the cooper shop. Said Morgan is to lose his own time when he is absent and receive his wages on demand by performing his part of this contract."

With this prospect of earning $1.42 per day, he married Miss Jane Strachan. In 1834, he left his native city and settled in Quincy, Illinois. He engaged in various enterprises. Pork packing was one of the most important kinds of business at that time. Quincy became an important center of trade for a large district. The river afforded an outlet toward the south for the products of the farms of this part of Illinois. The manufacture of whiskey, flour and pork products created a great demand for barrels. To supply this demand, in con-

Edmund Morgan

nection with Mr. Ed. Wells, he established an extensive cooper shop. The forests of the country furnished an unlimited supply of cooperage material, and the business was eminently successful.

After five years he became engaged in a bakery and confectionary store. For a time he had an interest in a grocery store. He became a contractor for public work and paved the levee at the steamboat landing. The substantial and durable character of this work, after the wear and tear of more than half a century, attests the honesty and thoroughness with which he executed his contract.

He entered into partnership with C. M. Pomeroy, under the name of Pomeroy & Co., for the packing of pork. The firm afterward became Pomeroy, Morgan & Bond. He was engaged in this business for about 25 years. He accumulated a comfortable fortune, as fortunes were estimated at that day.

Morgan had belonged to a military company in Boston. He had a natural fondness for military affairs. If he had any over-mastering passion, it was for a soldier's career. Consequently, he threw himself with energy and enthusiasm into the work of organizing a military company in the young city of his residence. He helped recruit and organize the "Quincy Greys." It became a company of marked local fame for the excellence of its drill. It was armed with the old-fashioned flint-lock musket. It drilled in accordance with the Scott Manual of Arms and Tactics. Organized in 1837, this company was maintained for several years and out of it grew organizations which were kept up in some form, until the breaking out of the civil war in 1861.

The Mormon war having its theater of operations in Hancock county, immediately north of Quincy, Morgan was brought into prominence, as the captain of a company of about 50 men, called the "Quincy Riflemen." They were mounted, and during the war did patrol and police duty.

Upon the breaking out of the war with Mexico, Captain Morgan organized a company of 100 men. It was made Company A of the First regiment Illinois infantry, commanded by Col. John J. Hardin.* Hardin was killed in the battle of Buena Vista. Captain Morgan was on detached service at the time of this battle, but from the roof of a church upon the position he was detailed to guard, the battle field was in full view. He once told me of the chagrin and disappointment he felt at being compelled to remain an inactive spectator. So far from congratulating himself and his command, for being out of the risks of the fight, it was a grief to him to be denied the "luxury" of it. He appreciated the gay sally of General Kearney, who, when asked by a commander of a regiment where he should "go in," replied, "go in anywhere; there is lively fighting all along the line."

*See letters of Hardin to Morgan appended to this sketch. Original letters in library of Quincy Historical society.

For a time during the war, Captain Morgan was in command of a battalion consisting of Companies A and I. Among other officers of the battalion was Benjamin M. Prentiss. George T. M. Davis and W. H. L. Wallace, who was in command of a brigade and killed in the battle of Shiloh.

At the close of the Mexican war, Captain Morgan returned to his home, but his interest in military organization remained strong, and he became the captain of the "Quincy City Guards," receiving his commission from Gov. Joel A. Matteson.

I first heard of General Morgan in Jacksonville, at the Wabash station. The civil war had opened and a train came in from Quincy with a company of volunteers, on their way to Cairo. A large crowd had collected and B. M. Prentiss (afterwards a major general by brevet) made a characteristic speech, in which he alluded to one Captain Morgan who was on his way with them, but with a broken leg, so that he could not come out to address the crowd. From what I afterwards knew of him, I think the reason for his not appearing was not so much because of his lameness as his distaste for display and speech making.

At Cairo, companies from various points in the State were organized into regiments. As during the war with Mexico, there had been six regiments of Illinois infantry; it was deemed advisable, in compliment to them, to begin the numbering of the new regiments with the number seven, so the regiments were numbered. John Cook, of Sangamon county, was made colonel of the Seventh; Oglesby, of Macon county, colonel of the Eighth; Paine, of Warren county, colonel of the Ninth, and Prentiss, of Adams county, colonel of the Tenth. He was soon promoted to be a brigadier general, and Morgan became colonel of the regiment.

Cairo was the main strategic point in the west. The control of the Mississippi river was an absolute necessity for the suppression of the Rebellion. It was the base from which advances could be made southward. At this point the volunteer army was gathered at the outbreak of the war for a "three months" service. It was soon found that more than a "three months" service would be required and the regiments were reorganized for a three years' enlistment.

Colonel Morgan, immediately upon assuming command of his regiment, began to train his officers and men in the details of military discipline and drill. He inspired all under his command with a pride in the regiment. This he had accomplished during the three months' service, and the training received under his work at this time was such, that numbers of non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment were made commissioned officers in the regiments organized at a later period.

My personal acquaintance with Colonel Morgan began in August, 1861. Governor Yates offered me an appointment in the military service, and as it seemed to me that having no training as a soldier, I could be most useful in the line of work in which I had had some experi-

ence, I was induced to take the position of chaplain. Colonel Morgan expressed a desire for my appointment to his regiment. My acceptance of his proposal brought me into daily contact with him.

The Tenth regiment was ordered to Mound City. The camp was on a level plain and the parade ground well adapted for a drill ground. Morgan loved to drill his regiment. With a voice singularly clear and penetrating, his commands could easily be heard from one end of the battalion to the other. Every day the regiment was called for drill. Every evening came dress parade. Every movement in Hardie's Tactics was carefully practiced until every officer and private knew exactly what to do in response to the word of command. "Fancy" movements, never used in actual war, were practiced. It made officers and men active and alert. The regiment became a sensitive, effective machine, animated by a living spirit, controlled by a master mind.

The special duty of the regiment, while at Mound City, was to guard the gun boats which were being constructed. With these boats and the "Tyler," which was an ordinary steamboat transformed into a "tin-clad," General Grant made his attack upon the Confederate forces encamped opposite Columbus at Belmont. They were being made ready for a raid into Missouri. Colonel Morgan and his regiment were not included in the attacking forces. The sound of the cannon could be plainly heard at Mound City. The roar of the battle profoundly agitated Colonel Morgan. He nervously paced to and fro in front of his quarters, his features revealing grief mingled with anger. He told me of his experience on the roof of the church in sight of the battle of Buena Vista. The tears coursed down his cheeks as he exclaimed with disgust and grief, "They are in the fight and we are carpet soldiers." He did not then see that he would have abundant opportunity for battle before the close of the war.

The Tenth regiment next camped on Bird's Point. While here the expeditions to Forts Henry and Donelson were undertaken, but Colonel Morgan with his command remained behind on garrison duty.

He was very happy when he received orders to move toward New Madrid. The Confederates occupied this place, protected by redoubts and gun-boats. Morgan's command moved close to the Confederate lines in the night and threw up breast-works. During the next day they were under fire and Colonel Morgan seemed happy. New Madrid was abandoned in the night. A couple of gun-boats had run past Island No. 10, and two small steamers had come down through a slough which flanked the Island. The Federal forces crossed the river and Morgan's regiment, with others, entered into an exciting race to get possession of a narrow neck of land between Tiptonville and Reelfoot lake. If this neck of land could be reached in advance of the Confederates, their retreat would be cut off. The race was won and, our forces being supported by the gun-boats in the river, the Confederates were unable to go further and a fight seemed useless. I will never forget the event. General Paine, Colonel Morgan and others were lying on the floor of a cabin when two Confederate officers were brought in. One of them, a German by birth, in broken

English, said: "I am here to surrender Generals Gantt and McCall, with about 4,500 men; I have been in arms all my life and I never thought it would come to this." "Such is the fortune of war," said General Paine. Colonel Morgan said not a word but his face indicated the profound satisfaction which he felt over the result of the day's efforts, the capture of Island No. 10 and so large a body of troops almost without the loss of a man. In the morning General Pope arrived on a transport. He rubbed his hands with delight, his face wreathed with smiles. He congratulated Morgan warmly but Morgan was, as usual, absolutely undemonstrative.

A trip down the river to Fort Pillow followed. Meantime the battle of Shiloh had been fought and the army under Pope was ordered back to Cairo and thence up the Tennessee river. The army landed at Hamburgh and moved forward, constituting the left wing of the forces under General Halleck in his advance upon Corinth. Colonel Morgan's regiment took the lead and, by a bold attack, drove the enemy out of a densley wooded creek bottom, secured the bridge on the road to high ground beyond. He participated in what was called the "siege of Corinth" and, upon the evacuation of the place, moved southward to Booneville, having some slight skirmishing on the way. The regiment was camped at Big Springs and the program seemed to be to lie quiet and camp and await for Beauregard's next move.

At this time desiring a different force of service, I left Colonel Morgan's staff and resigning, returned north and assisted in raising a regiment. I saw nothing more of the Colonel until in the spring of 1863, I arrived in Nashville. He was in Nashville at this time. He had been commissioned a Brigadier General. During the latter part of 1862, he had been in Tuscumbia, Alabama, where he had relieved Gen George H. Thomas. His brigade was in Gen. John M. Palmer's division; he was in Nashville when General Bragg made his raid into Kentucky. No better officer could have been selected for the service of holding this capital city in the heart of the Confederacy. There were many officers who could have planned campaigns better than he, but no one could be found who would carry out a definite program and hold on in defense of a position he was assigned to, with a more obstinate determination and indomitable purpose than he. He was watchful, devoted to his duty and obedient to a strict interpretation of orders.

General Bragg made no direct attempt to re-capture Nashville. He undoubtedly reasoned that if his expedition to the Ohio river was successful it would inevitably fall into his hands.

During the campaign of 1863, Colonel Morgan commanded a brigade in the Reserve corps. As the army moved forward toward Chattanooga, his main duty was to organize and handle the troops which guarded the railroad. Upon this railroad, running from Louisville to Nashville, and on toward Stevenson, Bridgeport and Chattanooga, Rosecrans depended for his supplies. It was of first importance to put the care of it in the hands of a careful and competent officer. General Morgan was chosen for this task. After Rosecrans moved south of the Tennessee river, crossing the ranges of Sand, Racoon

and Lookout mountains, General Morgan made his headquarters at Stevenson, Ala. It was here that he received a dispatch from General Rosecrans on the afternoon of the battle of Chickamauga, September 20th, stating that the army had met with a great disaster and that he (General Morgan) must use his utmost endeavor to keep the railroad from falling into the hands of the enemy. It was this service in the rear of the army which prevented Morgan's brigade from participation in the battles of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge.

When the army was organized for the Atlanta campaign, General Morgan was assigned to the command of the First brigade of the Second division of the Fourteenth corps. This brigade consisted of the Tenth, Sixteenth, Sixtieth Illinois, and the Tenth and Fourteenth Michigan infantry.

In February, 1864, a demonstration was made toward Dalton, Ga., to prevent General Johnston from sending troops to re-enforce the Confederate army in Mississippi. Morgan's brigade participated in this, and at Buzzard Roost, was in the advance. Several of his regiments worked their way into the gap and suffered severely. The information General Morgan gained in this affair, was of great value to General Sherman when he began his campaign for the capture of Atlanta. I was at this time on the staff of Gen. John M. Palmer, and often heard the conversation at the headquarters of the Fourteenth corps, and I remember that once when General Sherman and others were discussing the advisability of a direct attack upon the gap, General Morgan freely protested against the plan. He said: "I tried that last February and found that it was a hornet's nest; it is stronger now than it was then." I think that he prevented a direct attack which would have been exceedingly destructive to those engaged in it. The army moved by the flank through Snake creek gap and the Confederate army retreated from their strongest positions.

The bloody assault upon the Confederate line at Kenesaw mountain on the 27th of June, was participated in by a party of the Second division and in front of the position held by Morgan's brigade. At a meeting of the general officers on the evening before the assault, the question as to which of the brigade commanders should lead was discussed. Finally Gen. Jeff C. Davis, the division commander, said: "Well, Morgan, you are the oldest man and McCook of the Third brigade the youngest. So McCook will lead, Mitchell will support and you will be the reserve." "All right" said McCook, "Here's for glory or a soldier's grave."

General Morgan advised that the assault be made with the regiment "doubled on the center" but it was decided to charge with regimental front. The result was a bloody repulse. Just before the assault I was standing by McCook, who was seated on the root of an oak tree talking to Colonel Gross, and heard him say, with great energy of expression: "We'll right shoulder shift, double quick, and by G–d we'll go right over those works." He was shot and mortally wounded after reaching a Confederate salient. It was not prob-

able, that if Morgan's plan of formation had been adopted, the assault would have been successful. The ground was so difficult, the obstructions so elaborate, the undergrowth so tangled and dense, the morning so oppressively hot, and the fire of batteries and musketry so severe, that the effort was foredoomed to failure.

General Morgan lost an opportunity for a signal service while the siege of Atlanta was in progress. For this he has been sometimes severely criticized. General Sherman was disposed to think he was not without blame for a failure to carry out his plan. I think so far as it was a failure, it was the result of General Morgan's conception of his duty to follow exactly his orders. This was his fundamental, dominant principle as an officer. He was a literalist in interpretation. The circumstances and situation may be easily comprehended.

General Hood on the 28th day of July marched out of Atlanta by the Lickskillet road for the purpose of attacking the right of the Union line which had just been, in the night, moved into position. It was an effort to repeat his movement of the 22nd day of July, when he attacked the left rear and front of the Union line. It was like bringing the two blades of the vast shears together. It was in the angle between these blades that General McPherson was killed. The movement was skillfully planned and but for the indomitable courage and firmness of our veteran troops, would have resulted in a grave disaster. On the 28th of July, Sherman attempted to give Hood a taste of his own tactics. Having discovered that a large force was preparing to assault our right which had taken new ground in the night and had not entrenched, General Sherman decided to send the Second division around the Confederate flank and strike them in the rear, as soon as they become engaged. To make this movement they had to march down the Lickskillet road for about a mile and then turn eastward, then northward with a left wheel. Gen. J. C. Davis being sick, Morgan was placed in command. He set out on his march with a guide who was believed to be familiar with the country.

Meantime the Confederate attack had opened. Morgan continued his march. Sherman was at the headquarters of the Second divison. He was impatiently walking to and fro, nervously twisting his hands together behind his back. He expected to hear from Morgan's guns. He told Captain Watson of Davis' staff, "Go tell Morgan not to mind the roads, to march to the sound of those guns." Morgan, led by his guide and a literal construction of his orders, had kept on the road and had marched away from the battle. In all probability if General Morgan had carried out the plan of General Sherman, he would have inflicted a heavy loss upon the enemy and probably captured many prisoners. Our thin line was of itself, sufficient to repulse the Confederate assault, leaving several hundred killed and wounded on the field. General Morgan failed to execute the movement and lost a great opportunity.

After General Davis had been put in command of the Fourteenth corps, General Morgan was placed in command of the Second division. Not long after this change in the command, General Sherman began his movement to Jonesboro. It was the fortune of the division to make an assault upon the Confederate lines.

General Morgan here had an opportunity for carrying out his theory of assaulting the enemy with unloaded guns. This was a kind of "hobby" of his. He advocated it very strongly. He believed that firing and loading guns while making a charge, tended to confusion loss of time and momentum. On this occasion, his command moved over open ground in plain view of the enemy. They carried all before them and captured General Govan with his entire brigade, and a battery of eight brass field guns. This battery was brought to corps headquarters the next morning, and the gun carriages and equipments burned. General Govan sat on a stool near by and witnessed the destruction of his battery with tearful eyes.

General Morgan led his division on the "march to the sea" and northward from Savannah to join the army of Virginia under General Grant. At the battle of Bentonville, his division was handled with great skill and did obstinate fighting and brilliant work. Johnston with his entire army attacked two divisions which were practically isolated. For a time it seemed sure that the Federal command would be defeated. They had been taken by surprise and in detail. The roar of the battle, however, soon brought assistance, and the Confederate army was repulsed.

In the history of the army of the Cumberland it is claimed "that viewed in relation to the magnitude of the army successfully resisted by eight brigades of infantry, and Kilpatrick's cavalry, which held position on the left and rear, the objects and hopes of the enemy and the character of the fighting by Morgan's division, this engagement takes rank among the decisive battles of the war."

For his distinguished services in this battle he was made major general by brevet.

General Morgan was in the army until the close of the war. And during his period of service never was absent from duty for a day. He never asked for a furlough. When mustered out of service in the month of August, 1865, he returned to his home in Quincy.

General Morgan was twice married. His first wife died in 1855. He married Harriet Evans, a native of Massachusetts, June 14, 1859. He had two sons, William and James. William is a resident of Quincy, Ill., James lives in Everett, Mass.

General Morgan felt greatly interested in the society of the army of the Cumberland. He always made an effort to attend its annual meetings. He was president of the organization in 1895 and opened headquarters in Chattanooga, at the time the Chickamauga park was opened and dedicated. Here he met, with the warmth of feeling only an old soldier can feel, many of his old army friends.

He was for years treasurer of the State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home. He was a vice president and for years a director of the First

National bank; a director of the Whitney & Holmes Organ company; of the Omaha & Kansas City Railway company; a stockholder in the Empire theater, the Newcomb hotel, the Quincy Gas Light and Coke company, the Quincy Gas Light and Power company, and also a director in the Barlow Corn Planter company.

In politics he was a Democrat of the old school. He was never a blind partisan. If he thought his party in the wrong, he was free to speak his mind. He had the courage of his convictions. In local politics he advocated measures and men solely with reference to their being in line with what he deemed to be for the public good. He was an outspoken enemy of unsafe financial legislation. He was a "sound money" Democrat and did not sympathize with the theories of Mr. Bryan. He regarded the doctrine of states sovereignty, as having been definitely settled by the civil war.

In his religious sympathies he was liberal and broad. For many years he was a leading spirit in the Unitarian Congregational church. He endowed a fund for the bestowment of prizes for scholarship in the public schools. He was always ready with a helping hand for causes his judgment approved. Calm and undemonstrative in manner he was a man of deep and tender feeling. If he had been born in ancient Greece, he would have been a Spartan. If in Rome, he had first seen the light, he would have followed the eagle in a Roman Legion. If his birth had been in Cromwell's time, he would have been a soldier of the commonwealth. If he had landed in Boston or Plymouth in Colonial times, he would have stood shoulder to shoulder with Miles Standish. He came in time for a great war, and though not brillant like some of the soldiers of that war, he had in his makeup and to its core, the tough, rugged and solid qualities of the soldier. He ever stood for law, order and honor. He held his country's welfare as paramount to any question of his personal fortune. He risked his life in all the hardships of army experience, in camp, on the march and in battle. His name to those who knew him in business, at home, in the field, will ever suggest simplicity, honesty, fidelity, heroism and patriotic devotion.

His strong constitution enabled him to reach the ripe age of 86 years, 1 month and 12 days. He passed away Sept. 9th, 1896. His body was laid to rest in Woodland cemetery.

LETTERS OF JOHN J. HARDIN TO GEN. JAS. D. MORGAN. ORIGINALS OWNED BY THE QUINCY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"JACKSONVILLE, June 6th, 1846.

"DEAR CAPTAIN—I have just returned from Springfield. Baker has just returned from Washington. He has authority to raise an additional regiment of infantry. His arrival made great confusion amongst those who wanted high commissions there. I suppose he will have no trouble in getting a regiment, as more than 30 companies will volunteer, and he can increase the number to 40. Many of the volunteers in Sangamon wish to go with me, but I don't desire this, as it might make some difficulty, and there are too many big men there, anyhow.

I wrote Colonel Flood that you need not change your uniforms unless you wished it. I should prefer your retaining your present uniforms; it is much handsomer than the one adopted by the government, and I have discretion to change it. The companies in this county will uniform in cadet grey jeans. It looks better than the blue.

It seems yet undecided whether we will march to the city of Mexico or against the eastern provinces of Mexico. If against the latter I have written to permit us to mount. The route in this case would be by Ft. Gibson, on the Arkansas, to Chihuahua.

I am much gratified at your request to have your company attached to my regiment. I want no better men nor officers than I have always found in that company. A place shall be reserved for them, and that place on the right of the regiment.

I design to have two flank companies of riflemen attached to the regiment; yours shall be the first, if they desire it. I will write you again in a few days.

I will write to Judge Lott and shall report another company from Adams. If there is not a full company, I will unite them with others. I will try also to save them a place in my regiment.

Yours truly,

JOHN J. HARDIN."

"We will rendezvous at Alton. But our place is fixed in the orders of the government.

Here, merchants are furnishing the uniforms and agree to have it charged on the pay roll. They will certainly get their pay.

We will be ordered to be on the ground by the 25th inst.

Volunteers should have a blanket, a fatigue suit of any color, an extra pair of shoes, two or three strong shirts and a butcher knife in a scabbard.

The government officers have written to the Governor that they have ready for the volunteers camp kettles, mess pans, canteens, knapsacks, haversacks, axes, spades and hatchets.

The government will have our tents made in St. Louis and furnish them at Alton.

Sixty-four privates, eight non-commissioned officers, three commissioned officers, two musicians, make a full company. The number may be increased to 93."

"JACKSONVILLE, June 11th, 1846.

"CAPTAIN MORGAN—I desire to have with me a brass band in addition to the band of drums and fifes. Major Warren thinks you have some musicians in Quincy who would go with us. If they are good musicians or those who would be apt to learn, I would like to have them. Is there anyone in Quincy who will go with us who is competent to teach the band and act as leader? If so, let me know. We are entitled to 22 musicians in the regiment, which will make the two

bands. Three tenor, three bass and three fifes will answer for regiment, with a good band of brass instruments. I will have a box made for the instruments.

It seems to me you had best get your uniforms before you go to Alton. There will be a rush there for all sorts of equipments, and it is probable we will not remain there long. The ladies of this place have volunteered to make up all the clothing for the troops. If there is an especial good drummer and fifer write me and I will find a place for them. Good musicians are scarce here. I am pleased to hear how nicely you are getting along. We will rendezvous at Alton about the 30th. Colonel Churchill, the inspector general of the army, will muster us into the service.

Yours truly,

JOHN J. HARDIN."

To this letter and on the same sheet is a letter from Major W. B. Warren:

"Above you have all the information in this place. We will be mustered into the service on the 30th; in the meantime can you not get your uniforms? Your old one is a good pattern. I am sorry you did not write sooner on the subject of major. Under the impression that you would quit the riflemen, Hardin and myself stand pledged to old Buck Weatherford. I will do what I can for your friend Taylor, but there are 30 odd applicants for that office; no pledges have been made to anyone. Prentiss will be adjutant and must provide two good horses. He will mess with the staff. Colonel Churchill is desirous, upon my recommendation, to have E. Everett attached to his family, and will offer him some appointment.

What is Kelly and Lott doing? Will they go, and will they join our regiment? The regiment is now all full, and unless you and they desire it, the places will be all filled.

Write me immediately. You will have some interest in knowing the pay, so I send you the several amounts as given in the Army Register for 1845: Captain, $126.85; first lieutenant, $93.11: second lieutenant, $76.30; adjutant, $119.11. Phil is drilling a company every night.

Yours truly,

W. B. WARREN."

A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FORD.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

CAPT. JAMES D. MORGAN—Your company is accepted as one of the companies to compose the three regiments to rendezvous at Alton, provided that it shall contain not less than 64 nor more than 80, over and above the commissioned officers, non-commissioned and musicians.

As soon as your company is uniformed, you will march to the place of rendezvous at Alton. In addition to uniform each man will have to furnish a blanket, and it is advisable that each man provide him-

self with one fatigue suit of clothes, one pair of shoes, one pair of boots and two pair of woolen socks. If your company cannot get their uniforms at home I think they may be able to obtain them in Alton or St. Louis. You will be allowed 20 cents for every 20 miles travel, rations and transportation of baggage and provisions while marching to the place of rendezvous. I am informed that nothing will be allowed for transportation of the men, as they are supposed to march on foot, but the allowance above specified will more than pay for their transportation by steamboat, when that mode is practicable. You will report to Col. James Shields.

Yours,

THOMAS FORD."

"It will be of no use to come with less than 64 privates who can stand a thorough inspection. Let me know by the next mail whether you can comply. If no answer, I will be compelled to order another company in lieu of yours.

THOMAS FORD."

THE LIFE OF HON. GUSTAVUS KOERNER.

(By Hon. R. E. Rombauer.)

I have been requested to present to you a brief history of the life of Gustavus Koerner, an eminent citizen of your State. It is the life of a patriot, scholar, lawyer and author, who was equally distinguished in every one of these callings, and of whom it may be truthfully said, as was said of England's sweetest poet, "*nil tetegit quod non ornavit.*" It is a life covering a period of 87 years, more than 67 of which were devoted to the elevation of the condition of his fellow men on both sides of the Atlantic. It fell into a period of the history of his native and of his adopted country which to a great extent moulded the ultimate destiny of both.

It is impossible in the brief space of time during which I am justified to occupy your attention to enter into minute details. My object will be to present to you a truthful portrait and its setting, a view of both of which is essential to a correct understanding of the man, and of his successes and failures. The history of his life is intelligible only as part of the history of the times in which it fell.

His Early Youth and Education.

Gustavus Koerner, whom I shall hereafter designate by the personal pronoun mainly, was born in the free city of Frankfort on the Main, on the 20th of November, 1809. His father Bernhard, was an extensive dealer in books, engravings, and other works of art. His mother, whose maiden name was Maria Magdalena Kaupfe, was a woman of great culture, and devoted herself to his early tuition. In 1816, at the age of seven he was sent to a select school, which had been established in Frankfort on the Pestalozzi system. He frequented this school until he reached the age of 15 in 1824, when he was transferred to the Frankfort gymnasium. He continued there until he attained the age of 19 in 1828. During the last year of his attendance he had the benefit of the private tuition in the classics of Dr. Fextor, a nephew of the poet Goethe. He then went to the University of Jena, which as the mother of the famous student organization known as "Burschenschaften," was the hotbed of revolutionary sentiment in Germany. There for one year he heard lectures on civil and criminal law and medical jurisprudence, it being his intention to devote himself to the profession of the law. An untoward incident compelled him to leave the University. Duels between

Gustavus Koerner.

students, and officers of the army, were then frequent, although the government sought to repress them by severe punitive measures. In one of these duels he acted as second for one of his fellow students, who was seriously wounded. He concluded for his own safety to leave the University of Jena, and go to that of Munich, where his most intimate friend, later his brother-in-law, Theodore Engelmann, was then attending lectures. A peculiar episode, to which I shall refer hereafter, decided him to leave Munich at the close of the year, and to go to the University of Heidelberg, where he finished his law studies, and on the 14th of June, 1831, at the age of 22, graduated with high honors.

During the period while he attended the various universities, he made in vacation extensive foot tours, through Germany, Switzerland and the Tyrol, accompanied by his fellow students. While these on the one hand tended to develop his physical condition, they on the other hand filled his imagination with ever varying pictures, and brought him in contact with all classes of the population.

Viewing the circumstances surrounding his early life, it is apparent that they were particularly favorable to his healthy and thorough intellectual, physical and moral development. While the means of his father were sufficient to afford him a thorough education, they were moderate enough to impress the young man with the conviction that his future was dependent on his own energy and acquirements. His father's business gave him ready access to extensive literary and art treasures, and he acquired in early life the habit of extensive and carefully selected reading, which habit he retained through life. He also became early a student and lover of art, his father's extensive art collections furnishing the facilities for his so doing. This made him in later years, not only a competent judge of art, but an art critic of very respectable attainments.

His Participation in Political Events in Europe.

In order to judge fairly his political activity in Europe, we must take into account the atmosphere which surrounded his childhood and early youth The political state of Europe at the time of his birth was peculiar. With the exception of England, Europe was dominated almost exclusively by the arbitrary will of one man, Napoleon Bonaparte, not unfitly named the king of kings. After the disastrous defeat of Prussia at Jena, came the Peace of Tilsit, and Prussia was portioned among the allies of the Conqueror, as a fit retribution for her share in the unholy partition of Poland. Then came the war of liberation of 1813, which in the main was not a war of the princes against the conqueror, since many of them were his allies, but a war of the German people against him, despite their princes, who sought but their own aggrandizement in the general upheaval. It was Napoleon who was the incipient founder of German unity, by wiping many principalities of its petty tyrants from the map of Europe, and by rousing its people to a common effort in

their resistance against him. What this man of blood and iron began, another man of blood and iron continued, until the humiliation of Jena was cancelled by the triumph of Sedan.

Koerner's father was a German patriot of the liberal type, an inveterate enemy of Napoleon, and an ardent supporter of the rights of the people. Many men whose names were then and thereafter prominently connected with the history of the times, frequented his house. Among them were Chas. von Stein, Prussia's fearless Premier, Ernst Moritz Arndt, the bard of liberty; General Blucher, the hero of Waterloo, and the unfortunate enthusiast, Chas. Louis Sand, who in 1820, expiated his rash act on the scaffold, and whose memory I presume was still honored as that of a martyr at the University of Jena, his Alma Mater, when young Koerner became a student of that University eight years later. Growing up under these conditions, it is natural that young Koerner developed into an earnest champion of the liberties of the people. When he reached Jena in 1828, Germany was in a ferment. Its many rulers, forgetful of the salvation of their thrones by a heroic people; forgetful of the many promises of reform which they made to them during the days of their dire need, vied with each other to curb the liberties of the people everywhere. Untractable legislative assemblies were dissolved, the liberty of the press was modified and in some instances wholly abrogated, and no expedient was left untried which might aid in re-instating the ante-bellum conditions of rulers by the grace of God, alone. Shortly after his arrival in Jena he became a prominent member of the Burschenschaft, a student society, which was then the leader in the movement for the political regeneration of Germany.

An incident which occurred while he was hearing lectures in Munich made him feel, in his own person, the results of arbitrary government. On Christmas eve, 1829, the population celebrated as usual, by noisy demonstrations, the advent of the midnight hour. He and some of his companions were serenading one of his fellow students, who resided near one of the city gates. The hilarious population joined in the serenade with fife and drum, and the demonstrations probably became somewhat noisy. One of the guards of the city gate rushed out and attempted to arrest Koerner, seizing him by the collar. A fellow student of his knocked down the officious soldier. The real culprit escaped but Koerner, the innocent cause of the accident, was arrested, thrown into solitary confinement and kept there for a period of four months, at the termination of which he was discharged, it being ascertained that he was wholly free from blame. Yet such was the terror of the "rulers by the grace of God" in those days that this trivial incident resulted first in the closing of the university altogether, a measure which, owing to the earnest remonstrance of the magistracy, was subsequently modified so as to exclude non-resident students only. Koerner utilized his solitary confinement by pursuing his legal studies alone. After his liberation, and during the rest of the scholastic year, being still excluded from the university, he pursued them with the aid of private lecturers.

After he graduated, in 1831, he did not return home, but made his headquarters for some time in Heidelberg, and thence made excursions into neighboring districts, learning the sentiments of the people on the absorbing topic of German unity and liberty. In the winter of 1831–2, a meeting of the Burschenschaft was held in Stuttgart, which resolved, among other things, "It is the aim of the German Burschenschaft to secure the unity and liberty of the German people by revolution, and we recommend that all members of the society join the Patriotic league, in order to secure a common constitution of the re-united country, guaranteeing, among other things, freedom of speech and liberty of the press."

In May, 1832, he attended a meeting of German patriots, held in the ruins of Hambach castle, which lasted for three days, and which, as he himself says, was the most enthusiastic gathering that he ever saw on either side of the Atlantic. At the close of the festivities the many thousands there assembled took a solemn oath, with uplifted hand, repeating Schiller's version of the oath of the confederated Swiss on Ruetli mountain.

All these events impressed him, as they impressed many others equally ardent and enthusiastic, with the conviction that Germany's regeneration was close at hand. He was selected by the leaders to make a missionary tour to the various universities to ascertain their views and secure their co-operation in a general uprising, and unquestionably found them as enthusiastic as himself. He devoted to this journey part of February and March, 1833, and returned to Frankfort-on-the-Main on the 17th of the latter month.

He was informed, upon his return, that steps had been taken for a simultaneous uprising at Frankfort, Stuttgart and Kassel, and that some military aid had been promised in the latter place; that some arms and ammunition had been bought and that even a provisional government had been agreed upon, with Dr. Schüler, then an exile residing in Metz, France, at its head He was commissioned to call on Dr. Schüler and to secure his acceptance of the office, which he did, returning to Frankfort on March 30th. The date of the uprising was set for April 3d. It was to begin with the seizure of the main guardhouse and the headquarters of the constabulary, followed by the storming of the armory and the distribution of arms among the people, who were expected to rise *en masse* in support of their own political emancipation.

It would seem, on reflection, that this movement was doomed to failure from the start. Large standing armies are not overthrown by resolutions, however eloquent. Professors, however learned, are not adapted to direct a movement requiring an intimate knowledge of the sentiments of the people, which they do not possess, and at least some skill in military operations, of which they are wholly deficient. The assemblies in Stuttgart, and in the ruins of Hambach, were composed mainly of enthusiasts, who infected each other with their sanguine views and who firmly believed that their ardor was shared by the majority of the people. Germans, as a general rule,

are slow and deliberate, and are not prone to act on the spur of the moment, like Frenchmen, or the inhabitants of southern Europe, and, since knowledge of the meditated movement, if it was not to be betrayed, had to be withheld from the multitude, the masses would necessarily be called upon to join in it spontaneously, on the spur of the moment, without much reflection or deliberation.

On the evening of April 3d, 1833, 60 young men, mainly students from all parts of Germany, assaulted with the bayonet the guard of the main guardhouse in Frankfort and captured and disarmed the garrison. The fatalities were few. One of the sergeants fell in defending it and young Koerner received a painful but not serious bayonet wound in his left arm. Loss of blood prevented him from participating in subsequent assaults, and he was taken to his home. The headquarters of the constabulary were likewise taken by assault, but there the resistance was more obstinate. Five soldiers and two of the insurgents were killed and a number wounded on both sides. Although the alarm bells were sounded, but few people assembled in the streets calling to arms and cheering liberty and the republic. No adequate force could be mustered for the storming of the armory, and in a comparatively short time the few insurgents were dispersed or captured by the rapidly assembling military forces and the revolution of 1833 was at an end.

It goes without saying that Koerner's continued abode in Germany after this incident was out of the question. His capture at best meant many years imprisonment, to which all his associates were subjected, who were not fortunate enough to escape. He remained in hiding with some friends for some time, his wound, though not serious, preventing his immediate departure, and then disguising as a female, succeeded in passing through the gates at Frankfort, which were closely guarded. His smooth face, slight figure and exceptionally small hands and feet, enabled him to make this disguise effective. His devoted sister, Augusta, accompanied him in his flight. On the highway they were joined by his friend Theodore Engelmann, also an active participant in the storming of the guard house, and hence also a fugitive. The friends made a circuitous route, in order to reach France, where they thought they would be comparatively safe, although it seems they were pursued even into that country by demands for their extradition. Protected from capture by many of their liberal friends both in Germany and France, they succeeded at last in reaching Havre where the Engelmann family was at the time preparing to sail for the United States of America. On the first of May, 1833, in company of the Engelmanns, he embarked on the ship Logan for New York, which they reached after a journey consuming nearly seven weeks, on the 17th of June. He was not to see Europe again until he returned to it 28 years later as Minister and Envoy of the United States to the Court of Madrid.

The Journey Westward and Founding a Home in St. Clair County, Illinois.

On the 20th of June, 1833, Koerner recorded in the Marine Court of New York city, his intention to become a citizen of the United States. Many companions of his voyage did likewise,—among their number Frederick Engelmann, his son Theodore Engelmann, Henry Abend and John Scheel, all of whom afterwards became residents of St. Clair county, Illinois. Within a week after their arrival in New York the whole party started westward, by steamer to Troy, thence by the New York and Erie canal to Buffalo; thence by lake steamer to Cleveland; thence by the newly completed Ohio canal to Portsmouth; thence by steamer down the Ohio, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. This route seems circuitous, but was the only rail and water way route to the far West in those days. The steamer lay over for quite a while in Cincinnati, then the Queen city of the West, both in name and importance, where the emigrants met a large number of intelligent Germans and were much impressed with the extensive vineyards covering the hills of the Ohio, not unlike the vineyards of their cherished Rhine. In St. Louis they met Theo. Hilgard and Theodore Kraft, who had reached the West the year preceding, and had settled on a farm in St. Clair county, Illinois, about six miles east of Belleville.

It was the intention of the emigrants who came by the Logan to settle in Missouri. One, Duden, who had come to the United States years before, and had founded a settlement on the Missouri river, in Warren county, Missouri, which even at the present day bears the name of Dudenville, had written a very exaggerated account of that locality, which account had been extensively circulated in Germany. Koerner and Theodore Engelmann were deputed to visit this Warren county paradise, in order to verify Duden's representations, and found them far below the mark.

There was however a more potent reason which deterred these emigrants from settling in Missouri. The trip which the two young men made on horseback through some of the interior counties of that state, brought them into direct contact with the "peculiar institution." They witnessed the cruel beating of slaves by order of their masters, often for trivial causes,—the pernicious separation of mothers from their children by sale, and other demoralizing influences of chattel slavery. Their report determined the emigrants not to settle in Missouri. Frederick Engelmann thereupon bought a farm in Illinois, about six miles east of Belleville, and on the 3rd of August, 1833, his family, accompanied by young Koerner, who was engaged to be married to his daughter, transferred themselves, and their wordly possessions, on ox teams from East St. Louis to the farm.

Their life on the farm was of primeval simplicity. The produce of their land, and the game with which the country was then teeming, was sufficient to supply their simple table. The life of a farmer, however, was not congenial to Koerner's taste, and he decided to fit himself for his original profession, that of the law.

His Career as Jurist and Statesman.

I speak of Koerner's activity as a jurist, and statesman, under one head, because his work and activity in these two capacities was closely connected. His thorough knowledge of the civil law, which is founded on codified principles, was of great advantage to him in his studies of the common law, which is founded on immemorial usage and precedents. The foundation of both is supposed to be common sense, intelligently applied in the light of experience to the varying social and commercial conditions of mankind.

At the date when he became a resident of Illinois, any one could become its citizen, who had resided in it for a period of six months, and who had recorded his intention to become a citizen of the United States. No one, however, could hold a State office, or become an attorney at law, unless he was a citizen of the State. Study in the office of some lawyer of good standing for a period of two years, or the diploma from a law school, was another pre-requisite of admission to the bar, as also a supposed thorough examination by the Supreme court of the applicant's qualifications. The latter pre-requisite, as many of us know from experience, was then, and remained for many years thereafter, a mere sham.

Since his means were limited, he desired to enter upon the labors of his profession as soon as possible, and hence choose the college in preference to study in a lawyer's office. He went to Lexington, Ky., to attend there the law school which stood under the direction of Judges Mays and Robertson of the Kentucky court of appeals, and which enjoyed a great reputation in the west. The lecture course consisted only of one year, at the expiration of which he returned to Belleville, and in June, 1835, passed his examination before the Supreme court in Vandalia, then the capital of the State.

His professional acquirements even at that early stage of his career, must have been of a high order, because within a few months after his admission to the bar, he was offered a partnership by A. W. Snyder, who was then probably at the head of the bar in southern Illinois. Thus he became a member of the law firm of Snyder & Koerner, which after the election of Snyder to congress was enlarged by the admission of James Shields, the General Shields of the war for the Union, and a gentleman who enjoyed the remarkable distinction of representing at various times three different states in the Senate of the United States. In fact, those of us who knew the General personally, are aware, that had the Constitution of the United States permitted his so doing, he would have felt equal to represent them all, at one and the same time.

Koerner took an active part in public life, almost from the date of his admission to the bar. Slavery was not then an issue, between the leading political parties, and did not become an issue until many years afterwards. In common with the great majority of American citizens of German birth, his political affiliations were with the democratic party. He took an active part in the VanBuren campaign (1836) and since he spoke English, German and French with almost

equal fluency he soon became one of the most popular, and sought after political speakers. While small in stature his voice was sonorous and far-reaching. He spoke gracefully but in an impassioned manner, possessing in a high degree the courage of his convictions, and uttering them fearlessly, and hence excercising a marked influence over his hearers.

He took a still more active part in the exciting political campaign of 1840. Although the Whigs carried the country by an overwhelming majority, Illinois remained Democratic. In this campaign he spoke at public meetings in every part of the State, being well received everywhere. Without his solicitation, he was selected by the presidential electors of the State as their messenger to carry their vote to Washington. It is characteristic of the slow transit in those days, that his journey from Belleville to Washington, although continuous, consumed 14 days, more than twice the time that would now be needed for a journey from Belleville to London. While in Washington, Governor Reynolds, then congressman from Illinois, introduced young Koerner to President Van Buren, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay and Thomas H. Benton, so that his visit to the capital proved equally interesting and instructive.

On his return to Illinois he was appointed by Governor Carlin a member of the commission to appraise all property of railroad companies to whom State aid had been extended, preliminary to the foreclosure of the lien of the State. To the great surprise of his political friends he declined the office, although its emoluments were considerable. He assigned as a reason for so doing that he was not technically qualified to fullfil its duties satisfactorily. It seems he could not conceive how anyone could aspire to hold an office which he was not qualified to fill—a view which I regret to say was shared but by few men in public life then, or at any time since.

In December, 1840, Shields, one of the firm of Snyder, Koerner & Shields, was appointed auditor of public accounts, and subsequently judge of the supreme court of Illinois. In the following year Adam W. Snyder, the other member, became Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois, and died in May, 1842. These events led to the dissolution of the firm of Snyder, Koerner & Shields, and to the formation of the law firm of Bissell & Koerner, the same Bissell who afterwards, in 1856, became the first Republican governor of Illinois.

Meanwhile, in 1841, Koerner himself was elected to the lower branch of the General Assembly, overcoming the bitter opposition of the so-called Native Americans, and served with distinction for one term, being a prominent member of the two most important committees, that of ways and means and the judiciary. In 1844 he again canvassed the entire State in the interest of the Democratic nominees, and it was due to his efforts mainly that Stephen A. Douglas was elected to Congress from the Quincy district, and that both the city and Adams county, hitherto Whig strongholds, were carried by the Democrats in that year.

In 1845 Shields was appointed by President Polk commissioner of the general land office. The vacancy on the supreme bench thus caused was filled by Koerner's appointment through Governor Ford. At the expiration of the short term, he was re-elected by the legislature for a full term. By the constitution adopted in March, 1848, however, the supreme court was reorganized and made a purely appellate tribunal. The number of its judges was reduced from nine to three, and it was provided that thereafter they should be elected by the people, instead of being elected by the legislature, as heretofore. In September, 1848, Samuel H. Treat, John D. Caton and Lyman Trumbull were elected the first judges of the supreme court under the new dispensation, and Koerner left the bench the January following. His judicial opinions, reported in volumes 7, 8 and 9 of the Illinois reports, are distinguished alike by a thorough conception of legal principles and elegance of diction.

Meanwhile the curtain rose on both sides of the Atlantic over events far-reaching in their consequences. In 1848 Louis Philip, king of the French, was dethroned, became a fugitive, and the Republic was proclaimed with the poet Lamartine at its head. The people rose all over Europe against their oppressors, and the millenium of liberty seemed close at hand. In the United States the war with Mexico was initiated, in the opinion of many a most unjust and unholy war, and the tocsin sounded everywhere calling volunteers to arms. Koerner, whose love for his native land was not wholly overshadowed by his loyalty to his adopted country, took an intense interest in both events. A mass meeting of German Liberals, which assembled in Belleville, selected him to draft an address to the German people, calling upon them to rise unitedly against their oppressors, and form a confederated Republic, on the plan of the United States of America. He drew such an address, a very statesmanlike paper, which was printed and circulated in innumerable copies throughout the Fatherland. His then law partner, Bissell, organized the Second regiment of Illinois volunteers, consisting mainly of Germans, which did yoeman service in Mexico. His former law partner Shields resigned his position in Washington, and was commissioned by President Polk, first a brigadier general, and then a major general, serving first under General Taylor, and then under General Scott, and was severely wounded first at the battle of Cerro Gordo, and then almost mortally wounded in the assault upon Chapultepec.

The failure of the revolutionists of Europe, brought for the first time a large political emigration to America. The tide set in in 1849 and was not exhausted until 1856. Many of the emigrants were theorists and ideal dreamers who had no accurate conception either of existing conditions in the United States, or of the artificial structure which constituted the fundamental framework of the government of a free people. Almost each of the more prominent leaders had his own theories of government, and promulgated a program,

containing some grains of sense, in a mass of hair-brained suggestions. One of the many programs thus published may serve as a sample It demanded:

1. Uniform compensation on all kinds of labor.

2. Doing away with all executive functionaries, and vesting sovereign power, in a legislative assembly consisting of one house.

3. Ownership of all public utilities by the people.

4. Repeal of all restrictions on naturalization, and intervention in behalf of all republics.

5. Progressive taxation.

6 Increase of wages of hand laborers.

7. Changing penitentiaries to reform schools.

8. Gradual emancipation of slaves, with a fixed period of the final extinction of slavery.

Koerner, who had been bred an American jurist, and who for a period of nearly 20 years had carefully observed the political workings of our institutions, at once turned his attention to combating these wild theories. With keen analysis, and a satire which cut to the marrow, he demonstrated their utter fallacy. It was due to him in a great measure, that many of these political exiles, instead of remaining fire-brands, dangerous to the welfare of the commonwealth, became in course of time some of its most useful citizens.

The Illinois constitution of 1848, had reduced the salary of judges of the Supreme court from $2,000 to $1,200, and the salary of the Governor to $1,500. It seems to have been the policy of the people then and for many years thereafter to lodge sheriffs and collectors in palaces, and the heads of the judiciary and executive departments, in humble cabins. The reduction of the salary of the high judiciary, and executive, prevented Koerner, whose means were limited, and who had a rapidly increasing family, to aspire to either of these positions, although his political friends urged him to do so. In 1852, however, he accepted the democratic nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. The duties of the office absorbing but a limited part of his time, during the session of the Legislature, enabled him to devote the bulk of it to his lucrative law practice, in which he was then associated with Wm. R. Morrison. He was elected by a large majority, and held the office until January, 1857.

It was during this period, and owing to the slavery issue which was becoming a burning question, that the personal and political relations between him and Stephen A. Douglas, gradually decreased in intimacy, while those between him and Abraham Lincoln increased in the same proportion. The admission of Texas as a slave state, was followed by that of California as a free state in conformity with the Missouri Compromise. But when New Mexico and Arizona were acquired by purchase, with the Wilmot proviso, forever prohibiting slavery within their territory, the southern states claimed that it was a violation of that compromise since part of these territories lay south

of the compromise line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes. The ill feeling between the advocates and opponents of chattel slavery, became strongly accentuated, and a rupture became imminent when Kansas and Nebraska applied for admission.

Douglas, who had presidential aspirations, and needed the support of the south, tried to devise a medium of accommodation, and brought forward his famous doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty," enabling each territory prior to its admission as a state, to determine by its proposed constitution whether it would be slave or free. He at once alienated the extremists north and south, and when the Lecompton constitution of Kansas, sustaining slavery, was rejected by Congress, on the ground that it was carried by fraud and violence, the rupture became complete.

In 1855 a number of prominent men, without regard to their former party affiliations, assembled in Pittsburg and issued a call for a convention to be held in Philadelphia in 1856, with a view of forming a new party. It was to be known as the Republican party and was to be built on new lines. The principal plank in the platform was to be exclusion of slavery from territories. Koerner, who was an uncompromising opponent of the further extension of slavery, was earnestly solicited to join the movement. He declined to do so, assigning as a reason that, as an executive officer of the State, elected by Democratic votes, he was not justified to sever his connection with that party until it had officially declared that it was not opposed to the further extension of slavery. At the same time he announced that should his party do so, he would not hesitate for an instant to bid farewell to his former political associates. The convention met in Philadelphia and adopted a platform which was outspoken against the further extension of slavery, although non-committal in other respects on divergent issues between the two leading parties, since it had to recruit its forces from both. It nominated Fremont, a democrat, for president, and Dayton, a Whig, for vice president. Koerner attended the convention as a careful observer of its proceedings, although not a delegate, and was highly pleased with its action.

Shortly thereafter the Democracy of the State, as well as the Democracy of the country succumbed to the influence of the Southern states. He at once severed his political connection with his former associates and was nominated by the Republican party for Congress in the Belleville district, but was defeated by his opponent, Robert Smith.

Then came the historic campaign of 1858, in which Douglas succeeded in obtaining the senatorial nomination in spite of the opposition of the national Democratic administration and in spite of the heroic efforts of the Republican party, who tried to supplant him with a man who, then almost a novice in the political arena, was soon to become the foremost figure of the civilized world.

It was in this campaign that the friendship between Lincoln and Koerner, which was to remain a close bond between the two men until the death of the martyred President, was firmly cemented. They had been associates as counsel before, in several important

cases, but this campaign brought them into close contact as associates on the stump, and Koerner soon recognized the firmness and astuteness of his friend and his thorough fitness to become the head of the nation in the most critical period of its history. When the convention of the Republican party met in Chicago in 1859, the men most prominently named for the presidency were Seward, Chase, Cameron and Bates. Lincoln was little more than a dark horse, but owing to the national reputation which he had acquired in his political debates with Douglas, during the memorable campaign of 1858, a very formidable one. Schurz, a member of the convention from Wisconsin, was a strong advocate of Seward's nomination, while Koerner, a delegate from Illinois, was a strong advocate of that of Lincoln. Both these states possessed a large German population and many delegates from them belonged to that nationality. Schurz had not then obtained his marked prominence and was comparatively a novice in politics, while Koerner had been in public life for many years and was thoroughly at home in a political convention. It is no wonder, therefore, that his indefatigable labors among these delegates in favor of his candidate were very effectual. The argument that Lincoln stood a better chance to carry the Western states against Douglas, the presumptive presidential candidate of the Democracy, than any other man whose name was mentioned in connection with the Republican nomination, turned the scale in his favor.

In the light of subsequent events, an incident connected with this convention is worthy of note. Greeley, Schurz and Koerner were not only members of the committee on resolutions, but also members of the sub-committee of seven who drafted the platform. Greeley insisted on a high tariff plank, but finally compromised on a tariff for revenue with incidental protection When he found, however, that the sub-committee was determined to reject "squatter sovereignty," which was one of his hobbies, he left the committee sessions in a huff and their "subsequent proceedings interested him no more." It is illustrative of the exigencies of our politics that 12 years afterwards Koerner, as the nominee for Governor of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans, found himself constrained to advocate for the presidency the same Horace Greeley whose antics in the Chicago convention were a source of amusement to his fellow members of the committee, and who shortly afterwards evolved the historic phrase, "Let our wayward sisters part in peace"

The choice of Lincoln was justified from the standpoint of expediency no less than that of merit, because it is a matter of history that in the ensuing canvass he received the electoral vote of every free state with the exception of New Jersey, which he divided with Douglas.

In the beginning of 1861, and after several of the slave states had already seceded, Virginia called for a conference of all the states, to be held February 4th, to consider a compromise of existing differences. Governor Yates appointed Koerner a delegate to this convention, but the latter declined the appointment, stating he could not participate in the deliberations of any convention the assembling

of which impliedly conceded a legal right of secession, which he denied. When Lincoln, after the assault on Fort Sumpter, issued his call for 75,000 volunteers to serve three months, Koerner addressed him a strong personal letter, denouncing this half way measure and calling the attention of the President to the precedent established by the Swiss Confederation which, when seven cantons with an armed force of 30,000 tried to secede, at once called for 150,000 volunteers and suppressed the insurrection in course of a few months. Within a short time the original call of 75,000 was changed to 300,000, and the time of service from three months to three years. We all know how even this force proved inadequate and how, before the close of the war, when the ardor of the North had greatly cooled as a result of successive reverses, drafting had to be resorted to. Had Koerner's advice been followed the war might have been brought to a close within a year, although it is highly improbable that it would have resulted in the complete abolition of slavery. Judging by ultimate results, a temporizing policy was justified.

In April, 1861, volunteers began to assemble everywhere Upon the request of Governor Yates, Koerner removed to Springfield, and took charge of the organization of Illinois volunteers. While there he first met U. S. Grant under peculiar circumstances. He thus narrates the episode himself: "One day E. B. Washburne brought to my office a man of slouchy appearance, and introduced him as U. S. Grant, of Galena, stating that he was a graduate of our military school, and had seen service in Mexico. Washburne thought he might be utilized in the organization of our forces. I went with them to Yates, merely introducing Grant and reporting what Washburne had stated. Shortly afterwards Washburne came to my room and reported that their mission had failed, and that Yates had informed him there was no vacancy. Next day, having thought over the matter, and concluding that Grant might prove of considerable service, I went to Yates and urged his appointment, personally. He at once appointed him assistant quartermaster with a salary of $2.00 per day." Shortly afterwards, his qualifications being better understood, Grant was put in command of Camp Yates, and when the Twenty-first regiment, Illinois volunteers, was organized, he was elected its colonel, and began that brilliant military career which, before the expiration of four years, made him the foremost soldier of the world.

It is a strange coincidence that Koerner became thus instrumental in furthering the fortunes of the most beloved president of the nation, and of its greatest soldier, both citizens of the State of Illinois.

Looking back to the early history of the war, the superficial observer is surprised to find that our first colonels, brigadiers, and even major generals, were civilian politicians, who had little if any military training. The reason for this is obvious. Our regular army and its officers were a body segregated from the people, and not at all in touch with popular ideas. They were even prohibited by law from exercising the elective franchise. They looked upon volunteers with distrust, which the latter repaid with interest. For volunteers,

an army meant a mass meeting of the people in arms. At first the soldiers elected their officers of the line, and the officers, their field officers.

On the other hand, the people had confidence in their political leaders and readily flocked to their standard, but the discipline which the office-holders could enforce against the man whose vote he had solicited but a short time before, was necessarily lax. It took years until an armed mob was converted into a disciplined army marching at the tap of the drum and sound of the bugle in serried phalanx to certain victory. Before the war closed all our armies, and most of the army corps, were commanded by trained regular army officers. I was somewhat amused myself, when I found that the colonel of the regiment in which I first enlisted, although a politician of national reputation, was not qualified to put the regiment through the manual of arms.

The military career of Koerner was short and uneventful. He was authorized by Governor Yates to raise a regiment, which he did, and which, originally known as Koerner's regiment, subsequently became the Forty-third Illinois infantry. He never commanded the regiment in the field, being detached as aid with the rank of colonel, on the staff of Major General Fremont, the commander of the western department. His duties as such, however, were more political than military. The President desired to have some one in the western department, in immediate touch with its commander, on whose reports as to the affairs of that department he could absolutely rely, and Fremont desired someone who could be of service in procuring the necessary reinforcements from Illinois. He retained the position until June 16th, when he was appointed by the president, and confirmed by the Senate, United States Minister to the court of Madrid, as successor to Schurz, who had returned to the United States seeking a military command.

I may mention in this connection that President Lincoln was anxious to provide for Koerner soon after his election. He first designed him for the mission to Berlin, but Norman B. Judd, who failed to secure a cabinet position, insisted on that appointment for himself, and Koerner was not the man to embarrass the President by urging his own personal claims. He next offered him a position on the supreme bench of the United States, which he was compelled to decline, owing to the then very limited compensation of the office, coupled with the expense of living in Washington with a numerous family. So inadequate was the compensation paid in those days, even to the highest officials of the nation, that Koerner found himself forced to resign even the Madrid mission, after being its incumbent for two and one half years, not being able to make two ends meet with the salary assigned to him, although that salary was twice as large as that of a judge of the supreme court.

The Madrid mission was then, next to those of St. James and Berlin, the most important foreign mission. The armed intervention in Mexico by European powers, including Spain; the revival of the

slave trade by Spanish vessels, which were enabled to ship their human cargoes from Africa to Cuba, owing to the forced withdrawal of American cruisers for use at home; the landing of Confederate cruisers in Spanish ports, and the manifest desire of Great Britain to bring about strained relations between Washington and Madrid, made Koerner's position exceedingly irksome. Add to this that there was a constant change in the person of the Spanish secretary of foreign relations, no less than five different persons (Calderon Collantes, Marshal Serrano, Marquis de Miraflores, Senor Arrazola and Senor Francisco Pacheco) filling that office in less than two years, and it is evident that the position of our minister at that court was anything but a sinecure. He states that in less than two years he sent 114 dispatches to Secretary Seward, receiving as many in reply, most of them relating to matters of serious import. He made repeated requests to be relieved from the duties of his onerous position, but at the earnest solicitation of President Lincoln, retained his post until the most important matters of controversy between the United States and Spain were definitely settled.

During his sojourn in Spain he employed his leisure moments in studying Spanish architecture and art, ancient and modern, and published several short treatises on the subject, to which brief reference is made in another part of this paper.

After his return to the United States he devoted himself mainly to re-establishing his former lucrative law practice, which, during his protracted absence, had fallen into abeyance. He was too much accustomed to public life, however, and too prominent a figure to be permitted to retire from it entirely. In 1868 he became an elector of the Republican party in Illinois, and as such canvassed the State in the interest of General Grant, its presidential nominee. He did not perform this task with his usual enthusiasm since, in his opinion, the fit President for a free people was a jurist and not a soldier. The subsequent appointments of Stewart as Secretary of the Treasury, and in violation of the law, because he was an importer; of Borie and Robeson as successive Secretaries of the Navy; of Cox and Delano as successive Secretaries of the Interior, and of the notorious Belknap as Secretary of War, were not designed to create confidence in the wisdom of the administration, and many earnest Republicans, who had been founders of the party, were led to believe that the President was inclined to look upon a public office not as a public trust but as a private snap.

The very questionable transaction in the dicker for the acquisition of San Domingo, which was opposed by some of the purest Republican leaders in the Senate, added to the foregoing, induced many prominent Republicans, and among them Koerner, to make open war on the administration and determined them to defeat the re election of Grant if possible.

In Missouri, some time before, a party had been formed, known as the Liberal Republican party. It had succeeded, with the aid of Democrats, to re-elect its state officers, including a majority of the legislature, and had sent Schurz to the United States Senate. This

party, in fact, was not then a national party, its original program relating almost exclusively to state issues. Its local success emboldened the opponents of the national administration to try the same experiment on a larger scale in national politics.

In 1872 a movement was initiated in Missouri to extend the Missouri program over the United States and make it the foundation of the platform of a national party. With that view a convention of delegates, volunteer and not accredited, was called to meet in Cincinnati in the first week of May of that year. The leaders hoped to duplicate successfully the movement which, nearly successful in 1855-6 and wholly successful in 1860, had recently proved locally successful in Missouri They ignored the fact that the conditions were entirely dissimilar. The movement of 1855-6 had an ethical ideal base, the preservation of the Union with universal liberty, while the movement of 1872 was one directed against objectionable men and the objectionable methods of the national administration. The local movement in Missouri succeeded because it was initiated by Republicans with a view to restore the elective franchise to the bulk of the Democrats of that of which they had been deprived by a proscriptive constitution, hence the seceding Republicans could dictate terms to their Democratic brethren and were sure of the support of the latter on any terms. In the national campaign of 1872, the Democrats were in a position to dictate terms and candidates to the seceding Republicans. I tried to make this difference plain to some Illinois delegates to Cincinnati, including Koerner, who, on the eve of the convention, called upon me, and who all felt confident that Lyman Trumbull would be the nominee of the Cincinnati convention. I felt confident that the nominee of the allied parties would be dictated by a number of prominent Democrats, who had contemporaneously met at Covington with a view of bringing the necessary pressure to bear on the Cincinnati convention. The supposition that the southern Democrats would ever consent to the nomination of Trumbull, who was one of the foremost opponents of the extension of slavery into the territories, and one of the foremost supporters of a vigorous prosecution of the war against them, appeared to me as the wildest dream.

We all know the result of the Cincinnati convention and the disastrous termination of that campaign for the allies. The man who was in favor of "squatter sovereignty" in 1860, and in favor "to let our wayward sisters part in peace," became the forced choice of the convention for the presidency, with the man who, elected by the Liberal Republicans of Missouri governor of that state, had deserted his party and had affiliated wholly with the Democrats, as his running mate. The candidates were doomed to defeat the day they were nominated, wholly regardless of the fact whether one of them had "buttered his watermelon." Koerner himself, who was nominated by the Democrats and Liberal Republicans for Governor of Illinois, was overwhelmingly defeated, although he led the national ticket by over 25,000 votes.

His next political activity in the national arena was in the Tilden-Hayes campaign of 1876. A conference of reformers met in the Fifth Avenue hotel, New York, May 15, 1876, and appointed a committee, with Schurz as chairman and Theodore Roosevelt as one of its members, who issued an address to the people, insisting on a reform of the civil service, the resumption of specie payment and a just treatment of the re-united Southern states It was not the aim of this convention to bring about the nomination of independent candidates for national offices, but simply to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the conventions of the two leading parties to make them nominate candidates friendly to reform. Koerner, who had been invited to attend the New York meeting, could not do so, being engaged at the time in other duties as a member of the International Peace Conference. He was, however, thoroughly in sympathy with the movement, and, upon the nomination of Tilden by the Democrats and Hayes by the Republicans, he at once declared for the former who, as annihilator of the Tweed ring, had demonstrated his earnestness as a reformer. He canvassed the State of Illinois in the interest of his candidate.

That Tilden was elected President of the United States, receiving not only an overwhelming popular vote, but also the majority of the electoral vote, if honestly counted, few people doubt at the present day. That the electoral commission found sufficient technical legal difficulties to uphold this verdict, and that its so doing was brought about by a strictly party vote of its members was perhaps the first severe blow struck at the integrity of our judiciary and hence is to be deplored. However this may be, the readiness with which the illustrious candidate and the numerical majority of the American people submitted to the ruling, preferring to rest under its ban rather than to plunge the country into the horrors of another civil war, has furnished a precedent of the people's obedience to the law as promulgated by its constituted authorities, which, in its final results, is of inestimable value to the future welfare of the Republic. It is needless to add that, although thoroughly convinced of the injustice of the electoral commission's finding, Koerner was among the foremost to counsel moderation and submission.

He also took an active and earnest interest in the subsequent campaigns, which resulted respectively in the elections of Garfield and Cleveland, speaking occasionally to large audiences, although his advanced age and the increased demand made upon his time by his professional duties precluded his canvassing the entire State or speaking outside of its borders. It must be remembered that during the entire period of his political activity he was no less active as a practitioner. The judicial reports of the Supreme Court of Illinois and of the Supreme Court of the United States, bear convincing proof of that fact. I have, myself, witnessed his trying an important case before a court and jury, the trial lasting for several days, when he was past the age of 80, and can vouch for the fact that he conducted the trial with a vigor, intelligence and attention to detail which might well have aroused the envy of any lawyer in the prime of life.

His Work as an Educator and Author.

Every author of right is, or should be an educator in the broader sense of that term. If he is not he has failed in his mission. I do not make any distinction in that respect between writers of pure fiction, and those dealing with serious problems of life. Koerner fully realized the truth of this proposition, and the great bulk of his literary work was of a character, conferring practical benefit on his cotemporaries. Being of a vivid imagination, and keen and critical perception, his mind at an early age took a literary turn, which was furthered by his close association in the gymnasium at Frankfort, with Henry Hoffman, a boyhood friendship, which was to last through life. Hoffmann subsequently became a writer of some note, and a poet of respectable standing, although his main claim to be remembered by posterity rests upon his "Strubelpeter." This little pamphlet, written in doggerel verse, and illustrated by the author himself, with excellent pen sketches, dealing with the various naughty habits of little children, has been the delight of millions of their number, on both sides of the Atlantic, has been translated into various languages, and has become for the growing generations, what the Bible and Shakespeare are for the adult. Koerner began his literary efforts, as most of us do, by writing verses, when very young. These efforts seem to have been frequent at first but rapidly decreased in number with advancing age. He seemed to have preserved the manuscripts and they were found among his posthumous papers. While they show good command of meter, elegance of expression, and a fair amount of poetical sentiment, they do not indicate that he ever could have risen to the front rank in that class of literature.

His first appearance before the public as an author, was an interesting and instructive description of his voyage across the Atlantic, which was published in Cotta's "Ausland," in 1834. Shortly after engaging in practice of the law he became a regular contributor to the "Anzeiger des Westens," the first and then the only German daily in the city of St. Louis, of which his friend and classmate Weber, was the editor. These contributions dealt mainly with political questions, discussing and critizing public measures. About that time he began to be an occasional contributor to English periodicals, on similar subjects.

In 1837, Dr. George Englemann and others, began the publication of a periodical named "Westland," of which Koerner became a corresponding editor, although owing to the fact that he was still ostracized by the home government, his connection with the periodical was not made public. The venture did not prove a financial success however, and the publication was discontinued within a year.

Aware, that one of the main aids of public education, is a free and select library, he with others founded the Belleville Public library, about the same time. This undertaking, very humble in its inception, grew rapidly under his fostering care. In 1863, the title to the library was transferred to the city of Belleville, and it now numbers more than 20,000 carefully selected volumes.

Shortly after his settlement in Belleville, there being no public school in the place at that time which the children of German emigrants could attend with advantage, he established a German and English school there, and became its first teacher for a brief time. Shortly thereafter however, a school was established there by Bunsen on the pattern of the Frankfort elementary school, which became the foundation of the German-American system of schools which under the superintendence of Raab became highly beneficial to education in Southern Illinois. Koerner himself remained an influential school director until his departure for Madrid.

In 1847, he wrote an essay on the history and statistics of Germany, which he read at the session of the Illinois Literary and Historical society of that year. In 1848 he prepared the address to the German people, referred to in a preceding part of this paper. In 1855 he wrote the letter addressed to the Republican editors of Illinois, defining the issues then before the country and his own position regarding them. This was published in pamphlet form in two languages and entensively circulated.

In 1859, he delivered the main address on the occasion of the centennial of the birth of Schiller, the poet, which was also published in pamphlet form. During the Franco German war he wrote the open letter to Wendell Phillips, published in the Chicago Tribune, which led that brilliant but somewhat eccentric agitator, to recant some of his former views on that subject, publicly expressed.

Of course it is impossible within the limits of this paper to specify in detail Koerner's literary and educational activity, which was so manifold, and extended over so many years. The above instances are given more for the purpose of showing the character, than that of showing the extent of the work. He appeared frequently on the lecture platform, he was a constant contributor to the press both English and German, both east and west, daily and periodical, literary and political. No one who was not familiar with his great industry and tireless energy, could well conceive how he found time for the performance of all these labors.

Among his more extensive writings may be mentioned, "Koerner's Spain," a description of that country, its political and social institutions, and its ancient and modern art and literature; "The history of German Settlers in America," a very extensive work dealing with the subject of German Colonists, from the earliest date to modern times. These two books were published in German. Also the following works in English, "Critical discussion of history and limits of the Monroe Doctrine," written for and forming part of the "Cyclopedia of Politial Science, etc.," edited by John J. Lawlor. "The Scope of Punitive and Exemplary Damages," written for and read before the American Bar Association, and "Critical Analysis of Blaine's 'Twenty Years in Congress.'"

His Family Life.

Koerner's father died in 1829. His mother, brothers, and sisters, he never met again after he left Europe for America, although he took a fostering care of their interests while they lived. He survived them all. While visiting his friend and classmate, Theodore Engelmann, in 1832, he became acquainted with the latter's sister Sophy, which acquaintance soon ripened into affection, and resulted in an engagement while the two young people crossed the Atlantic on the Logan. As soon as his professional earnings permitted him to do so, on the 17th of June, 1836, the two became one. That the two became one was in this instance more than a trite conventional phrase. The union which lasted for a period of nearly 52 years was in every respect a most happy one, and after his wife died, March 1, 1888, the loneliness of the bereaved husband was truly pathetic. I can truthfully say, that although during a long and somewhat eventful life, I have had many occasions to observe the lights and shadows of family life, I have never witnessed one so thoroughly cheered by mutual affection, trust and confidence. Their trials and difficulties were many. The first household which they founded in Belleville was totally destroyed by fire, and their children were saved with difficulty from the flames. The proverbial wolf did probably more than once prowl around their door. Of the eight children, five sons and three daughters, issue of their marriage, only three survived their parents. Most of these children died in their infancy, but the oldest son Theodore, a young man of great promise, died at a maturer age while a cadet at West Point, and their youngest daughter Pauline, wife of George H. Detharding, a Belleville merchant, died within a comparatively short time, after her marriage. All these trials and afflictions, however, but drew the parents with each other, and with their children, into closer union if possible. Of their surviving daughters, the elder, Mary, married Henry Engelmann, geologist and chemist, late of LaSalle, Illinois, and now resides as a widow in Cleveland, Ohio. The younger, Augusta, married Roderick E. Rombauer, a lawyer in St. Louis, and for many years presiding judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals. The surviving son, Gustave A., was associated with his father in the law practice, during the latter years of his life, and now resides in St. Louis, Missouri. All hold the memory of these parents in grateful veneration. Whoever visited the Koerner home in Belleville, modest and unassuming, ornamented with an extensive library and some art treasures, but otherwise simple and unostentatious, could not fail to be impressed with the fact, that it was an ideal home. It had seen the gathering of many under its hospitable roof, and of some who were among the foremost of their days, and it was while a guest at this house, that Carl Schurz prepared the famous speech which he delivered at Veranda Hall, St. Louis, during the campaign of 1860, which in my opinion is by far the best effort of that brilliant orator, and which more than any other, attracted to him the gaze of the then contending political forces.

General Characteristics.

This sketch would not be complete, without a summary of the general features of the character of the man with whom it deals. Foremost among these was his innate sense of justice, and his constant endeavor to subordinate his private interests to the general welfare. He readily forgave private injuries, but would never condone the breach of a public trust. While both were at college, Frederick Hecker, then not less impetuous than in later years, picked a quarrel with him without any provocation, which student fashion, resulted in a challenge and duel. Hecker was a noted good swordsman, and as such rather given to seek broils, than to avoid them, but Koerner was a better one, and in the onset which followed soon put his antagonist *hors de combat.* When the two men met years thereafter on the prairies of Illinois, Koerner was the first to extend to the fugitive the hand of friendship. I have frequently heard him extol the good qualities of his early opponent, without referring to any of his foibles, some of which were rather pronounced. He delivered eloquent panegyrics on the occasion of Hecker's funeral, and at the unveiling of his monument in St. Louis.

During the Garfield campaign, he denounced in his public speeches that presidential candidate in the most unmeasured terms, going even beyond the limit of legitimate criticism. But when the president-elect made an earnest effort to rid the country and himself of machine rule, and carpet baggers' domination, and partly as a result thereof fell the victim of the assassin's bullet, Koerner was the first to applaud his conduct, and at the memorial meeting held at Belleville, upon the occasion of the President's death, as chairman of the meeting delivered the eulogy.

He was naturally reserved in his intercourse with men, and those who knew him superficially thought him cold, but those who knew him intimately realized that heart of man never beat in warmer sympathy with his fellow man, and that the cold exterior hid almost a womanly tenderness.

He was never a seeker after wealth, measuring its value truly as a means of independence, and some aid in dealing justly and fearlessly with men and measures. He was generous and charitable, often beyond his means. When quite a young man, witnessing the sale of a free negro, under the infamous law of this State which provided that free negroes coming into this State, should be ordered to leave, and if they failed to do so at once, should be fined, and on failure to pay the fine should be sold into temporary servitude, he paid with his slender means the fine of the negro thus to be sold, and turned him free.

In discussing the freedom of religion, he used the word "right" instead of the inappropriate word, "toleration." He was himself a Pantheist, but a great respector of every creed. In the many discussions which he had with Robert G. Ingersoll on the subject he discountenanced the conduct of that witty lecturer, and thus reports their final interview:

"I told him that the people require a religious system, which they can grasp and which is in harmony with their instinctive sentiments and aspirations. If such a system, erroneous though it be, gives them rest, then it is wrong to destroy the hope and consolation furnished by their faith. No philosopher has yet solved the problem of man's ultimate destiny. However illusory the doctrine of future reward and punishment may be, there are millions of people, who are kept by it within the bounds of morality. I told him that as a statesman he should give due weight to this last proposition. Ingersoll replied that 'truth should be proclaimed at all hazards,' to which I replied, 'where lies the truth?'"

I have in what I have said endeavored to draw as complete a sketch of the life of your fellow citizen, as I was justified to do, within necessarily confined limits. The pencil at times may have trembled in my hands, because the deceased in life stood very close to me, but I have tried to draw the lines of the portrait straight and true. When I say that among the many prominent citizens of this commonwealth, there were probably some more potent to forward the welfare of its people, but that there was not one more willing and ready to do so than Gustavus Koerner. I claim to have pronounced a just verdict on the law and the evidence. I thank you for having given me an opportunity to do so, and I trust that you will preserve in your valuable archives, this tablet, among the enduring monuments which they contain of your illustrious dead.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

(Robert A. Gray.)

I am here today to raise my voice in behalf of a people that never had justice done them by historians, either in Europe or America, namely the Scotch-Irish. In that long struggle which terminated in our independence, they played perhaps the most important part of any nationality engaged on our side. Oppressed beyond measure at home, they emigrated to this country in droves, bringing with them an undying hatred to English intolerance and oppression.

When the last bigoted tyrant of the detestable house of Stuart sought to win back the English throne by the aid of the Irish Catholics, whom his grandfather had ruthlessly plundered of their possessions; the Scotch-Irish of Ulster rallied in defense of their religion, and liberty, and behind the walls of Derry, bade him defiance: Here 105 days they sustained a siege without a parallel in history since the fall of Jerusalem; you can read in the glowing pages of Macauley, the record of that siege, of its more than three months of heroic fighting; the women dying with the men in their desperate resistance; fighting side by side with them in the trench and in spite of famine, pestilence and death in every shape, cheering them on to victory. The religious liberty of Europe was secured behind the walls of Derry, and what was the reward of the victors? On the return of peace the men that saved the government of England to the Houses of Nassau and Brunswick, found themselves prescribed, banned and outlawed, and placed in the same category with their Catholic fellow-subjects who had sought to overthrow the government. The Catholics had submitted on the solemn promise that their rights would be restored and their religion protected, but alas! both Catholic and Presbyterian, soon found themselves the victims of religious intolerance and oppression. The infamous penal laws and laws against non-conformity; test oaths and oaths of supremacy, debarred them from all offices of honor and trust, they could neither preach, teach, or sit on juries; they were forbidden to marry unless the ceremony was performed by an established clergyman, otherwise their children were declared bastards and could not inherit property. Was it any wonder that under these circumstances they emigrated to this country in droves, bringing with them an undying hatred to English oppression. In the twenty years preceding the American revolution, over 600,000 came over, the greater part from the province of Ulster, and of the nine counties, Ulster, Antrim and Donegal furnished the

most. A limited territory in the latter county furnished, I believe, more historic families to this country than any other section of the same extent, either in Europe or America. Standing on the top of Mingarry hill one can see the former homes of more than 20 families, all of whom have left historic names in the country of their adoption. Here, nestling at your feet and overlooking the beautiful valley of Glenmaquean, lies the old homestead of the Buchanans; a little lower down, but in plain view on the other side of the valley in the parish of Kye lies that of the Calhouns, Houstens and Ewings; off to the left about two miles lies the Polloch or Polk homestead and in the adjacent village of Convoy was born Major-General Richard Montgomery; from the same neighborhood came the Grays, Pattens, Grahams and Polucks; from Ramelton in the same county, came Francis Makemie the founder of the Presbyterian chuch in America, and at a later day Robert Bonner of the New York Ledger. This vast tide of emigrants settled mostly in Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas, though many settled in New York and New Jersey, and over 20,000 in New England. The Cumberland valley, the Piedmont region in Virginia, Tennesee and Kentucky, were settled almost exclusively by this race. In the passenger list of one ship that sailed from Belfast in May, 1728, you will find the names of the ancestors of the best historic families of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennesee, such as the Prestons, Breckenridges, Pattens, McDowells, Irvines, Grays, Campbells, McElroys, Mitchells, Logans and Caldwells, and in another ship soon after they were followed by the Meades, Morgans, Marshalls, Barrys, Waynes, St. Clairs, Armstrongs, Fultons, McKeans, McClures, McKibbens, Orrs, McClenahans and many others too numerous to mention.

If one were to read our American history as written and taught in our schools, it would be imagined that had it not been for the New England Puritans alone, our Revolutionary struggle would have been an entire failure. But I say here, without fear of contradiction, that, had it not been for the outspoken words, the bravery and the indomitable spirit of the Scotch-Irish of Georgia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, there would have been no independence. Froude, the English historian, says: "This race furnished 50 per cent of the patriot army." The first newspaper advocating an appeal to arms was the Continental Gazette, edited by Isaac Anderson, a Scotch-Irishman. The first declaration of independence was made almost in the exact words of Jefferson's immortal production in Mecklinburg county, North Carolina, two months before the latter. Every delegate to that convention, with two exceptions, were Scotch-Irish by birth or parentage. Here are some of their names: Polk, Barry, Alexander, Downs, Graham, Irwin, McClure, Wilson and Patten. Thirteen of the signers of the declaration of independence were of the same race, viz., Hancock, Thornton, Whipple, Paine, Smith, Taylor, Read, McKean, Nelson, Rutledge, Witherspoon, Carroll and Lynch. Charles Thomson, who wrote it from Jefferson's rough draft, Colonel Nixon, who was the first man to read

it to the people from the steps of the old State House in Philadelphia, and Captain Dunlap, who printed the first copy of it, were of the same race. The first blood shed in the struggle for self-government was not at Boston, Concord or Lexington, as is generally stated by historians, but at Alamance, N. C., amongst the Scotch-Irish, two years before Lexington. Here, in defense of their just rights, they bravely faced Governor Tryon and his organized forces, and though defeated at that time and forced to abandon their homes and cross the mountains, where they settled in the Watauga valley (the first settlement west of the mountains), they there afterwards proved that, though overpowered, they were still unconquered; and, in the ensuing struggle, from that Watauga settlement came a body of patriots that proved their hatred to tyranny on every battlefield of the south. It was their broad boast that there never was a Tory amongst their race or in their settlement. They furnished a large majority of Marion's men, and at Guilford court house, the Cowpens and King's mountain, they paid England back for her oppression. At the Cowpens the gallant Morgan, the son of an Irishman, commanded and won the battle that eventually led to the surrender of Cornwallis. At King's mountain all the officers in command, with the exception of Colonels Sevier and Shelby, were Scotch Irish, as were the greater part of their men.

Of the other gallant leaders in that memorable struggle who were of the same race the following names occur to me, and they were but a part, and a very small part, of that heroic race that shed their blood so freely to win that freedom which we enjoy. First in honor as in place was Maj. Gen. Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, and his companion in arms, Daniel Morgan, the hero of the Cowpens and Saratoga Heights, who commanded the Virginia riflemen who were nearly all of the same race, and who were pronounced by Burgoyne to be the most effective body of troops in either army; John Stark, the hero of Bennington; Mad Anthony Wayne, who stormed Stony Point; General Sullivan, who conquered the Five Nations and avenged the massacre of Wyoming and Cherry Valley; Gen. Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton; Gen. John Eager Howard, who commanded the gallant soldiers of the Maryland line, who were nearly all of the same race, as were also their brigade associates, the gallant "Blue Hen's Chickens" of Delaware.

By the way, it was from a Scotch-Irishman named Caldwell that the sons of Delaware derived this name. According to the story I found in an old scrap book, Caldwell was a gentleman of prominence who lived in Sussex county; he was a sportsman, whose horses and game-cocks had a wide celebrity. His favorite axiom was, that the character of the progeny depends more on the mother than the father; hence for thorough gameness you could always depend on the progeny of his favorite blue hens.

When the news of the battle of Lexington reached Delaware, the martial spirit of her people was aroused, and in a very short time a full regiment was raised and a day set for them to organize. On the morning of that day a full company from Sussex county under the

command of Captain Caldwell was the first to arrive on Dover Green, and on top of their loaded baggage wagon was a coop of the blue hen's chickens crowing loudly. The company was given the right of the regiment, and under Colonel Haslett was sent to the north. After their gallant conduct in covering the retreat from Long Island, the whole regiment was dubbed "The Blue Hen's Chickens," a name that has stuck to the people of the state ever since. This gallant regiment, largely composed, as I have said, of Scotch-Irish, fought at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. They were then sent south, and at the fatal battle of Camden the gallant game cock fought his last battle. When in that battle the militia fled without firing a shot, the Blue Hen's Chickens with their comrades of the Maryland line rallied round old DeKalb and fought till they were almost annihilated. Their lieutenant-colonel, Vaugn, and Major Patten were taken prisoners. The few that were left participated in the battle of Guilford court house and were pres-at the surrender of Cornwallis.

Gen. Henry Knox, Washington's chief of artillery and closest friend; Colonel Fitzgerald, his favorite aid-de-camp; General Read of Pennsylvania; Generals Clinton, Hand, Poor, Maxwell, Hamilton, Stewart, McIntosh, Pickens and Rutherford; Sergeant Jasper who raised the fallen flag at Moultrie, for which gallant act he was presented with a sword by Governor Rutledge, himself a Scotch-Irishman by descent; and John Paul Jones, who was the first to hoist the American flag on the sea, were all of the same race. So was Robert Morris, who, on his own personal credit, raised the money that enabled Washington to move his army to Virginia and capture Cornwallis. Sad to say, his ungrateful country suffered him to die in poverty and bankruptcy. Oliver Polloch (Polk the name is now spelled) was treated in a similar manner. He had borrowed $70,000 from Count O'Reilly, governor of Cuba, and turned it over to Governor Henry of Virginia. This money enabled the governor to equip George Rogers Clark for his Illinois expedition, one of the greatest events of that memorable period. On the 4th day of July, 1778, a little band of Virginia soldiers, recruited in great part in the Scotch-Irish settlements of that state, under the command of Clark the son of an Irishman, and commissioned by Patrick Henry also the son of an Irishman, after one of the most memorable marches in history since Hannibal crossed the Alps, captured the French village of Kaskaskia, in Illinois, then under British rule. The result of this conquest was the cession of the whole northwest to the United States, a territory then but little known and lightly valued, but which now constitutes the richest and fairest section of country over which our flag floats. Without this territory so conquered, the United States would have been restricted to the comparatively narrow limits of the Alleghanies and the Atlantic ocean. You are raising monuments all over your country to your famous men, whilst the grave of George Rogers Clark is entirely neglected and his name almost forgotten.

Mark what Washington said of this race and tell me if there was ever a higher compliment paid to a people. In the darkest hour of the Revolutionary war, when surrounded by his few freezing, fam-

ishing soldiers at Valley Forge, he was asked what he proposed to do now as the cause seemed to be hopelessly lost. Here is his reported answer: "If all else fails, I will retreat up the valley of Virginia, plant my flag on the Blue Ridge, rally around the Scotch-Irish of that region and make my last stand for liberty amongst a people who will never submit to British tyranny whilst there is a man left to draw a trigger."

This race has furnished the following Presidents, viz: Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Arthur and McKinley, whilst Jefferson and Roosevelt, on the maternal side, were of the same stock. A number of our vice-presidents, amongst them your own honored citizen, Adlai E. Stevenson, were of the same race. Our earliest supreme bench was in great part filled by men of the same race. John Marshall, the most eminent legal light that ever filled the position of chief justice, and his associates, Rutledge, Wilson, Blair and Ivedell, were all of the same stock.

In the war of 1812, Scott and Jackson on land, and Barry, Stewart, Perry and McDonough in the navy, added new glory to their race. Of our late war it is needless to speak. The deeds of Grant, McPherson, Sheridan, Slocum, Logan, Blair, Wallace, Oglesby, McClernand and hundreds of others are familiar to all. Nine of the governors of our own State were of this race by birth or parentage, viz: Bond, Cole, Reynolds, Ewing, Duncan, Carlin, Ford, Beveridge and Hamilton; and, in fact, there are more of this race in our highest offices today, legislative, executive, judicial, ecclesiastical and educational, than any other race in this country according to their number, and *less* of them in our poor houses and alms houses. To use the words of a late writer, "they are teaching in our colleges, universities and common schools; they are preaching in our pulpits; they have fought our battles; they have written our literature in prose and poetry; they have led public opinion in the direction of liberty, right and justice; they have made and administered our laws and, owing to their efforts and example, our country is freer, stronger and better today. But you will look in vain in *their* ranks to find a socialist or an anarchist." "Wherever you find a Scotch-Irishman," says another writer, "you will always find him the same; the same self-reliant, persevering and, at times, dogmatical asserter of his own opinions—opinions, by the way, formed from close thought and reasoning. The same clear, firm assertion of his belief, whether in religion or politics; the same God-fearing honesty and loyalty to friendship that not even the fear of death can shake." "Wherever that race predominates," says another writer, "you will find personal freedom and representative government." The church and the school house always accompany them. Attached to old habits and customs, they are not easily led into new fashions and habits of thought or action until, by careful consideration, they are convinced of their truth and utility. As educated freemen, they pay due deference to the constituted authorities but, at the same time, they will just as strictly confine these authorities to their prescribed limitations. Whoever would rule the Scotch-Irish must rule them through right and sufficient

reason. The eloquent Proctor Knott, in speaking of this race and their achievements, said: "Would you know their names? You will find them in every walk of private usefulness and public honor; in every department of literature and in every branch of science; in every avenue of active enterprise and popular progress; in the pulpit and at the bar; on the field and in the cabinet; on the bench and in the legislative halls; in our highest courts and in the presidential chair. They and their sons have written them in imperishable characters upon the brightest pages of our country's history. Go read them there."

THE WOMAN'S CLUB MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

(Belle Short Lambert.)

The corporations and unions which are so marked a feature in the commercial and industrial affairs of today, the associated charities, the fraternal leagues, the social clubs which have so large a place in civic life, are manifestations the world has not seen before, and would not have been possible in an earlier stage of society. They have distinguished the period and named it the "Age of Organization." Numberless are the combinations through which this spirit of organization has manifested itself and all classes, all orders of men, are drawn into its entangling meshes.

In the long history of the race, each epoch has been characterized by social phases peculiar to its time, and there has been endless variation in the relative position of woman. In this generation, it has come to pass that she is a sharer and co-laborer in a vast realm of affairs hitherto deemed outside her province, and in these new responsibilities and opportunities she has found incentive and necessity to enlarge her life and broaden her intellectual and ethical culture that she might attain to her highest self; and in finding this better self, give expression to it in a more gracious womanliness, a more efficient service in her share of the world's work.

To meet this necessity came the spontaneous movement toward the woman's literary club. Its phenomenal growth proves that there was a need it could supply. It is no longer a fad, but is ingrained in our civilization, and though yet in its immaturity, we can no longer doubt its immediate or prospective usefulness as a factor in the life of the community or of the State.

The Woman's Club movement, unlike that of some organizations, cannot be traced to one definite source nor to the forcefulness of one great leader. It has been evolved from conditions and shaped by many influences.

The purpose of this sketch shall be to indicate its beginning and to follow the lines of its development, rather than to give with fullness the history of many individual clubs, since the great number in the State and the similarity of their work would necessitate endless repetition.

"Where shall I find the origin of the woman's club?" I asked a man who is my neighbor. After a moment's reflection, he replied, "In the Methodist class meeting."

I laughed incredulously, but he continued, "There is the place she first found opportunity of giving voice to her thought. I believe you will find it *began* there." And since my neighbor is a scholar and a Presbyterian, his perspicuity and orthodoxy may not be lightly questioned.

The radical changes in the industrial world that removed from the home to the factory, the weaving of cloth, the cutting and sewing of heavy garments, the drying and canning of fruits and vegetables, left woman leisure for reading, for thought and observation. This opportunity, with a natural social inclination, evolved the idea of the reading circle, and then it was but a step to the society for the study of history and literature.

The earliest of these appeared in our own State and elsewhere soon after the close of the Civil war. It has often been said that the great struggle of the 60's developed woman's capacity and resourcefulness; that through the commissary departments and other relief measures her ability as an organizer was shown as never before.

With the dawn of peace and happier years, it was natural that this awakened energy should find new channels. Between 1870 and 1880, it began to manifest itself through various educational, moral, religious and reform movements. The Woman's Missionary Societies, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Association for the Advancement of Woman, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, and the Equal Suffrage Association are among the more prominent dating from that time.

The missionary societies were speedily propagated among the churches, and have maintained a steadfast growth.

The Woman's crusade which started in a little town in Ohio in '73 was caught up with enthusiasm in Illinois and at a convention in Bloomington in October 1874, the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized, Francis Willard serving as secretary. Four years later she was made president and the subsequent year was called to stand at the head of the national organization, a place she filled with signal ability, until her death four years ago. Beloved and honored everywhere, Francis Willard found her most numerous, most able support in the unions of her own State which today has 475 of these organizations, distributed in 91 counties. In the 40 departments of this great body, women find not only occasion for benevolent service, but the opportunity of self development as well.

The Association for the Advancement of Woman was instituted at a congress called by New York Sorosis, Oct. 14th, 1873. Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, then living in Chicago, was elected president, serving two years. Maria Mitchell and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe held the office during the three years following, when the president was again chosen from Illinois, Mrs. Kate Newall Doggett of Chicago filling the office for three years. The second convention, and the 11th, of this association, met in Chicago, so that from the first, its impression upon the women of this State was marked.

Thirty years ago the Equal Suffrage association of Illinois was formed, and while it has not attained the object for which it stands, it has helped bring about many beneficent changes in the laws relating to women and children, and as a pioneer has led the way and made possible the achievements of more recent organizations.

The Chautauqua plan for home study, originated by Lewis Miller and Bishop John H. Vincent in 1874, became very popular in this State, where there have been about 675 circles in 425 localities. Over 200 were in towns of 500 to 3,500 inhabitants. More than 60 were in little hamlets; the others in cities. One third have had an existence of four years or more, while many circles finishing the Chautauqua course, continue under other names and other lines of work.

These moral, religious, educational and reform movements, as has been shown, enlisted the earnest coöperation of Illinois women, and this State led others in the number and efficiency of the societies devoted to these various causes. Here as elsewhere, they absorbed most of the talent and ability for organization during the period of the '70s, although a slight stimulus was given to literary and aesthetic culture by the Centennial exposition, and a number of art associations and several for the study of literature and history were formed about that time. Few of them are still in existence, but they mark the time when the first groups of women began to choose for themselves, independently of any directing organization, the lines of study they most inclined to pursue.

The earliest association of women in Illinois, and one which antedates all others anywhere, is the Ladies' Education Society of Jacksonville, which a few months ago observed its 70th anniversary. While it can hardly be included in the club movement, since it preceded it by 40 years, in its spirit and work it is in accord with the most altruistic of modern associations. Organized Oct. 3d, 1833, for the purpose of helping indigent girls in this then frontier country to obtain an education, it has during this time assisted 1,584 students. Last year, tuition was paid for 23 young women attending 12 schools from Stanford university on the Pacific Coast to Oberlin in Ohio. Before the establishment of public schools, funds were solicited east and west, but the present income of the society is derived from invested funds, legacies, and voluntary gifts, while beneficiaries are preferably those who are beyond the high school course and desire special or advanced work that they may prepare themselves for teaching.

Another forerunner of this movement is the Plato club founded by Dr. Hiram K. Jones in 1860. It included both men and women in its membership and met on Saturday mornings for nearly 40 years, until its continuance was prevented by the failing health of the leader. Doctor Jones was recognized as the leading Platonist of the age and when last summer his body was laid to rest beneath the trees, Jacksonville recognized that its chief patron of letters and philosphy had left vacant a place that never again will be filled.

Quincy claims the proud distinction of having the oldest literary club for women in the United States. The Friends in Council dates its birth from the autumn of 1866, when 12 ladies agreed to meet weekly for reading and conversation. After meeting in this way for more than two years, they effected a formal organization in February, 1869. A further distinction of this council is that it has its own club house, the gift of a devoted member, who in many other ways promoted the culture and literary interests of Quincy.

Jacksonville Sorosis was organized and adopted a constitution in November, 1868. No name having been decided upon when that of the famous New York club was announced, permission was sought to adopt it, and this society became the second to bear the beautiful and significant name which since is so widely used.

Jacksonville Art association, the first in Illinois, was instituted Dec. 17th, 1873. Both ladies and gentlemen are numbered in its membership, and its monthly meetings and its exhibitions have for 30 years been one of the pleasant features in the life of the community.

The second art society in this State was formed in Lincoln just after the Centennial exposition in 1876. From the influence of this one, came the Art club of Champaign in the same year, and then the Art society in Springfield in 1877. Decatur had two art classes; Bloomington the Palladen and the Historical and Art society, both founded in '79. These societies mothered the club interests that appeared later in these cities.

Through the happy inspiration of Mrs. R. B. Latham, representatives of these associations were invited to her home in Lincoln, when, after two days of delightful program sessions and social converse, it was decided to organize a Central Illinois Art union to meet annually. This was in May, 1880, and for 14 years these meetings were continued, their beneficial fellowship attracting and bringing in other societies from Peoria, Carlinville and Pana, and their influence doing much to develop an appreciation of good art in this part of the State.

Besides these art societies, there were organized during this period 1870-1880, a few other clubs, well scattered through the State, the southernmost being at Cairo. There the Woman's Club and Library association was instituted in 1875 with the double purpose of raising funds for a library and of improvement of its members through discussion of domestic, moral, social and political questions. That these objects have been successfully realized, all who know the city and its people will testify.

Situated as Cairo is in the lowland where the streams of two mighty rivers meet in swelling flood, the utmost effort has been required to hold within bounds these swirling waters. In the construction of costly levees, the city's revenues have been expended, leaving little for ornamental public buildings, and therefore the efforts of the club to found a library were much appreciated.

In two years, the first books, 1257 carefully considered volumes, were purchased. The collection increased steadily and in 1881 the books were presented to the city and the entire movement made permanent by the gift of a fine building erected by Mrs. A. B. Safford to the memory of her husband. The lower floor is devoted to the library, and the elegant, artistically furnished suite of rooms on the second floor is the permanent home of the club.

The Ladies Reading Circle of Mattoon, the Monday club of Rockford, the Tuesday club of Pana and the Clionian of Pontiac, date from 1877, the Every Wednesday of Elgin from 1879. All these clubs are devoted to the study of literature, have passed their quarter century mile stone, and have fostered the growth of a vigorous progeny of later clubs in their vicinities.

In Chicago, clubs dating their formation from the '70s are the Fortnightly 1873, the Friends in Council 1875, the Woman's Literary club of Millard Avenue, 1878, and the Chicago Woman's club 1876.

The first three organized for intellectual and social culture through the study of history, and literature, and their membership was limited to 25 or 30. The Friends in Council continue in the original plan; the Fortnightly in 1886 was incorporated and its membership, extended to 200, includes those ladies most prominent in the city's social and literary circles. The Millard Avenue club has not only extended its membership, but its scope and now includes the usual lines of practical work.

The fourth club named in this group, the Chicago Woman's club, although a direct outgrowth of the literary societies, bore the impress of other influences, and was a radical departure from accustomed lines. Its purpose was more broadly inclusive, and as defined in the constitution is "mutual sympathy and counsel; united effort toward the higher civilization of humanity, and general philanthropic and literary work." We note that the literary feature is last named, and while the club is strong on this side and has commanded the service of the best talent the city contains, still this interest has been kept subservient to the practical work which was the chief object of its founders.

The club was divided into six departments, reform, home, education, philanthropy, art and literature, philosophy and science. Through these departments, the club with its 900 members has engaged in many lines of work—that which is corrective relates mostly to women and children. It secured the appointment of women physicians to care for women patients in the hospitals for the insane in Cook county and Kankakee; it procured seats for girls in retail stores, it established a kindergarten for poor children; it supported for many years a school for boys in the jail, which proved of such benefit and such a valuable aid to discipline that the support has been assumed by the county, the management still being under the supervision of the club. It raised $40,000 for the Manual Training and Farm school for boys at Glenwood, and has done much to promote the establishment of vacation schools.

Several societies have grown out of the Chicago Woman's club, such as the Public School Art association, to promote school room decoration and art instruction in the schools; School Children's Aid, now in its 15th year, the means of keeping needy children in clothes and thus in school. It originated the Municipal Order League; the Political Equality League; and the Protective Agency for Women and Children. This protective agency has for its purpose the securing of justice to those who are wronged and helpless, by giving legal counsel free of charge and extending to them moral support. In the 18 years since it came into existence, it has handled 24,708 cases and collected in wages and other claims $35,202. These are a few of the many lines of extensive and original work which made the Chicago Woman's club in the first years of its organization unique among clubs, and which introduced into the club movement of Illinois a new type and standard.

The societies of this first decade in the club movement, being few in number, have been given specific and individual mention because they mark the beginning of the movement and because they illustrate the different types, even as we find them to-day after nearly 30 years.

In the second decade of this movement, 1880–1890, the development was in numbers rather than in methods, and literary societies became generally distributed in towns and cities throughout the State. Some included both men and women in their membership. One of the few remaining in that plan is the Author's club of Springfield, which has met fortnightly since February, 1882. The range of topics considered in these 22 years is similar to that pursued in all literary societies and embraces history and literature of all people, science, philosophy, economics and biography. How comprehensive these studies have been can hardly be suggested until club calendars of by-gone years set it before us.

Classes for the study of Shakesperean drama and Browning clubs were popular in the latter years of this period, and extended beyond it. There were, however, a few clubs organized on the new and broader basis of a departmental club. Among these were the Peoria Woman's club, founded in 1886. It has, during the past 18 years, centralized the literary, musical and philanthropic interests of the city and has become a strong body of influence.

In 1887 the same result was achieved in Decatur by bringing together a number of existing societies—musical, literary, art study and philanthropic—and making of them one incorporate body. A monument to the harmony and wisdom of the plan is seen in the substantial club house built by the members through the formation of a stock company.

The most active period of the Woman's Club movement in Illinois, as in other states, has been from 1890 to the present time. This period has been active not only in the number of societies formed, but also in the advancement of those already existing, and has been characterized by the inauguration or development of great national associations of women. The Columbian exposition greatly facilitated

these national movements, and with its splendid exhibits and its congresses and its gatherings of representative women exerted a stimulating influence in the Woman's Club movement of this State.

The Woman's Relief corps instituted in 1883 as auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, has been established in 240 army posts in the department of Illinois, and 12,000 Illinois women are enrolled in it, in pledge of loyal relief of needy families of United States' soldiers.

The Daughters of the American Revolution, founded 14 years ago, has extended until it is represented by chapters in every state in the Union. Illinois, with 31 chapters and 2,200 members, ranks among the highest of the states in respect to numbers, and claims pre-eminence as having in the Chicago chapter, the oldest chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Daughters of the Revolution has an Illinois State society, organized in 1901. The Dames of the Loyal Legion instituted a society of the State of Illinois in May, 1899. Its object is to cherish the memory of those whose distinguished services during the civil war aided in preserving the integrity of the government. All these associations strive to foster the spirit of ardent patriotism and to obtain and preserve records pertaining to national and local history.

The National Council of Women and the International Council of Women were founded in 1888, and, with their affiliations, they are the largest and most powerful associations in the world. All the greater organizations of women in the United States are affiliated with the National Council.

The National Congress of Mothers which has a branch in our State is one of the recent organizations, having been instituted in Washington on Feb. 17, 1897.

The General Federation of Woman's clubs which was organized in New York in 1889, held its next session in Chicago in 1892. So much of pleasure and of profit came from this meeting with club women from other states, that the matter of a federation of clubs in our own State was soon under consideration. Mrs. Clara P. Bourland called a meeting for this purpose in Chicago on Oct. 11, 1894, when with great unanimity the Illinois Federation of Woman's clubs was brought about. Seventy-seven clubs came into the federation the first year, and the number has increased to 246, representing a membership of 24,000 women. While there are double this number of societies in the State, those that have come into this federation are the strongest, most forceful organizations, and they represent every district and all the larger towns in the State. The organization is on the congressional district plan, with a vice-president from each district, in addition to the usual officers. In this way all the clubs are kept in close touch with the work of the federation.

There are 19 standing committees. Besides the ones relating to the conduct of business and meetings, there are the education, domestic science, literature, art, music, forestry, library extension,

philanthropy, civil service, industrial and legislation. These committees are the life of the federation, and through them, all clubs are made familiar with the most advanced ideas in their special and various lines of work.

The art committee has eight collections of good photographs, water colors, etchings, pottery and glass, wall papers, textiles and rugs, which are loaned at cost of expressage for exhibition, or for club study. The literature and music committees strive to create higher standards and are ready to offer suggestions for programs. A musical library is loaned to clubs desiring it. Library extension is carried on by means of 225 traveling libraries which have been contributed by clubs through the State—they contain 11,000 volumes, and are sent to schools, clubs, or country places, at cost of transportation. The philanthropy committee urge the seeking out and the care of the unfortunate, and in co-operation with the education, industrial and legislation committees, has helped to frame and secure the passage of some of the best corrective laws affecting women and children that have ever become operative in the State. Among them may be mentioned the Juvenile court, the Compulsory education, and the Child Labor laws.

While these committees and the work done through them indicate what the federation stands for, they by no means represent its entire influence. No one club has in it all the elements of a perfect club. In this fact lies the strength of a union of many, since in a comparison of methods and plans, there results a modifying, and a development that brings all to a better standard. Through the federation, there has been in the past ten years much improvement in the character of clubs all through the State, even the most conservative have felt its influence. Ten years ago the majority were entirely literary in their scope, now, while sustaining the literary side in better arranged subjects of study, there are few that do not in addition to that, extend some support to worthy objects. Many small clubs have re-organized on the broader, more inclusive lines, indicated by the federation's work, while new organizations very generally adopt that method.

In the time allotted this paper, it is obviously impossible to even enumerate the great numbers of clubs of the present period. The most that can be attempted is to show some of the best and strongest features of their work.

Among these features, the mission of music and art has not been lost sight of. Both fill a large place in club plans and all departmental clubs have music sections. The Amateur Musical clubs of Bloomington and Belvidere, and the Beethoven of Havana, all organized in 1883, well illustrate the valuable influence of such societies. They not only add brightness and pleasure to club sessions, but exert a refining influence on the taste and appreciation of communities. Besides their own recitals and special programs for children and young people, these societies secure artists of note for concerts, and in every way conspire to elevate the standard of music.

The early art societies have been mentioned. Others have grown up, and in Chicago there are a number that are devoted to art interests, besides those that contribute in some way to the support of art. Among those which are identified with the woman's clubs are the Altrua circle, the Arché club, the Municipal Art league, the Niké, the Exhibition Committee of the Municipal Art league and the Public School Art society. The last two are sustained by the co-operation of many clubs in and around Chicago. The Arché has, from its inception, been one of the most influential of these in cultivating the sentiment for and appreciation of art. Organized in 1888 as a small circle, meeting to discuss art topics, it has now attained a membership of 400. It has held annual salons, giving artists opportunity to exhibit their work and to compete for prizes to the amount of $400, which is awarded each year. The Exhibition Committee of the Municipal art league is made up of delegates from various powerful clubs of the city. Its object is to promote the success of the annual exhibition of works of Chicago artists, which takes place at the Art Institute, when the artists and nearly all the clubs are brought together, and where much is accomplished for art life in Chicago. A number of clubs purchase annually one or more pictures at these exhibitions.

Educational affairs claim much attention, inasmuch as they bear so vital a relation to the welfare of children. A noticeable department of the club work in Bloomington are the Mother's clubs connected with the city schools. They have a large membership, and meet once a month to discuss the school work in its various phases. They have given entertainments to raise money for the purchase of pianos and other needed fixtures. They have helped to secure manual training in the high school, toward which the Woman's club of Bloomington gave $500, showing an interest in this work that is general throughout the State. This large club has also supported a kindergarten, as have clubs in Pekin, Alton, Chicago and other places. The Ravenswood Woman's club has found a way by which, for two years past, it has provided daily a warm lunch for 400 high school pupils at a cost of about nine cents per capita. Many clubs have evinced their interest in the public schools by decorating school rooms in the gift of good pictures and in supplying clothing for needy school children.

Domestic science has become one of the most absorbing objects with club women. The Fortnightly of Urbana has the honor of having introduced it as a study in the first school in the State to place it on its schedule. This was done in 1897, the members of the Fortnightly furnishing the necessary appliances by which 125 pupils had lessons in cooking and 800 in sewing. Chicago next introduced this study and now, largely through the influence of the clubs, the idea is being carried out in schools where funds are available for that purpose. Where this is not possible, the clubs, in several instances, have undertaken to give such instruction in Saturday classes. A signal success has been made by the Watseka Woman's club, which, organized in 1899, has for four years conducted a sewing school every

Saturday morning, with a salaried superintendent and eight volunteer teachers from the club. They have a two years outline of work and an enrollment of 75 each year.

Growing out of a very general concern evinced in this important subject, domestic science associations have been formed in a large number of counties through the State. They are, in most instances, affiliated with the farmer's institutes and hold their annual sessions at the same time. In some counties monthly or fortnightly meetings are held. From these county associations has grown the Illinois Association of Domestic Science, which was organized in 1898. In Chicago, interest in this subject led to the founding of the School for Domestic Arts and Sciences, which was established in 1901 through the co-operation of individuals and of women's clubs.

Village improvements have, in some places, been undertaken with marked success. In Winchester, the Monday club, and her daughter, the Portia, have made the little park in the business square a joy to all beholders. In Lincoln, a paved way to the cemetery and a beautiful stone entrance have been secured through efforts made by two clubs. In this city, too, and in several other towns, unsightly blocks, adjacent to railways, have been transformed into places of beauty with grass and flowers. In Freeport, a granite boulder, with an inscribed bronze tablet, has been set up by the club to mark the place of the Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858. In Springfield, the Woman's club led in the organization of the associated charities; and, in Jacksonville, the Woman's club, having successfully petitioned the board of education for the introduction of manual training and domestic science in the public schools, all clubs felt encouraged to unite this winter in a petition to the city council for the passage of an ordinance providing for a city matron. The ordinance was passed by a unanimous vote and the appointment to the office was made according to the recommendation of the club. And thus it is, in many ways, that clubs are giving attention to their local conditions and the needs apparent in their civic affairs.

The universal interest embodied in the clubs of today, however, whether they are new organizations or old ones "born again," is philanthropy. In its modern interpretation, philanthropy no longer means a scattering of alms, but requires the more costly service of giving of self in helping the unfortunate to find a way to help themselves Such an exemplification of altruistic service do we find in those who take up residence in the settlement houses, amid the squalor, poverty and ugliness of their surroundings. And, among the clubs for women in our great metropolis, none are more valuable than those connected with these settlements. There are perhaps 10 or 12 of them. Hull House Woman's club, with its 400 members, is the largest and the oldest, having been organized in 1892. These clubs are associations of women of different creeds and nationalities in a fellowship that broadens their sympathies and makes them tolerant. In the statement of their objects, we find these things: "The making of better wives, mothers, sister's and neighbors; the promotion of friendliness, of happy homes, healthful children, and the elevation of the idea of good citizenship and social responsibility."

The University of Chicago Settlement Woman's club, in the stock yards district, has secured for its neighborhood a free public bath and a gymnasium that is also used as an assembly-room for social gatherings. The women are observant of the condition and needs of their district, and a committee is sometimes appointed to confer with the ward alderman regarding the supply of garbage boxes, removal of refuse or other sanitary measures. The close of the World's Fair left many people without employment and, to relieve the distress, the Chicago Woman's club and the South Side club opened emergency work rooms, where needy women were provided with sewing and paid every night in groceries and clothing, receiving also a hot lunch free of charge. The work room of the South Side club was in the stock yards district, and was continued until 1901 when, the necessity for such assistance being no longer evident, the work was changed to that of a settlement character.

The Social Extension club, which grew out of this friendly movement, has secured for its tenement district a play ground 200 feet square. For several years this has been a source of enjoyment to the youth of this neighborhood, who heretofore had only the street, with its danger to life and morals.

Nothing is more worth doing than to help those who are doing their utmost to help themselves. Much valuable assistance is given in harmony with this idea. The West End Woman's club, among the score of alien causes to which it lends its support, has several in which it leads as a pioneer; one is the placing of a large number of typewriters in a night school where young women receive instruction free of charge. The Klio association is best and widely known through its philanthropic work in the management of the "Noonday Rest," where 1,900 self-supporting women take luncheon daily, with good wholesome food at its lowest expense, and with enjoyment of the fine pictures and library, the music and the rest rooms, that make the luncheon hour home like.

The Chicago Woman's aid, which, with 700 members, is engaged in so many philanthropies, supervises and pays for the art education of a gifted lad studying in the Chicago Art institute.

The founding and sustaining of a hospital is a great thing, because of the expense and responsibility involved; and yet several clubs in our State have undertaken this, because of its serious needs in their vicinities. The Champaign Social Science club was moved to act in this matter because of the sad case of a burned child with no one and no place to care for it properly. Through the generosity of Mr. Burnham and others, the hospital was built, and for ten years has been sustained by the club, though with much labor and anxiety. In Elgin the Woman's club maintains the Sherman hospital and a training school for nurses, raising $12,000.00 annually for that purpose. Danville has two hospital societies, and in Chicago the Children's Hospital society has led to the formation of the milk commission, which last summer greatly reduced the mortality among children, through the distribution of more than 190,000 bottles of

sterilized milk. The support of the Jackson Park sanitarium for infants, and of visiting nurses in tenement districts, are kindred philanthropies that are undertaken by other clubs.

The Woman's clubs of Austin, Park Ridge, Rogers Park and other suburban places have given country outings to children from the settlements and vacation schools. In these ways clubs have sought to make life safer, cleaner and happier for the children of the poor. Perhaps the greatest advance towards this is through the Juvenile Court law, by which young offenders may, as wards of the court, be placed in the care of probation officers who try to safeguard them from wrong doing, and help them to a better standard of morals. The support of a probation officer is a responsibility that has, most willingly, been assumed by several of the large clubs, and others make contributions for this purpose.

In some towns where there are many clubs a union has been formed among them. In Bloomington 12 of the most promising are united in a congress formed by the Men's College Alumni club. In Mattoon and Quincy the Local Council of Women combines all. The Cook County league brings together most of the 90 clubs in and around Chicago, and expedites the work that is common to all. Joliet and Rockford have their city federations. These federations promote social unity, and are admirable instruments in the consideration of civic affairs and in the directing of philanthropic enterprises; as has been proven in Rockford, where, through its federation of woman's clubs, 35 traveling libraries have been given the public schools, a library of 200 volumes given to an outlying industrial district, a Pingree garden managed, contributions made to the vacation schools and a juvenile court officer supported.

All these achievements, and many others which might be enumerated, are sources of gratification, and they show that through this club movement women are manifesting, as never before, an intelligent interest in municipal and state affairs which is of beneficial effect in our great commonwealth. And yet, beyond these accomplishments, is the good that, through the movement, has come to woman herself. By instinct and education, women are less democratic than men. The exclusive feeling has been fostered by long established conventionalities. Men have an easy good comradeship, a free and happy ignoring of differences in opinion and taste, which women should learn to emulate. The tendency of club life is to overcome this narrowness and to engender that kindly appreciation that recognizes merit of whatever order and whatever origin.

More important, too, than all the achievements mentioned, is a basic fact underlying and fundamental to them, which in its significance is of more importance than any, and through which is the

promise of greater things to come. This is the drawing together of women of communities, of the state and of the nation in mutual sympathy and helpfulness, in concerted study of affairs and in united effort to advance the well being of all. This is the most valuable fruitage of club life, and portends a time when woman also, freed from narrow hindering standards, may attain a truer conception of her own powers, and in her enlarged sphere of service in civic and in national life, help to realize that kind and humane social state that is the ideal federation of the world.

Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.

1894. Organized in Chicago.
1895. First Annual Meeting at Peoria.
1896. Second Annual Meeting at Springfield.
1897. Third Annual Meeting at Jacksonville.
1898. Fourth Annual Meeting at Chicago.
1899. Fifth Annual Meeting at Quincy.
1900. Sixth Annual Meeting at Rockford.
1901. Seventh Annual Meeting at Decatur.
1902. Eight Annual Meeting at Champaign and Urbana.
1903. Ninth Annual Meeting at Cairo.
1904. Tenth Annual Meeting to be held at Danville.

PRESIDENTS.

Name.	Address.	Years.
Mrs. H. H. Candee	Cairo	1894—1896
Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles	Freeport and Chicago	1896—1898
Mrs. Robert B. Farson	Chicago	1898—1900
Mrs. Thaddeus P. Stanwood	Evanston	1900—1902
Mrs. George R. Bacon	Decatur	1902—1904

CLUBS UNITING IN THE STATE FEDERATION IN THE FIRST YEAR OF ORGANIZATION.

Year.		Name of Club.
1895		
Jan.	1	Cairo Woman's Club.
	1	Decatur Woman's Club.
	1	Peoria Woman's Club.
	1	Champaign Social Science Club.
	1	Chicago Woman's League.
	3	Chicago Woman's Club.
	9	Lawndale Literary Club.
	10	Ottawa Monday Club.
	11	LaGrange Woman's Club.
	14	Springfield Every Wednesday.
	14	Waukegan Sesame Club.
	14	Chicago Every Wednesday.
	21	The Atlantic, Quincy.
	22	Wilmette Woman's Club.
	23	E. Re Nata, Streator.
	23	Chicago Friday Club.
	23	Ottawa Woman's Progress Club.
	24	Galesburg Hawthorne Club.
	31	Irving Park Woman's Literary Club.
Feb.	2	Argyle Park Portia Club.
	4	Streator Callers Club.
	4	Aurora Woman's Club.
	5	Chicago Household Economic Association.
	11	Ravenswood Woman's Club.
	14	Lake View Woman's Club.
	14	Chicago Alternate Club.
	14	Batavia Columbia Club.
	14	Chicago Hull House Woman's Club.
	16	Riverside Woman's Reading Club.
	16	Chicago Catholic Woman's National League.
	16	Henry Woman's Club.
	26	Kenwood Fortnightly.
Mar	5	Ottawa Tuesday Club.
	5	Elgin Womens' Club.
	12	Englewood, Harvard Woman's Club.
	13	Englewood, Home Club Fortnightly.
	15	Havana, Beethoven Club.
	19	LaHarpe Womens' Club.
	22	Danville Literary Class.
	25	Chicago Klio Association.
Mar.	25	Chicago Brotherhood National Council of Jewish Women.
1895		
April	8	Savana Womens' Literary Club.
	20	Jacksonville Wednesday Class.
	20	Aurora West Side Reading Circle.
May	2	Freeport Shakespeare Society.
	6	Effingham Emerson Club.
	8	Rogers Park Woman's Club.
	19	Pontiac Clionian Society.
	22	Monticello Woman's Club.
June	6	Woodlawn Woman's Club.
	12	River Forest Woman's Club.
	13	Sycamore Literary Columbian Club.
	24	Social Science Club of Champaign.
	24	Pekin Woman's Club.
July	2	Galesburg Mosaic Club.
	17	Chicago Olio Club.
	27	Pana Tuesday Club.
Aug.	2	Peoria Womens' Catholic League.
	22	Paris Monday Club.
Sept.	18	Englewood Nineteenth Century Club (Chicago).
	30	Pekin Woman's Club.
Oct.	1	Hinsdale Womens' Club.
	1	Jacksonville Monday Conversational Club.
	4	Evanston Womens' Club.
	5	Chicago South Side Club.
	6	Moline Daughters of the American Revolution.
	6	Dixon, Phidian Art Club.
	6	Chicago Newspaper Womens' Club.
	11	Chicago, Illinois Womens' Press Association.
	11	Springfield Woman's Club.
	11	Jacksonville Sorosis.
	11	Lacon Womens' Club.
	11	Moline Fortnightly.
	11	Monmouth Fortnightly Club.
	11	Toulon Womens' Club.
	11	Chicago West End Womens' Club.
	11	Woman's Keeley League, Bloomington.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF McKENDREE COLLEGE.

[By President M. H. Chamberlin, of McKendree College.]

The task assigned me by the President of this Society is not a little embarrassing, from the fact that the proprieties of this occasion would be violated were I to consume the time adequate for even its proximate fulfillment. Even the skeleton sketch to which I must confine myself, of a movement, the beginning of which runs parallel with the earlier civilization of Illinois, and which has maintained an unbroken existence for more than three quarters of a century, will have its deficiencies.

The history of Illinois education—especially as to its highest forms—when fully written, will prove one of its most interesting chapters. For the most part, the first promoters of higher education found its zealous adherents in the various religious denominations, and, in our earlier history, these organizations were so engrossed in antagonistic discussions, over what will now be conceded as mere dogmas, that the rivalry between them could hardly be held as fraternal. These antagonisms, coupled with the wholesome, though unfounded, fear on the part of "outsiders" of movements which might lead to the union of church and state, and, on the part of others, the unwholesome fear of the "Yankee" made it impracticable, prior to 1835, to secure legislation, from the General Assembly of the State, granting corporate privileges for denominational institutions.

The Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, severally, were active in their espousals of some corporate form of expression whereby education might be fostered under their respective auspices.

The Methodists, from the date of their coming into Illinois, were the ardent friends of education. After their organization, in 1824, into the Illinois Conference, embracing all the territory west of the Ohio to the Pacific—excepting Missouri—and north to the British Possessions, the question of providing an institution of learning for its patrons became a much discussed proposition among its people. At its annual session, held in Mt. Carmel, Ill., September, 1827, Rev. Peter Cartwright presented a memorial from certain citizens of Green county, praying the consideration of that body in behalf of establishing a Conference seminary. This led to the appointment of a committee of five, the Rev. Peter Cartwright being one of the number, to examine into the situation and report back to the Conference at its next session.

This can be fairly counted the beginning of McKendree college

McKendree College.—Original building erected in 1828, destroyed by fire January, 1856.

On Feb. 20, 1828—less than five months after the adjournment of the Conference—the people of Lebanon, a village of about 200 souls, to anticipate the action of this committee, determined, independent of church affiliations, that the seat of this proposed institution of learning should be located in their midst. Articles of association were promptly formulated by Rev. A. W. Casad, to which subscriptions were solicited "for the erection of an edifice for a seminary of learning to be conducted as nearly as may be, on the plan of Augusta college, Kentucky." The articles provided that "Any subscriber in the sum of ten dollars should become a shareholder—shares to be transferable," that each shareholder should be "entitled to send one scholar for each share, free of house rent, and charges for the public library, etc.; also shall be free from charge for fuel." The building was to be two stories in height and "not less than thirty-six by forty-eight feet, with two wings of suitable dimensions for convenience, to be commenced as soon as $600 dollars is subscribed." It was further provided that "The Illinois Conference is respectfully solicited to take the institution under its fostering care," etc., with the added statement that "It is very desirable that the Missouri Annual conference should unite with the Illinois conference and make it a conference seminary for both conferences" The final provision runs as follows: "In case the Conferences do not signify, by special communication to the secretary of the institution, their intention to aid the institution by the first of October, the stockholders shall, on notice, convene and select a suitable number of managers and other officers whose powers and duties shall be delegated to them by the stockholders."*

To these Articles of Organization, still preserved, are appended the names of 104 persons—three of them women—whose subscriptions toward establishing the institution aggregated the sum of $1,385.00.

As evidence of the systematic zeal with which these early pioneers were pushing this educational enterprise the subscribers met, on March 1st, and elected the following persons as trustees: Samuel H. Thompson, Nicholas Horner, George Lowe, Theophilus M. Nichols, Joshua Barnes, John Thomas, sr., Samuel C. Stites and David S. Witter. At this meeting it was resolved to erect an edifice, and A. W. Casad, Nathan Horner and George Lowe were appointed a committee to purchase a certain eight acre tract of land owned by Richard Bradsby, provided the same might be secured at a figure not exceeding $3.00 per acre; the committee also being authorized to let the contract for the erection of the building. On November 8th. the Conference not having, at its session in the preceding October, taken the institution under "its fostering care," as expressed in the Articles of Organization, the stockholders held a meeting and elected thirty-three managers, of which body the Rev. Samuel H. Thompson was made president, David S. Witter secretary and Nathan Horner treasurer.

*For Articles in full, and signatures, see appendix.—Exhibit 1.

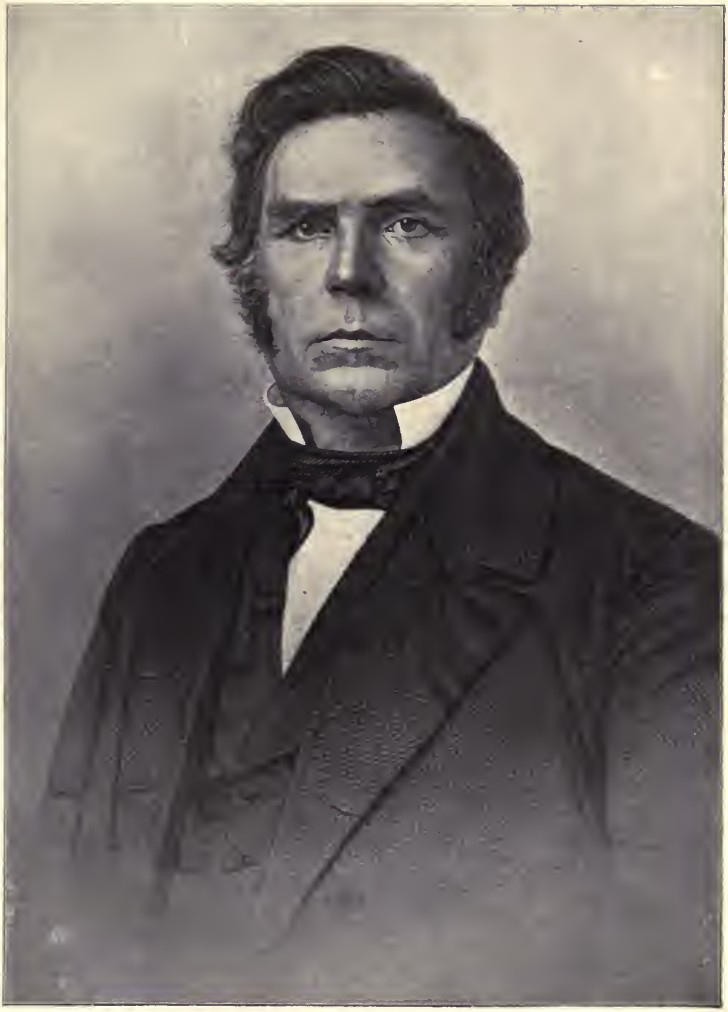
The managers were chosen from a wide area of territory and embraced some of the most conspicuous persons connected with the early day history of the State, as will be seen from the names here given: Rev. John Dew, Rev. Joshua Barnes, Col. Andrew Bankson, James Riggin, Thomas Ray, David L. West, Col. E. B. Clemson, Rev. Samuel Mitchell, sr., Wm. Padfield and Wm. Bradsby, of the County of St. Clair; Rev. Peter Cartwright and Charles R. Matheny, of Sangamon county; Hall Mason, Rev. Washingtun C. Ballard, John C. Dugger and Major Isaac Furgeson, of Madison county; Rev. Aaron Wood, of Mt. Carmel; Hon. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia; Rev. Smith L. Robinson, of Kaskaskia Circuit; John Tillson, jr., of Hillsboro; Peter Hubbard, of Bond county Charles Slade and Pomroy Easton, of Carlyle; John Logan, of Jackson county; Major John Phillips, of Washington county; Col E. C. Berry, of Vandalia; Dr. Thomas Stanton, of Waterloo; Rev. Zadock Casey, of Jefferson county; Rev. Andrew Monroe, Major John O'Fallon and George W. Kerr, of St. Louis City; Rev. Alexander McCallister, of St. Louis county, and Rev. Jesse Green, of Missouri District.

At the same session an elaborate Constitution* was formed, defining, in detail, the powers and privileges of the organization, as also By-laws and Rules were adopted. The nature of the work, both as to the Preparatory and College Departments, was indicated and the importance of employing some one capable of "teaching the higher branches of Mathematics, Natural and Moral Philosophy, and the Latin and Greek Languages" was emphasized. This was in keeping with the provision contained in the original Articles that the "Seminary of Learning" should be conducted "as near as may be on the plan of Augusta College, Kentucky," then in operation with full courses of collegiate studies.†

That no time should be lost in waiting for the completion of the building—preliminary steps for the erection of which had already been taken—the two school houses of the village were rented, and on Nov. 24, 1828, with Mr. M. R. Ames—subsequently Bishop—as principal, and Miss McMurphy, assistant, McKendree College, then known as "Lebanon Seminary," was opened for public patronage. The year was divided into two sessions of five months—each session being followed by one month's vacation. The terms of tuition were fixed for the "lower branches at $5.00 per session." and for the "higher branches," embracing Mathematics, Natural and Moral Philosophy and the Latin and Greek Languages, "at $7.00 per session." The close of the first term showed an enrollment of 72 students, five of whom were women, yielding a revenue of $464.41. The principal received, as compensation for his services, $115.00, and the assistant $83.33. The Board of Managers, by resolution, highly complimented Miss McMurphy for her excellence as a teacher, and appointed a

*For full text of Constitution see Appendix.—Exhibit 2.

†Augusta College, founded in 1822, was the successor of Cokesbury College, founded by the Methodists, near Baltimore Md., in 1785, and destroyed by an incendiary fire in 1795. Augusta College, yielding to the unfortunate influences created by the acrimonious discussion of the slavery question, closed its doors in 1844, leaving McKendree the oldest existing college having its origin under Methodist auspices.



Bishop E. R. Ames, D. D., L. L. D.—First Principal McKendree college, 1828.
From photograph taken in later years.

committee to urge her continuance in service for another session. Both Mr. Ames and Miss McMurphy were elected to their former positions, with equal salaries, each to receive $25 per month for a five months' session.

As a bit of history, it is as gratifying as it is significant, that McKendree, commencing its career with college espousals, in an era when it was seriously believed that the lack of "gray matter" in the brain of woman disabled her from the successful pursuit of any but the most simple sort of mental culture, should have made up its Board of Instruction (small though it was) from the two sexes, in equal numbers and on equal salaries, at the same time welcoming women to the privileges of tuition. This condition of things never met with a solitary protest in the legislation of the early managers. On the contrary, there was, up to 1836, constant solicitude on the part of its members to provide adequate means to meet the requirements of women students, and Mrs. Peter Akers, followed by Miss Polly Thorp, as faculty teachers, were successors to Miss McMurphy. About the last named date it seemed that feminine patronage disappeared, not from any hostile legislation on the part of the Board, but in spite of its persistent attempt to furnish adequate facilities for its proper maintenance. The records show that in the Board session of 1852, 1866, 1868 and 1869 the subject of co-education was resurrected, and while it was not restored until the latter date, by a vote of fourteen to seven, there is on record no evidence that the small minority held any other grounds of objection than inadequacy of preparation for its re-introduction. After thirty-five years of unbroken experience with the joint system of education, McKendree has no disposition to retrace its steps, or even to advocate "Segregation" of the lady students because, as is substantially held, by some, her superior precocity and intellectual grasp is so much more manifest than that of her brother, in the recitation room, as to discourage the latter in intellectual endeavor; nor on the further ground of her unfitness to create a splendid "college spirit" by itinerating in a costume not wholly unlike that of a knight of the middle ages, to do strenuous service in behalf of her college on the bone-breaking, insane-making and death-dealing "gridiron."

The building, the construction of which was commenced in 1828, was completed the succeeding year and, after 27 years of service, in 1856 the first erected edifice for higher education in the State of Illinois, went up in flames kindled by the hand of an incendiary.

In 1830 the Illinois Conference took McKendree College under its "fostering care," and at a general meeting of the stockholders a reorganization was effected whereby it was provided that in future there should be elected eleven managers by the Conference and five by the stockholders, to have in custody the affairs of the institution. Later, the Missouri Conference accepted the College as its institution, and for a time, sent visiting members to the sessions of its Board of Trustees. Its adhesion to the College, however, was lukewarm, induced by the growing sentiment against free state influences, and in a little time its official patronage was discontinued.

Bishop McKendree, about the period last named, in his rounds over a diocese embracing a territory half continental in its proportions, visited Lebanon. He was greatly pleased with the prospects of the new institution of learning and pledged, as a donation, 480 acres of land located in St. Clair county, for the promotion of its interests, with the expressed desire that the Missouri conference should join, with the Illinois, in giving its patronage and support. It was at this time that the name of the institution was changed to "McKendree College." So important did the Bishop hold the object of maintaining an institution of learning for the two conferences named, that he committed the execution of his will to the entire board of Bishops of the then undivided church, Bishops Roberts, Hedding, Andrew, Waugh, Morris and Soule. The last named was given power by his associates, to carry out the provisions of the will, which duty he performed by a conveyance of the land to McKendree college in 1839.

In 1834 the board of managers appointed a committee to petition the Legislature for a charter for the institution, under the name of "McKendrean College." The Baptists and Presbyterians in like manner, presented similar memorials, and, as an illustration of the old adage, "in union there is strength", it resulted in the passage of an omnibus bill*, which was approved Feb. 9th, 1835, granting charters for the Illinois, McKendrean and Shurtleff colleges, representing, respectively, the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations, all of which still exist and have done splendid work for western civilization. It should be stated that the original bill was amended to include a fourth institution, the "Jonesboro College" which passed out of existence many years ago, if indeed, it was ever organized. This amendment seems to have been required to secure the necessary vote to pass the bill. The trustees named in the act for the McKendrean college, were John Dew, Samuel H. Thompson, James Riggin, Nicholas Horner, George Lowe, Robert Moore, Theophilus M. Nichols, Joshua Barnes, Samuel Stites, David L. West, Nathan Horner, Joseph Foulke, Thornton Peeples, John S. Barger, Nathanial McCurdy, A. W. Casad and Benjamin Hypes—seventeen in all, ten of whom were laymen and the remainder clergymen.

The bill gave authority to these institutions to exercise the functions ordinarily incident to such organization; providing, however, "that lands donated or devised over and above 640 acres (which might be held in perpetuity) must be sold within three years of such donation, or be forfeited to the donor," and also provided "that nothing herein contained shall authorize the establishment of a theological department in either of said colleges." The act, not improperly, provided that "these institutions should be open to all denominations of christians." It did, however, authorize a school for manual training, in pursuance of which one was established by the college in 1836, and for a number of years was successfully maintained. The two restrictive provisions in the act, bear out the

* See full text of act in appendix—Exhibit 3.

Rev. Peter Akers, D. D.—First President McKendrean college under charter of 1835. From photograph taken in later years.

thought suggested in the opening of this paper, that a wide-spread suspicion prevailed that theological training would inculcate religious bigotry, which, coupled with the possibly gobbled-up lands of the State, would eventuate in subjecting the civil government to churchly domination.

That such modest and safe-guarded legislation, in behalf of higher education, should have passed the senate by a vote of only eleven to nine, now seems surprising. The able report of Mr. Mather, chairman of senate committee on petitions, in behalf of education in its higher form, and his plea for legislation in its favor, is a vigorous defense of education in general, while its italicized portions are significant, in that they show he was conducting an argument to reach two classes of opponents—those who were actively hostile to the petitioners, and those who were indifferent. That report* should be taken from its hiding place, in the senate journal, and printed in the publications of this society. As for its recitals of historic data, concerning the colleges for which charters were asked, it will not be surprising if errors are found concerning the institutions named, since, in the case of McKendree, he speaks of its patrons having "commenced their building four years ago," adding "the institution has been in operation about 12 months, with an enrollment of about 60" students. As already indicated, the first building was commenced seven years before, in 1828, and occupied in 1829, while recitations were actually commenced, in rented rooms, Nov. 24, 1828, with an enrollment of 72 matriculants.

The first president under chartered organization was the Rev. Peter Akers—chosen on recommendation of Bishop McKendree—who served one year on a salary $500.00. He was succeeded by Rev. John Dew, for a like period, to be followed by Prof. Annis Merrill, as acting president, who, a few months later, was joined by his brother, Rev. John W. Merrill, president-elect. These two, together with Prof. J. W. Sunderland and Judge William Brown of Morgan county—who came to the college about the same time—constituted a faculty which reduced the courses of study to systematic collegiate order, with a fittingly assigned division of labor. In the college work, the course leading to a degree was the classical, the order observed up to 1847, when a scientific course was added. Prior to 1836, it is believed no candidate had offered for the study of the Greek, though the Latin had been taught, as we learn from Professor Sunderland. The men composing this faculty were scholastic, ambitious and hopeful, with a full appreciation of the heroic efforts of the founders of the college, and, as Acting President Merrill stated to the writer, "they had dreams of another Harvard to be built up there, hard by the banks of the Mississippi river." At the instigation of President Merrill, and his coadjutors, Rev. John Dew, Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh and Judge William Brown, were appointed a committee to memorialize the general assembly for a new charter. Mr. Lincoln, then a member of that body, enlisted himself in the undertaking,

* For report in full see appendix—Exhibit 4.

with the result of securing a grant, quite in contrast with the legislation of 1835, authorizing not only the establishment of college courses but all manner of technical schools, with power to confer all manner of degrees and the holding of 3,000 acres of land in perpetuity, as well as any added amount, provided the same should be sold within the period of ten years after title to the same. The act contained a clause providing it should be in force only when the trustees of McKendrean college should accept the same. Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh was present at Vandalia, the capital of the State, on passage of the act, and hastened to Lebanon to have the McKendrean trustees officially signify its acceptance. This was in pursuance of the advice of Mr. Lincoln, who warned him that the largeness of the privileges secured by the act,* if fully realized by those opposed to legislation of this character, might lead to a successful effort for its recession. The act was approved Jan. 26, 1839, was accepted by the "McKendrean" trustees at a called meeting nine days later, Feb. 4th, and evidently, that no question might arise concerning the validity of the legislation because of its occurence at a called meeting, the acceptance of the charter was re-affirmed at a regularly stated meeting of the trustees on March 4, 1839. This is a significant item, since it shows not only a lurking danger of a reversal of the action of the Legislature, because of dormant prejudices which might easily have been excited, but by reason of the bit of sentiment found in the solicitude of one who subsequently became one of our greatest of presidents, in an act he assisted to create in behalf of higher education.

The jubilant faculty and citizens of the village held the occasion whereby the "splendid charter" was secured, worthy of a celebration, and by resolution of the board, Professor Sunderland was appointed to illuminate the front college windows with candles, and speeches were made by Rev B. T. Kavanaugh, Judge William Brown and others, commemorating the occasion.

The argumentation of the faculty, and the thorough classification of the work of the institution, already alluded to, led to the graduation of the first class in 1841—all classical—seven in number. The year preceding, Rev. W. D. R. Trotter had been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on examination in the entire course of study, in pursuance of a clause in the charter providing for such cases, while the first honorary degree conferred was that of Doctor of Divinity, in 1839, on Rev. Peter Akers, the first president of the college.

President Merrill, in a letter to the writer, alluding to the excellent work of the first graduating class, said, "the class read as much Greek as was required at that time by the best of American colleges." On his retiracy, in 1841, he was succeeded by Rev. James C. Finley, M. D., who resigned in 1845, at which time, by order of the board of trustees, the college was closed from Nov. 17th of that year, to May, 1846—a period of six months—its discouraged patrons, because of long continued financial embarrassment, even debating the prudence of ever again opening its doors. In succession came to the head of

* For full text of the charter see appendix—Exhibit 5.

Rev. John W. Merrill, D. D.—President McKendree college, 1836 to 1842.
From photograph taken in later years.

the college, Dr. Peter Akers, Dr. Erastus Wentworth, Dr. Anson W. Cummings, Dr. Peter Akers for a third term, and Dr. Nelson E. Cobleigh, with terms of service of one, four, two, six and five years, respectively, the last named closing his administration in 1863.

We have carried the presidential succession down to the latter date for the reason that Dr. Cobleigh's administration created an epoch in the history of the institution, in that he was successful in establishing the nucleus of an endowment upon which its friends could anchor their faith for the future. In other words, it was the bringing to fruition the labors of those who had gone before, and the close of his administration might be, not inaptly, styled the heroic period of the institution. Dr. Robert Allyn—an experienced educator and able financier, the successor of President Cobleigh—in alluding to the success of the endowment proposition of the latter, wrote: "Then the dry land first began to appear, and it was solid, too, and will bear any structure built upon it" Following Dr. Cobleigh, twelve presidents, including the present incumbent, elected in 1894, have administered the affairs of the college. Since it is not the province of this paper to dwell upon the more recent events, we again revert to the earlier history of our subject.

The records of the Board of Trustees, unbroken from the date of McKendree's founding to the present, are a source of information of intense interest, as illustrating the high ideals entertained and the labors and sacrifices endured by the early pioneers, who systematically, and in organized form, established this oldest college in the State, dedicated, from its inception, to higher education. In these records will be found every manner of legislation which it was thought could in any way promote the interest of the institution. Frequent sessions of the Board, all day sessions, adjourned to "early candle-light" and continued until the candles had burned low in their sockets, show with what persistent zeal our fathers sought to promote the interests of this cherished enterprise.

The completion of the original building, in 1829, entailed a debt, which was augmented by minor improvements made necessary by the rapidly growing demands of the institution In 1838 a loan was effected in the sum of $5,000 from the "Bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown," which, under order of the trustees, provided that so much of the same as might be necessary to pay all pressing debts—estimated at $2,500—should be so appropriated and the residue applied on a building, the construction of which had then been authorized. The financial straits to which the promoters of McKendree's interests were subjected seemed in no sense to diminish their enthusiasm for the consideration of any question which looked toward the enlargement of the scope of its usefulness.

As already stated a Manual Training department was introduced in 1836, while legislation looking toward Agricultural, Normal, Biblical and Law departments were seriously considered; none of which, however, took the form of permanency, except the Law school, which was founded by Governor French in 1858.

Almost from the beginning the necessity of endowments was felt

by McKendree's patrons, and some policy by which this deficiency might be met was made the oft repeated subject of consideration. The scholarship plan was thought to be the most available and four separate attempts were made, all of which except the last proved abortive. The sales were made on time notes, the large majority of which defaulted, and the institution was glad to get rid of the incumbrance on a basis of compromise, though a losing proposition. From the last investment $10,000 out of $20,000 was realized, but not without disagreements, and at times an exhibition of bad blood, which makes it a matter of doubt whether that which was secured was worth what it cost the institution. In the first ten years of its history more than a score of financial agents were appointed to solicit donations, sell scholarships already mentioned, and to otherwise enlist the patronage of the public. Indeed, at a called session of the board held in 1832, one Judah Ely, of Philadelphia, was appointed an agent "to solicit donations in Great Britain" for endowments, and the succeeding year Rev. Smith L. Robinson was appointed to travel "throughout the United States" for a like purpose, while Rev. James Mitchell was constituted an agent "to travel throughout Illinois and Missouri" for the same object. At first there may seem a bit of grim humor in the transatlantic agency, but it will not be forgotten that about that time our English cousins were making liberal donations to western denominational enterprises, notably the Episcopal, and the fact that McKendree was officially recognized by two Conferences, embracing practically the whole Mississippi Valley, caused our fathers to feel no small degree of hope that an agent, with such formidable prestige, might meet with encouragement on such a mission. As to the question of his ever having gone on his mission, the records are silent, nor is there any evidence of success in the the case of either Robinson or Mitchell, though appointed to a territory which, educationally speaking, McKendree had preempted.

A plan for building up the finances of the institution was devised by Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh, which, but for unforeseen circumstances, might have proven eminently successful. It was for the college authorities to locate public lands for eastern capital—at that time eager for such investments—the college and the investor to share equally in the results, if, at the end of five years, the locations made should prove double the value of the original price of purchase. This, at first, met with decided encouragement. Investments were made by some capitalists in Philadelphia and Washington, but the veto, by General Jackson, of the bill for a National Road, which was expected soon to reach Illinois, and the subsequent collapse of the State banks, put a quietus on land investments. Some of these lands evidently vested, for subsequent legislation of the Board signifies that they, as also certain other tracts near Lebanon, including those bequeathed by Bishop McKendree, together with a large amount of brick which had been made for the contemplated new building, were ordered sold to relieve the tension of accumulated debts which imperiled the existence of the institution. Even after this action, debts still remained. Indeed, every administration, even to the present, inherited the legacy of debt, increasing and dimin-

Hon. Annis Merrill, L. L. D.—Professor Ancient Languages, 1836 to 1842.
From photograph taken in later years.

ing by turns, until the last vestige of incumbrance was wiped out in 1895, with no probability of so dire a foe ever again menacing the prosperity of the institution.

Touching the money bequests of which the institution has been made the subject, some conception may be had of the burden added to its financial misfortunes when it is stated that in all cases—except as to the sum of $500, recently vested—expensive suits at law had to be maintained against contesting heirs, wherein benefactions out of which the college should have realized more than $50,000, yielded but little above one-third that amount. Such experiences emphasize the superior benevolent wisdom of benefactors like Dr. D. K. Pierson, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller and Miss Helen Gould, who make their donations while living, thereby saving the public from the unseemly exhibitions of cupidity so often practiced by heirs over the graves of their relatives, by reason of which the generous purposes of the latter in behalf of great and enduring objects are ignominiously defeated.

The oft repeated efforts to secure a new building, and for which at one time much material had been gathered, but had to be sold for the payment of debts, finally culminated in the erection of a three story brick structure 44x64, under the administration of Dr. Wentworth, with money raised by the late Dr. William Goodfellow.

The mention of some of the earlier names to the exclusion of others who could fittingly be chronicled in this sketch, if space permitted, will be excused when it is stated that the material is being gathered for a full history of McKendree, and will prove a sufficient apology for what might otherwise be construed as unwarranted omissions.

Bishop McKendree, after whom the college was named, and who was its chief early benefactor, entered the ministry from the battle fields of the Revolution, where he served as Washington's most trusted commissary. He was a man of great accomplishments and power and the late Dr. McClintock wrote of him, "he was not only the most truly eloquent bishop that his church has ever produced, but one of the best preachers of any age or church." Ames, the first principal, was a modest, scholarly gentleman, who, while serving as teacher at Lebanon seminary, applied for license to preach and secured his authority by the suffrage of a colored preacher, who broke a tie vote on his application, afterwards became one of the most influential bishops of his church. Dr. Akers, the first president of the college, was a profound theologian, and Mr. Lincoln said of him, "he is the greatest preacher I ever heard." Rev. John Dew, the successor of Dr. Akers, was a flaming preacher and a man of fine judgment. Dr. Merrill, together with his brother, Annis; J. W. Sunderland and Judge Brown, who inspired the university charter, under which the college is now acting, and who, as elsewhere mentioned, systematized the courses of study in collegiate order, were all accomplished scholars. The first left McKendree to accept the chair of Sacred Literature in the Wesleyan Theological institute at Newberry, Vt.,

and after a life of remarkable usefulness as teacher and preacher, died in 1900, aged 92 years; his brother, Annis, after leaving the college, settled in San Francisco, where he practiced law with eminent success and is still living, in full possession of his faculties, at the age of 92; Professor Sunderland, after his term of service, taught in Ursanus college, Penn., subsequently founding, and maintaining, for 17 years, the Pennsylvania Female college, claimed to be the first established institution in the world with a high grade college curriculum for women, died at the age of 91, on the 9th of April of the present year; while Judge Brown was a lawyer of distinction in Jacksonville, Ill., where he died many years ago. President Finley was a man of fine attainments and dignity of character, and his successor, Dr. Wentworth, was a superior preacher, a popular administrator and an efficient teacher. From McKendree he went to China as a missionary, returning to this country to take editorial charge of the "Ladies' Repository," published in Cincinnati, and died at Sandy Hill, N. Y. in 1886 in the 73rd year of his age. Dr. Cobleigh was an able preacher, a superior executive officer and an eminently successful teacher. He went from McKendree to the editorlship of the "Zion Herald," Boston, and from there to the presidency of Athens college, Tenn., thence to Atlanta, Ga., where by appointment of the general conference of his church he served as editor of the Christian Advocate until the date of his death in 1874.

Of those not connected with the board of instruction, much might be fittingly said. The names of those most active in support of the institution, in its early history, have already been given in connection with the various organized forms the college assumed from the date of the original articles up to the time of securing the university charter of 1839. In the lists, the names of some will be noted who were conspicuous in the religious, political and social life of the State—even dating back to its territorial existence; Dr. Peter Cartwright, Col. John O'Fallon, Governor Jenkins, Governor Casey, Governor Kinney, Col. E. B. Clemson, and others. In labors abundant will be found the names of Rev. S. H. Thompson, first president of the board under the charter of 1835, and Rev. Thornton Peeples, his successor. Rev. John S. Barger, James Riggin, H. K. Ashley and Governor Jenkins, each rendered a term of service as secretary of the board, while Joseph Foulke and Benjamin Hypes held the important post of treasurer—the latter continuously from 1836 to 1873. Rev. A. W. Casad was auditor in 1836, followed by H. K. Ashley, J. W. Sunderland and Rev. Davis Goheen in the same office. The last named came from the east about the time the six months' suspension of the college had been voted by the board, because of debts which had become so onerous. Mr. Goheen, with a genius for organization, was a good financier and an enthusiastic worker for the institution, and in a little time he had the flagging hopes of the older patrons reestablished. Early in the California gold excitement—together with his brother, S. M. E. Goheen, M. D.—he set his face toward that new Eldorado, his chief purpose, as tradition has it, being to find the hidden treasure which would establish McKendree, but died of

James W. Sunderland, L. L. D.—Professor Mathematics and Natural Sciences, McKendree college, 1836 to 1842. From photograph taken in later years.

cholera at Independence, Mo., while outfitting for his journey. Benjamin Hypes, in helpful service, will always stand conspicuous in the history of the institution. He was a Virginian, a student under Ames when the school first opened, was elected to the board in 1835, which position he held continuously until 1896, when he was gathered to his fathers at the age of 92 years. In the meantime he had given 38 years of unbroken service to the office of treasurer. He was a merchant, and it may be safely said that, next to his family, McKendree college was the most cherished object of his devotion and for its interests did more than any other person. He sacrificed for it and was one of the few who never lost hope in its darkest hours A son of his, Dr. Benjamin Hypes, of St. Louis, is now a member of the board and a worthy successor of his father. There are two other instances wherein the present board holds representatives from families who were signers of the original articles of organization; Dr. Jotham Scarritt of Cairo, now the longest in service of any member of that body and always eminently useful, and John M. Chamberlin, who has served as treasurer the past 16 years, and of whose father, Rev. David Chamberlin, President Allyn wrote, "But one or at most two men, appear to have done more than he" for the institution. Nathan Horner, whose father, Nicholas Horner, was the largest original subscriber for McKendree's founding, was one of the most useful of the board members. He was a good financier and cheerful giver. His son, H. H. Horner, recently deceased, was a member of the first graduating class, became an influential lawyer, and for several years occupied the post of Dean of the Law department in his Alma Mater. Of Dr. M. M. McCurdy, whose interest was abiding, and whose well-meant bequest melted away after his death, before vesting in the college, an interesting chapter might be written. Dr. Thomas Staunton of Alton, was also an early benefactor, while Rev. Samuel Mitchell, as also Rev. James Mitchell, Rev. Jesse Renfro and others of the clergy, included among the names elsewhere given, constitute a class of men who held the cause of higher education as an essential auxiliary to the propagation of the great mission to which their lives were dedicated.

The jubilation over the new Charter of 1839 has been dwelt upon, but, as an item showing the tendency of thought on certain questions at that early period, the substance of a certain preamble and resolutions, by Rev. W. S. McMurray and Rev. J. S. Barger, are here given. The preamble recites the fact that a University Charter had been secured authorizing the establishing of all manner of schools and departments, by reason of which fact there might be those who would experience fear lest the organization of a theological school might be effected, "contrary to the genius, the spirit and institutions of the Methodist Episcopal church;" and it was resolved: First, that no such school should ever be established; second, that the professors should be restrained from talking favorably of such departure; third, that the advocacy of abolition would prove prejudicial to the interests of the institution, and that if any member of the board, agents, or faculty, should be found advocating that doctrine, it would be held

as sufficient grounds to dispense with the services of such offenders. These resolutions were all adopted except the second, thereby leaving the discussion of theological schools, by the faculty, an open question. That a resolution forever prohibiting the organization of a theological school was adopted by a body of men so zealous in behalf of higher education, would, at first thought, seem paradoxical. Whatever may have been their motive, it is true that the number of those who ardently favor higher education, and who feel that a candidate for the ministry—after completing a thorough classical education—can afford to dispense with a theological school, is increasing rather than diminishing. At all events, it may be said, no matter what induced the fathers to issue the perpetual injuction against a theological department, their sucessors, time and again, sought its dissolution and were only frustrated by lack of the means to inaugurate the innovation. Touching the resolution on the slavery question, it simply emphasizes how acute the question of abolition had become at that time; a feeling that grew stronger with the lapse of time, since nine years later, in rebuke of a rumor circulated against the faculty, the board found it necessary to pass the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, that there is no evidence that any member of the faculty is an abolitionist, but much proof to the contrary, and that we consider such reports slanderous."

As early as 1834 the board legislated for the establishment of a weekly periodical to be published in the interest of education. For the want of means, this movement failed to take form until 1847, at which time it was organized with Davis Goheen, Benjamin Hypes and George L. Roberts as publishers, and Dr. Erastus Wentworth as editor. It was an able paper, served an excellent purpose, but after its maintenance for a few years, as an expensive luxury, it was transferred to the city of St. Louis and published as the "Central Christian Advocate," from which place it was moved four years ago to Kansas City, where it is now issued by the Methodist Book concern, as one of the strong and influential journals of that denomination, under the supervision of the accomplished Rev. Dr. Claudius B. Spencer, as editor.

It will be noted that this sketch has had to do, more particularly with the first few years' history of the college, incidentally touching upon subsequent matters because of their intimate connection with that period of struggle. That the pioneers of whom we have spoken had high ideas touching the future of the college has been clearly indicated, and to the credit of their successors be it said, they have sought to maintain them. For a time, it is true, something in the way of commercial courses found footing; though, even then, the collegiate courses were insistenty maintained as all important. In recent years, however, everything of a superficial character has been eliminated and the two college courses—classical and scientific—hold the attention of the students with 76 per cent of their number pursuing the classical. The present faculty have no inclination to fol-

low the much too common modern method of short courses of study, and the elimination of certain of the classics, on the theory that education should be "practical"—the latter term simply signifying that brain culture is to be commercialized, with the measure of its merit expressed by the sign of the dollar.

The early struggle to erect the second building spoken of as having been brought to a successful issue, under the administration of Dr. Wentworth, has been followed by a new chapel and library hall, combined, under Dr. Cobleigh's administration, a science hall under Dr. Allyn, and a new gymnasium during the year current. $35,000 of productive endowment is on the institution and it is expected soon to have a $100,000 added, since $80,000 of the amount is already promised. That point reached, and the sure beginning will be effected towards making McKendree what was planned for it in the charter of 1839—an outcome which its more than 76 years of history warrents, and the sacrifices of its pioneer founders merit.

Think of it; the 104 subscribers to the original articles which called McKendree into being, comprised more than one-half of the population of Lebanon, a village located in a woodland strip, along an old Indian trail scarcely obliterated by the emigrant's wagon; to the east, a full 100 miles to the first settlement, and to the west, 20 miles, where St. Louis, a mere trading post, was being built up by a brave lot of pioneers who had the prophetic feeling that it would one day become a city which would prove the gateway to the whole of the great southwestern country. It was this latter fact which inspired Bishop McKendree to feel that Lebanon was a most fitting place for a great institution of learning, and led him to give his lands toward establishing the institution which bears his name.

A fitting question now is, "what is the value, what the fruitage of all these labors?" The answer is found in the more than 9,000 young men and women who have gone out from this institution into various fields of endeavor, having finished, wholly or partially, its course of study. The pulpit of every denomination—not excepting the Catholic; lawyers with national reputation—the one who delivered your annual address being among the number; distinguished physicians and surgeons; college presidents and professors and teachers in our public schools; the founders of colleges and newspapers and numberless editors: judges of our higher courts; generals of the army—two of whom have served their country in two hemispheres—as well also, those who have labored in less conspicious but equally useful vocations, will furnish a list of names who can answer to roll call as having felt the influence of McKendree's power.

At this moment, Illinois feels the potent influence of McKendree's sons. The honored president of this society was once a McKendree student, while seven of the judges now occupying seats on the bench of the higher courts of this State, were students at this institution, and three of her graduates preside over Illinois colleges.

It may also be added that the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor on one of the great party tickets, as well as the candidate for attorney general on the other, and three candidates for Congress hold McKendree as their Alma Mater.

These are the fruits of thy labors, and these be thy jewels, oh wilderness fathers, and, while the influence of your lives can never be lost, ours be the loving task to see that never so much as your names are left unwritten in our annals.

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF McKENDREE COLLEGE.

EXHIBIT I.

Copy of Organization Articles of McKendree College, (formulated under date of Feb. 20, 1828.)

We, the undersigned, estimating mental improvement of the first importance to a commonwealth, as well as in a political, moral and religious view, promise to pay the several sums annexed to our names for the purpose of creating an edifice in, or near, the town of Lebanon, St. Clair county, Ill., for a seminary of learning, to be conducted as nearly as may be, on the plan of Augusta College, Kentucky, the hall of which shall be designed and used as a house of public worship, when this will not interfere with the design and object of the institution, and on the Sabbath day.

2nd. The property shall be deeded to the Methodist Episcopal church for the purpose of safe keeping, and the benefits of incorporation with this limitation, that it shall never be sold or appropriated to any other uses than as aforesaid, without the consent of all the shareholders.

3rd. Ten dollars shall be the amount of a share, and a certificate from the board, countersigned by the secretary, shall entitle the holder to the benefits of a stockholder, which certificate may be transferred and entitle the holder to all the benefits of the original owner as a stockholder.

4th. Each shareholder, for each share, shall be entitled to one vote, in all elections for the appointment of such committees, and other officers elective by a stockholder, to send one scholar for each share, free from house rent, and charge for the use of the public library, etc., and also shall be free from charge for fuel.

5th. The Illinois Annual Conference is respectfully solicited to take the institution under its fostering care, and take such methods for increasing its funds, and endowing it with professors, and procuring other means for its advancement as may to them seem best and it is very desirable that the Missouri Annual Conference should unite with the Illinois Conference, and make it a Conference seminary for both Conferences.

6th. Should the annual conference refuse to accept the institution, the quarterly conference of Illinois circuit is requested to act in conjunction with the quarterly conferences in this district in its support. Each circuit shall have a right to elect one manager, and stockholders shall elect seven from among themselves whose duty it

shall be to solicit donations and subscriptions. They, or a majority of them, shall constitute the board of managers for the governing of the institution, selecting professors and teachers, library, astronomical, chemical and philosophical apparatus, elementary books, etc. They shall regulate the internal economy, fix the price of tuition, specify the terms of session, recess and vacation, and by their by-laws, direct and ordain such rules as may tend to its advancement, good order and respectability.

7th. The stockholders shall meet at the school house, in Lebanon, on the 1st day of March, ensuing, for the purpose of electing a building committee, secretary, and treasurer, defining their duty, and specifying the compensation for their services, and to transact such other business as the interests of the institution may require.

8th. The principal building shall not be less than 36 feet by 48, with two wings of suitable dimensions for convenience, to be commenced as soon as $600 is subscribed. The subscription shall be paid to the treasurer in three installments, as follows: One-fourth on the 1st of June, one-fourth on the 1st of September, and one-half on the 1st of December ensuing.

9th. In case the conferences do not signify, by special communication to the secretary of the institution, their intention to aid the institution by the 1st of October, the stockholders shall, on notice, convene and elect a suitable number of managers, and other officers, whose power and duties shall be delegated to them by the stockholders.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

Name.	Amount.	Name.	Amount.
Nicholas Horner	$100 00	Robert Abernathy	$ 10 00
Nathan Horner	50 00	Robert Moore	10 00
Robert Rankin	20 00	Theodore M. Nichols	10 00
John O'Fallon	10 00	Evan Barnes	10 00
A. W. Casad	50 00	Elijah Moore	10 00
George Lowe	20 00	James Porter	10 00
Edward Young	20 00	Meredith Jurney	10 00
Charles McDonald	20 00	Samuel Stites	10 00
Philonidas Baich	20 00	Austin Lyon	5 00
Daliel S. Witter	20 00	Robert Middleton	10 00
John Crocker	20 00	Peter Wright	10 00
Samuel R. Thompson	20 00	John McDonald	10 00
Charles Collins	10 00	Jacob Widmer	10 00
Josiah Patterson	10 00	John Thomas, Sr	10 00
James S. Simpson	10 00	William Moore	10 00
George McDonald	10 00	John Springer	10 00
John Lowe	10 00	Thomas Stanton	10 00
Silas McCann	10 00	Caldwell Morrison	10 00
William Faires	10 00	William Clark	10 00
Richard Vanorsdol	10 00	I. Baum	10 00
Thomas Ray	10 00	Thomas B. Stevens	10 00
James Riggin	10 00	E. B. Clemson	30 00
Abraham Sublet	10 00	James Moore	10 00
F. T. Crabb	10 00	William Middleton	10 00
Moses Twiss	10 00	Adam Vineyard	10 00
C. W. Ennis	10 00	Daussy Boring	10 00
Joseph Hypes	10 00	William Welsh	10 00
George W. Vineyard	10 00	John Brake	10 00
Asa Hutchinson	10 00	James S. McCann	10 00
Prettyman Beyce	10 00	James McCann, Sr	10 00
Thomas Nichols	10 00	David Chamberlin	50 00
Pleasant Nichols	10 00	Welsey Dugger	20 00
Joshua Barnes	10 00	William Parkinson	10 00

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES—*Concluded.*

Name.	Amount.	Name.	Amount.
Wharlotte Sherman and Abigail Scarrett	$ 10 00	John Martindale	$ 10 00
Phillip Teter	10 00	George Temple	10 00
Dempsie Guthrie	10 00	David Lincoln	10 00
Abner Oliver Kelley	10 00	Geo. W. Kerr	10 00
Martin L. Allen	10 00	Betsey M. Riggin	10 00
John C. Dugger	20 00	John Dew	10 00
Phillip Searsey	10 00	Charles Slade	10 00
Isaac McMahan	10 00	J. C. Bruner	10 00
John Thomas, Jr	10 00	Huey Alexander	10 00
Vison West	10 00	Joseph Folks	10 00
David L. West	10 00	Gen. James Moore	10 00
Isaac Furgeson	20 00	Enoch Moore	10 00
Jarrett Dugger	20 00	Milton Moore	10 00
W. C. Ballard	20 00	Danile Whittenburgh	10 00
Daniel White	10 00	Thornton Peeples	10 00
William Lewis	10 00	William W. Roman	10 00
Samuel Mitchell, Sr	10 00	Thomas Mather	10 00
William C. Brown	10 00	T. W. Gray	10 00
		William Lunceford	10 00

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH McKENDREE COLLEGE—EXHIBIT 2.

Constitution, adopted by Board of Managers, Nov. 8th, 1828.

Article 1. Agreeably to the design of the original projectors of the aforementioned seminary of learning, said institution shall be placed under the control and management of the Illinois and Missouri Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, or either of said conferences, under the limitations and on the conditions hereinafter named: provided said conferences, or either of them, shall at any further period accept the same and make it a conference seminary.

Art. 2. All the property now belonging to the seminary, including the buildings and lands appropriated to the same, or which may be hereafter received by purchase or donation, that has not already been conveyed, shall be conveyed to trustees for the use and benefit of the Methodist Episcopal church in manner and form as near as may be, agreeably to the deed of settlement contained in the discipline of said church securing the privileges of churches and meeting houses; provided the property aforesaid shall never be sold or appropriated to any other use or uses, than specified by the articles of association, to which the original subscriptions were appended, and provided further that all individual privileges granted and guaranteed to shareholders shall by this constitution be secured inviolate.

Art. 3. For the better organization of said institution and with a view to carry into immediate effect the designs of its patrons and friends, there shall be appointed by the stockholders, a board of managers, consisting of 33 members of the Methodist Episcopal church, who shall have authority to make by-laws to regulate their own proceedings, and whose duty it shall be to regulate the internal concerns of the institution, to appoint the times of sessions and vacations, fix the terms of tuition, elect a president and professors, procure and appoint competent teachers, regulate their salaries, take such measures as to them may seem best, to increase the funds of the institution, and in connection with the professors, attend the public examinations of the students and adopt as they may think proper a system of salutary discipline, and make an annual report of their proceedings and doings as also of the fiscal concerns of the institution.

Art. 4. The first meeting of the board of managers under the provisions of the foregoing article shall be held on Monday, the 10th of November, instant.

Art. 5. There shall be a president, secretary and treasurer appointed by the stockholders, who shall be ex-officio members of the board of managers; and at all meetings of the board of managers, seven members shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and the president or in his absence, such person as shall be chosen for the time being, shall preside in all meetings of the stockholders, or of the board of managers.

Art. 6. The secretary shall keep a regular journal of all the proceedings of the board of managers, and a regular account of all the receipts and expenditures of the institution, which shall be published with the annual report of the board of managers, signed by the president and countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 7. It shall be the duty of the treasurer to receive and account for all monies which may be collected for the benefit of the institution, including tuition fees and donations or subscriptions, and to open and keep a regular account with the board of managers, and whenever called on to exhibit a report of the fiscal concerns, etc. and to honor and pay all orders drawn on him by the board, which orders, when presented shall always be signed by the president and countersigned by the secretary.

Art. 8. The board of managers shall meet once every quarter, or oftener if they deem it necessary, and shall always, on a call of the professors, having ten days previous notice.

Art. 9. The provisions made in the third article of this constitution, for the appointment of managers and defining their powers and duties, shall continue in force until the next annual conference of Missouri and Illinois, and if neither of the conferences at their next sessions should agree to make the above mentioned seminary their conference seminary, then the above regulations contained in the third article aforesaid shall continue in force until altered by the stockholders.

Art. 10. This constitution, except the first and second articles, may be altered or amended after the next meeting of the above named conferences, by a majority of the stockholders present, should the conferences refuse or neglect to accept the conditions proposed in the first article.

Art. 11. Should the conferences above named, accept the above conditions, there shall be 33 managers appointed, one-third by the Illinois, and one-third by the Missouri annual conference and the other third by the stockholders, or a majority of those present, convened for the purpose, after twenty days previous notice.

Or, in case but one of the above named conferences should accept the conditions above named, then said conference so accepting shall have the power to appoint 17 managers, and the stockholders shall

appoint the remaining 16, a majority of whom shall always be members of the Methodist Episcopal church, whose powers and duties shall be the same as those prescribed in the third article of this constitution.

Art. 12. Whenever, in the judgment of the board of managers, the interests of this institution shall require it, they shall have power to call a meeting of the stockholders, and the secretary shall be required to give at least ten days previous notice of such meeting, with the objects for which it is called, in as public a manner as possible.

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH McKENDREE COLLEGE—EXHIBIT 3.

AN ACT *to Incorporate the Colleges therein named. In force Feb. 19, 1835.*

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:* That Hubbell Loomis, Benjamin F Edwards, Stephen Griggs, George Smith, Enoch Long, Cyrus Edwards, and William Manning, and their successors, be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, to be styled and known by the name of "The Trustees of the Alton College of Illinois," and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession. The said college shall remain located at or near Upper Alton, in the country of Madison. The number of trustees shall not exceed 15, exclusive of the president, principal, or presiding officer of the college, who shall, ex-officio, be a member of the board of trustees; no other instructor shall be a member of the board of trustees. For the present, the above named individuals shall constitute the board of trustees, who shall fill the remaining vacancies at their discretion.

§ 2. That Samuel D. Lockwood, William C. Posey, John P. Wilkinson, Theron Baldwin, John F. Brooks, Elisha Jenny, William Kirby, Asa Turner, John G. Bergen, John Tillson, jr., and Gideon Blackburn, and their successors, be, and they are hereby created a body corporate and politic, by the name of "The Trustees of Illinois college," and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession; that college shall remain permantly located in Morgan county; the number of trustees shall not exceed 15, exclusive of the president, principal, or presiding officer of the college, who shall ex-officio be a member of the board of trustees; no other instructor shall be a member of the board of trustees. For the present, the aforesaid individuals shall constitute the board of trustees, who shall fill the remaining vacancies at their discretion.

§ 3. That John Dew, Samuel H. Thompson, James Riggin, Nicholas Horner, George Lowe, Robert Moore, Theophilus M. Nichols, Joshua Barnes, Samuel Stites, David L. West, Nathan Horner, Joseph Foulke, Thornton Peeples, John S. Barger, Nathaniel M. M'Curdy, Anthony W. Casad, and Benjamin Hypes, and their successors, be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, to be styled and known by the name of "The Trustees of the McKen-

dreean college," and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession; the said college shall remain located at or near Lebanon in the county of St. Clair; the number of trustees shall not exceed 18, exclusive of the president, principal, or presiding officer of the college, who shall, ex-officio, be a member of the board of trustees; no other instructor shall be a member of the board of trustees. For the present, the aforesaid individuals shall constitute the board of trustees, who shall fill the remaining vacancies at their discretion.

§ 4. That B. W. Brooks, Augustus Rixleben, Winstead Davie, John S. Hacker, Daniel Spencer, Willis Willard, John W. McGuire, Thomas Sams, James P. Edwards, John Baltzell, William C. Whitlock, and Isaac Bizzle, and their successors, be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, to be styled and known by the name of "The Trustees of the Jonesborough college," and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession; the said college shall remain located at or near Jonesborough, in the county of Union. The number of trustees shall not exceed 15, exclusive of the president, principal, or presiding officer of the college, who shall, ex-officio, be a member of the board of trustees. For the present, the aforesaid individuals shall constitute the board of trustees, who shall fill the remaining vacancies at their discretion.

§ 5. The object of said corporation shall be the promotion of the general interests of education, and to qualify young men to engage in the several employments and professions of society, and to discharge honorably and usefully the various duties of life.

§ 6. The corporate powers hereby bestowed shall be such only as are essential or useful in the attainment of said object, and such as are usually conferred on similar bodies corporate, viz: To have perpetual succession, to make contracts, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, to grant and receive by its corporate name, and to do all other acts as natural persons may, to accept, acquire, purchase or sell property, real, personal and mixed, in all lawful ways; to use, employ, manage, and dispose of all such property, and all money belonging to said corporation, in such manner as shall seem to the trustees best adapted to promote the objects aforementioned; to have a common seal, and to alter or change the same; to make such by-laws for its regulation as are not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States or of this State, and to confer on such persons as may be considered worthy, such academical or honorary degrees as are usually conferred by similar institutions.

§ 7. The trustees of the respective corporations shall have authority, from time to time, to prescribe and regulate the course of studies to be pursued in said colleges, and in the preparatory departments attached thereto; to fix the rate of tuition, room rent and other college expenses, to appoint instructors and such other officers and agents as may be needed in managing the concerns of the institution, to define their powers, duties and employments, to fix their compensation, to displace and remove either of the instructors, offi-

cers or agents, as said trustees shall deem the interest of the said colleges shall require, to fill all vacancies among said instructors, officers and agents, to erect necessary buildings, to purchase books and chemical and philosophical apparatus, and other suitable means of instruction, to put in operation a system of manual labor, for the purpose of lessening the expense of education and promoting the health of the students; to make rules for the general management of the affairs of the college, and for the regulation of the conduct of the students, and to add, as the ability of the said organization shall increase and the interest of the community shall require, additional departments for the study of any or all of the liberal professions: *Provided*, however, that nothing herein contained shall authorize the establishment of a theological department in either of said colleges.

§ 8. If any trustee shall be chosen president of the college, his former place as trustee shall be considered as vacant, and his place filled by the remaining trustees. The trustees, for the time being, shall have power to remove any trustee for any dishonorable or criminal conduct: *Provided*, that no such removal shall take place without giving to such trustee notices of the charges exhibited against him, and an opportunity to defend himself before the board, nor unless that two-thirds of the whole number of trustees, for the time being, shall concur in such removal. The trustees, for the time being, in order to have perpetual succession, shall have power, as often as a trustee shall be removed from office, die, resign or remove out of the State, to appoint a resident of the State to fill the vacancy in the board of trustees occasioned by such removal from office, death, resignation or removal from the State. A majority of the trustees, for the time being, shall be a quorum to do business.

§ 9. The trustees shall faithfully apply all funds by them collected, or hereafter collected, according to their best judgment, in erecting suitable buildings, in supporting the necessary instructors, officers and agents, in procuring books, maps, charts, globes, philosophical, chemical and other apparatus necessary to aid in the promotion of sound learning in their respective institutions: *Provided*, that in case any donation, devise or bequest shall be made for particular purposes, accordant with the objects of the institution, and the trustees shall accept the same, every such donation, devise or bequest, shall be applied in conformity with the express condition of the donor or devisor: *Provided*, also, that lands donated or devised as aforesaid, shall be sold or disposed of as required by the twelfth section of this act.

§ 10. The treasurers of said colleges always, and all other agents, when required by the trustees, before entering upon the duties of their appointments, shall give bonds for the security of the corporation, in such penal sum and with such securities as the board of trustees shall approve; and all process against the said corporation shall be by summons, and service of the same shall be by leaving an attested copy with the treasurer of the college, at least thirty days before the return day thereof.

§ 11. The said colleges and their preparatory departments shall be open to all denominations of Christians, and the profession of any

particular religious faith shall not be required of those who become students; all persons, however, may be suspended or expelled from said institutions whose habits are idle or vicious, or whose moral character is bad.

§ 12. The lands, tenements and hereditaments, to be held in perpetuity, in virtue of this act, by either of said corporations, shall not exceed six hundred and forty acres: *Provided*, however, that if donations, grants, or devises in land shall, from time to time, be made to either of said corporations, over and above six hundred and forty acres, which may be held in perpetuity as aforesaid, the same may be received and held by such corporation for the period of three years from the date of every such donation, grant or devise; at the end of which time, if the said lands over and above the said six hundred and forty acres shall not have been sold by the said corporation, then, and in that case, the said lands so donated, granted or devised, shall revert to the donor, grantor, or the heirs of the devisor of the same.

Approved Feb. 9, 1835.

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF McKENDREE COLLEGE—EXHIBIT 4.

Page 336, Jan. 27, 1835. Mr. Mather, from the committee on petitions, to whom was referred the petitions of the McKendrean college, and of the prudential committee of the trustees of the "Illinois College," and the "trustees of the Alton College of Illinois" made following report, viz.:

REPORT.

That, in the petitions on behalf of these colleges, they find the following declaration of facts:

The petitioners, all of whom are citizens of this State, have been engaged for several years in founding and rearing up these institutions. They had their origin in a warm interest in the cause of education in general. The intelligence of the people was regarded as the only basis of our republican institutions, and common schools the grand and only means of making this intelligence universal. But then the necessity of institutions of a higher order, was felt, not only to qualify young men for the various professions and the useful employments of practical life, but also to fit them for the business of teaching common schools, as the only effectual means of making a common school system highly and permanently beneficial. The trustees have toiled in the midst of difficulties inseparable from so new a country, at great personal sacrifice, and without the hope of any remuneration but the pleasure of promoting the noble cause of education.

The college of Jacksonville has been in operation for the last five years, and now numbers about 100 students. It has attached to it, not far from 320 acres of land, which is used as a manual labor farm. A work-shop is also erected, in which various mechanical operations are carried on by the students, about 40 of whom earned during the last year, more than $1,800. Funds, to a considerable amount, have been committed to the trustees in trust, for the purposes of education, and they have sacredly pledged themselves to devote them to this object. They have been principally expended in land, buildings, apparatus, books, and the support of instructors.

The patrons of the McKendrean college commenced their buildings four years ago, received a deed for about ten acres of land, erected a building at the cost of something like $3,000. The institution has been in operation about 12 months. The students number about 60.* Books and apparatus have been procured and funds collected for the enlargement of the plans of the college.

The trustees of "Alton College of Illinois," have purchased a tract of 400 acres, immediately adjoining the town of Upper Alton, with a view to manual labor operations, whereby the indigent but enterprising youth of the country may be enabled to defray the expenses of their education. They have erected thereon a very convenient brick building for college purposes, and are making arrangements for putting up a boarding house and work shops. A library and apparatus have been provided, funds have been contributed at the east as well as in this country, and a portion of the land is to be laid off into town lots which will command a good price, and thus materially increase the available means of the institution. It has been in operation about three years, and now numbers near 60 students.

These three institutions now ask an act of incorporation, that their funds may be secured from alienation in the future, and put into such a shape as to relieve themselves from anxiety, and retain the confidence of those upon whom they must rely for support; that they may introduce greater simplicity into their business operations, and have the power of conferring the usual college degrees. They ask for nothing that is inconsistent with our constitution or laws—for nothing that shall interfere with the rights of any citizen, or the interests of any other institution—and for no powers nor privileges but such as are common to similar institutions in other states. They simply ask us to afford them such facilities as shall enable them to prosecute their work without embarassment.

Your committee are of the opinion, that we have now reached a most important crisis in the history of our State. This is especially true as it respects the subject of education. We are called upon to settle principles which will tell on the destinies of Illinois in coming generations. It becomes us, therefore, to act with great caution, and with our eyes fully open upon our present and future interests. Our public policy throughout, should be based upon enlarged and liberal views—views which will be found to promote the prosperity of the State when our prairies shall swarm with population, and everywhere teem with plenty under the hand of the husbandman. All will agree that no one cause is more closely identified with the general welfare, than that of education. And it is a fact full of interest and promise, that public sentiment on that subject, like the swelling of the tide, is everywhere in motion; and the voice of the people, in unbroken power, is coming up from all parts of the State—demanding that something should be done. And we may cherish the hope that the day is not far distant when a judicious common school system shall be in vigorous and successful operation. Associations of our fellow-

* See historical sketch for correction as to items concerning McKendree.

citizens, too, are forming, in different directions, for the purpose of rearing up, by individual enterprise, institutions of a higher grade. As a consequence, application from these associations for corporate powers are multiplying. What shall be done with these applications? Shall they be granted or rejected? Or shall there be such limitations as will really embarrass their operations—and, in the opinion of the applicants, amount to rejection?

In the view of your committee, three questions here arise, upon the settlement of which the whole matter will turn.

1. Are institutions of this character really needed in the State?

2. Is it important to their success that the trustees who manage them should become bodies corporate?

3. Can corporate powers be granted, with safety to the public interests?

With regard to the first question, the committee would remark, that, in their opinion, it is settled by the uniform experience of the civilized world, and that continued through the lapse of ages So decisive is this evidence, that the number and character of these institutions may be considered a very fair criterion of the state of education in any country. While we admit that the great mass of the people can only be reached through the medium of common schools, yet of what use will even they be without competent teachers? And where shall these teachers be educated except in institutions of a higher grade? The world may be challenged to produce an instance in which common schools have been efficient and permanently prosperous without the coexistence of higher institutions. Never was there a greater mistake than to suppose that their interests clash, or that either can be kept in vigorous and permanent operation without the aid of the other. How obvious that the interests of market towns and the surrounding settlements are so identified as to create mutual dependence? Could the interests of one be injured without detriment to the other? So is the relation that subsists between common schools and institutions of a higher grade. The connection is no stronger, and the mutual dependence no more absolute in the one case than in the other. Can, then, the fostering hand of government be withheld from either without detriment to the highest interests of the State? Or can any policy which shall operate to the injury of either, be sound policy?

Besides, institutions of a higher order are needed to raise up scientific men. The single invention of the cotton gin, by Whitney, a man whose mind had been stored with the principles of science at a college, has probably added more to our national wealth than has been expended to found and support all the colleges in our country since our existence as a nation. And the invention of the safety lamp by Sir Humphrey Davy, which he reasoned out on the rigid principles of science, has not only rendered his name imperishable in the scientific world, but by preventing an immense destruction of human life in the coal mines of Great Britain, and adding in various ways to the wealth of the country, it will cause him to be regarded

as a public benefactor so long as England shall endure. Who can tell the advantages that have been derived even to the western states, by the invention and perfection of steam boats? And it should never be forgotten, that, for these and numberless other inventions, we are indebted to scientific men. Had not institutions existed somewhere in which such men could become acquainted with the principles of science, we should, to this hour, have been ploughing our majestic and turbulent rivers with our flats and keels, as the only means of transportation. Where, then, would have been the tide of emigration which is now pouring upon our prairies? Where, too, our vigorous commerce, our zeal in agriculture, and the marks of industry and enterprize now visible throughout our territory? How unfounded, then, the opinion that literary institutions are unfriendly to the best interests of a state. We live in an age of improvement and invention, and there is a loud call for scientific as well as practical men. But where shall they be educated? The engineer, for instance, upon whom we must depend to survey, and at every step of their progress direct in the construction of our canals and railroads, must be acquainted with algebra, geometry, trigonometry, etc. It is well-known that these branches are not taught in our common schools. These engineers, therefore, can not be educated there. We might as well think of constructing steam engines in a common smith's shop, or carrying on ship-building in the centre of the grand prairie. We must have institutions which shall be the depositories of science, liberally endowed, and furnished with apparatus, libraries and able and learned men as instructors. Shall none be founded in Illinois in which our Whitneys and Davys may be trained? Shall we depend on Missouri, or Indiana, or Ohio, or Kentucky, or any other state, for our teachers, our engineers, our eloquent advocates, our learned jurists, and those who are to fill and grace the various learned professions? Who shall write our school books, and our histories and become our authors of imperishable fame? Or shall we send abroad our young men to receive in other states that education which they can not receive at home? And that because we will not foster on our own soil those institutions which are the pride of surrounding states? Multitudes of our young men will have a liberal education somewhere, and if they can not at home they will flock to other states. Their institutions are already up all around us, incorporated, endowed and in full operation, and they would doubtless be glad to educate our sons. But will the high-minded citizens of Illinois thus stoop to become the vassals of other states?

2. Is it important to the success of these institutions that the trustees who manage them should become bodies corporate? This question may be easily answered, by looking at the ends to be gained by conferring corporate powers. The object of an incorporation is to enable their members to act by one united will, and to continue their joint powers and property in the same body undisturbed by the change of members, and without the necessity of perpetual conveyances, as the rights of membership pass from one individual to

another. All the individuals composing a corporation, and their successors, are considered in law but as one moral person, capable, under an artificial form; of taking and conveying property, or contracting debts and duties, and of enjoying such rights as are delegated to them. One of the peculiar properties of a corporation is the power of perpetual succession; for in judgment of law it is capable of indefinite duration. The rights and privileges of corporations do not determine, or vary, upon the death or change of any of the individual members. They continue as long as the corporation endures.

Without the aid of an act of incorporation, the trustees of a literary institution necessarily take all the property bestowed upon them in their natural capacities—and should they disagree in the management of the trust, there is no mode of compelling the will of the minority to submit to the will of the majority; and hence they are liable to have the very objects of the trust defeated by dissensions in their own body, should the trustees unfortunately differ. A corporation remedies this evil, by making the act of the majority the act of the whole body. Again, without an act of incorporation, should an individual trustee pervert the college property to his own use, or, in any other way, injure what is committed in trust, the law furnishes no remedy. And although the trustees act with harmony and in good faith without an act of incorporation, when a trustee dies, the portion of real estate held in his name descends to his heirs. These may be infants, or may be totally indisposed to carry into effect the object intended by the donor, in giving the property to his ancestor; and thus property originally designed for a noble and highly useful purpose, may, by the cupidity of his heirs, be entirely diverted. The evils arising from refusing to give corporate powers for the purposes of education are manifold. The efforts of trustees, thus situated, are frequently distracted by conflicting opinions; and where they unfortunately occur, there is no mode of producing united action. It presents temptations, not only to the trustees, but to their heirs, from motives of gain, to betray their trusts. These evils are so well understood, that the founders of colleges universally apply to the proper authorities for corporate powers, as a matter of course, and just as much so as banking or railroad companies. As, therefore, permanent funds are absolutely essential to the prosperity and usefulness of such institutions, and as these are the dangers to which they are exposed, your committee are of opinion that the importance of granting corporate powers is made sufficiently manifest.

3. Can these powers be granted with safety to the public interests?

Your committee feel that they cannot better answer this question than by repeating the language of the memorial presented by the trustees of Illinois College, to-wit:

"We would state that it can be done without the least hazard to the interests of the community. One of the most distinguished

jurists and civilians in our country, in an argument before the Supreme Court of the United States, has stated, that the uniform testimony of experience, both in our own and other countries, is, that such literary corporations are in an eminent degree safe, and highly conducive to the public good, and that as a uniform fact they have not been perverted from their original purpose to improper ends. And so far as we know, no fact is on record which proves the danger of any such perversion Not only do facts prove the safety of such literary corporations, but the nature of the case also shows that they are exposed to fewer influences which may lead to perversion, than almost any other class of corporations. They depend almost entirely on public sentiment for their patronage and support, and therefore cannot, with impunity, disregard the known interests and wishes of the community. On the other hand, they are under the influence of every possible motive to regulate all their measures so as to bear the test of public scrutiny, and to correspond with the known expression of the public will."

These statements and reasonings, your committee regard as decisive—but they would state in addition, that literary corporations have been tried in all other states, and found safe. There are more than 20 on the statute books of Missouri. In Kentucky there are three or four colleges founded on peculiar religious sentiments; and in Tennessee numerous academies and colleges are incorporated with the most ample powers. Now, why should that which is so safe in these states be dangerous in Illinois?

If, then, as we trust has been abundantly shown, colleges are so much needed in our State, and the public interest would be as really injured by neglecting to foster them as by refusing to cherish common schools, and if corporate powers can be granted with entire safety to the public interests—what course does sound policy dictate? It would seem to be as clear as the sun in the heavens. Shall we hesitate to pursue it? By your own acts we have decided that it is inexpedient to create these institutions by legislative enactment, and endow them from the public resources. But are we prepared to say that none shall exist within our bounds, when they are the pride of surrounding states? Shall Illinois, with its unrivalled location, beauty, fertility and natural resources, which prepare it to stand pre-eminent in the confederacy, expose herself to the denunciation of all her sister states, by refusing to foster literary institutions? Will not the wisdom, liberality and enlarged views of this body avert such reproach from our legislative councils? Or shall it be echoed and re-echoed throughout the land, and go down to posterity, that Illinois, and Illinois alone, has refused her assent, even to the incorporation of academies and colleges?

If literary institutions are not created by legislative enactment, and sustained by the resources of the State, it must be done, if they exist at all, by individual enterprise. Then, if we are unprepared to say that colleges shall not exist—why not grant the petition before us? Are not these different boards of trustees composed of our fellow-

citizens—and are they not worthy citizens? Have they done anything to forfeit public confidence? Have we evidence that any other associations could do the work better? Shall we single out any body of men, so long as they show themselves worthy of public confidence and are engaged in promoting the public good, and deny them those powers and privileges which any association of our fellow-citizens might justly ask at our hands? Why, then, we repeat, not grant the prayer of these petitioners? Shall they meet with a cold response? Shall their generous ardor in this noble work be thus suppressed? Are we ready to say to any body of our fellow-citizens who have exhibited such a spirit of enterprise, and labored with so commendable a zeal, and met with so much success—we will not sustain you?

But these men have some peculiar claims upon our confidence and support. They commenced their operations in the infancy of our State—when the means of education were exceedingly limited, and schools of every description were few and far between. They do not simply prepare to educate those who shall hereafter come upon the stage—but the present generation also. The cry is now from all parts of the State—educate the present generation. The petitioners are ready to vociferate the same loud and long. This is the very thing that they propose to aid in accomplishing They come to us and point to the present state of education in Illinois, and simply ask us to afford them such facilities as will enable them to prosecute this noble work without embarrassment. Shall we, then, withhold from them that countenance and support which they ask? It would seem that none could be more deserving of encouragement than the pioneers in the cause of education. In the opinion of your committee, the petitioners are richly entitled to the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and the support of ourselves as a Legislature.

We need not spend time in attempting to prove, that corporate powers are important to the interests of these several institutions. The petitioners ask for nothing peculiar, and our previous remarks have put that point at rest. The remarks which we have also made with regard to the safety of literary corporations, will settle the question whether the powers prayed for by the petitioners, can be granted with safety to the public interests. As nothing is asked which is inconsistent with our constitution or laws, your committee are of opinion that the reputation of this State, and of ourselves as a Legislature, would be put in much greater jeopardy by rejecting the prayer of the petitioners, than the public interests would be by granting it.

It ought to be understood that by refusing to incorporate these three institutions so judiciously located, we do our part towards consigning them to absolute ruin, or entailing upon them an enfeebled existence. But blot them all out—and where shall the young men of Illinois resort for that education which such institutions alone can furnish? Blot these out, and not another survives except in the extreme south. Embarrass their operations by refusing them those powers and privileges which they ask, and just in the same proportion we roll back the cause of education in our beloved State. Shall

we do either? Let us rather extend the helping hand to these, our fellow-citizens, and say to them—"Onward in your noble work." Let this Legislature have the credit of protecting and fostering three institutions which have already been for years, engaged in scattering the blessings of education among us, and give fair promise of becoming a lasting honor to Illinois.*

*An interesting address by Hon. William Brown, a. m., a professor in McKendree college, delivered by request of the Legislature, in the hall of the House of Representatives, at Vandalia, Jan. 11th, 1839, was discovered too late for insertion in connection with this paper, and will appear as the last article in the addendum to this volume.

M. H. C.

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH McKENDREE COLLEGE.

EXHIBIT V.

(Charter of McKendree College.)

An Act to Incorporate the McKendree College.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:* That William Wilson, Samuel H. Thompson, Thornton Peebles, John S. Barger, Benjamin Hypes, Hiram K. Ashley, Joshua Barnes, James Riggin, Nathan Horner, Benjamin T. Kavanaugh, Theophilus Nichols, Chrispin Cunningham, John Hogan, Jesse Renfro, Benjamin M. Bond, and Alexander M. Jenkins, and their successors in office, be and they are hereby, created a body politic and corporate, under the name and style of the "McKendree College," and henceforth shall be styled and known by that name, and by that style and name to remain and have perpetual succession. The number of trustees shall not exceed eighteen, exclusive of the president, principal, or presiding officer of the college, who shall, ex-officio, be a member of the board of trustees. No other instructor shall be a member of said board: *Provided, however*, that the board of trustees by a majority of two-thirds, at their annual meeting, may increase the number of said trustees to any number not exceeding thirty-six. For the present the aforesaid individuals shall constitute the board of trustees, who shall at their discretion fill the remaining vacancies, and such as may hereafter be created should the number be increased.

§ 2. The object of said corporation shall be the promotion of the general interest of education, and to qualify young men to engage in the several employments and professions of society, and to discharge honorably and usefully the various duties of life.

§ 3. The corporate powers hereby bestowed shall be such only as are essential and useful in the attainment of said object, and such as are usually conferred on similar corporate bodies, viz: to have perpetual succession, to make contracts, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, to grant and receive by its corporate name, and to do all other acts as natural persons may; to accept, acquire, purchase or sell property, real, personal and mixed, in all lawful ways; to use, employ, manage, and dispose of all such property and all money belonging to said corporation, in such manner as shall seem to the trustees best adapted to promote the object aforementioned; to have a common seal, and to alter and change the same; to make such by-laws for the regulation of the corporation as are not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States, or of this State, and

to confer on such persons as may be considered worthy, such academical or honorary degrees as are usually conferred by similar institutions.

§ 4. The trustees shall have authority from time to time to prescribe and regulate the course of study to be pursued in said college, and the preparatory department attached thereto; to fix the rate of tuition, room rent and other college expenses; to appoint the president of the institution and other members of the faculty, and such other instructors, officers and agents as may be needed in managing the concerns of the institution; to define their powers, duties and employments; to fix their compensations; to displace and remove the presidents, and any member of the faculty, either of the instructors, officers or agents; to erect necessary buildings, purchase books and chemical, philosophical and other apparatus, and other suitable means of instruction; to put in operation, if the trustees shall deem it expedient a system of manual labor, for the purpose of promoting the health of the students and lessening the expense of education, to make rules for the general management of the affairs of the college, and for the regulation of the conduct of the students; and to add as the ability of said corporation shall increase, and the interest of the community shall require, additional departments for the study of any or all of the liberal professions.

§ 5. The trustees shall faithfully apply the funds by them collected, or hereafter collected, according to their best judgment, in erecting suitable buildings; in purchasing books, maps, charts, globes, philosophical, chemical and other apparatus necessary to aid in the promotion of sound learning in said institution.

§ 6. Any donation, devise, or bequest, made for the special purpose, accordant with the objects of the institution, if the trustees shall accept the same, shall be faithfully and truly applied in conformity with the express conditions of the donor or devisee. The lands, tenements, and hereditaments to be held in perpetuity in virtue of this act shall not exceed three thousand acres: *Provided, however*, that grants, donations, or devises in lands which from time to time shall be made to said corporation, may be held for the term of ten years from the date of any such grant, donation or devise; at the end of which time the said lands, over and above the before named three thousand acres, shall be sold by the corporation; and in case of neglect to sell, said lands so donated shall revert to the original donor or devisor, or to the lawful heirs of the same.

§ 7. The treasurer and the other officers of the institution, when required by the trustees, shall give bond for the security of the corporation, in such penalty, and with such security as the board shall approve; and all processes against said corporation shall be by summons and service of the same by leaving an attested copy with the treasurer at least thirty days before the return thereof.

§ 8. The trustees shall have power to establish departments for the study of any of the liberal professions, particularly law and medicine, and to institute and grant diplomas in the same; to constitute

and confer the degrees of doctor in the learned arts and sciences and belles lettres, and to confer such other academical degrees are are usually conferred by the most learned universities.

§ 9. Said trustees shall have power to institute a board of competent persons, always including the faculty, who shall examine such persons as may apply; and if said applicants are found to possess such knowledge pursued in said college as, in the judgment of said board, renders them worthy, they may be considered graduates in course, and shall be entitled to a diploma accordingly, on paying such fee as the trustees shall affix; which fee, however, shall in no case exceed the tuition bills of the full college course. Said examining board may not exceed the number of ten, three of whom may transact business, provided one be of the faculty.

§ 10. In its different departments the college shall be open to all denominations of Christians, and the profession of any religious faith shall not be required in order to admission; but those students who are idle or vicious, or whose characters are immoral, may be suspended or expelled.

§ 11. Said college shall remain located at or near Lebanon, in the county of St. Clair, State of Illinois. The trustees shall hold at least one meeting in each year for business, and may appoint other stated meetings of the board; (special meetings may at any time be held by order of the president of the board) ten of whom shall constitute a quorum to do business; and it shall be lawful for the Illinois Annual conference, of the Methodist Episcopal church, to appoint annually a board of visitors, consisting of nine persons, who shall have power to sit with the board of trustees at their annual meetings, and participate with them, ex-officio, as members of the board.

§ 12. Hereafter the filling of vacancies in the board of trustees, and the appointment of president of the college, professors and tutors, shall be made only at the annual meetings as provided in the eleventh section of this act: *Provided*, that the trustees may fill vacancies in the professorship, or employ additional professors or tutors, when necessary, until the succeeding annual meeting.

§ 13. In case of a division of the Illinois Annual conference into two or more conferences of the Methodist Episcopal church, or if any other annual conference of the said Methodist Episcopal church shall unite with the said Illinois Annual conference in the patronage and support of the said college, each annual conference thus patronizing said college shall have the same powers and privileges granted in this act to the said Illinois Annual conference: *Provided*, that said visitors shall at no time exceed the number of trustees; and should it so occur by the increase of patronage that the number of visitors herein provided for shall exceed in number that of the trustees, the ratio of visitors shall be by the trustees so fixed as to limit the whole number of visitors to that of the number of the trustees of said college.

§ 14. The alteration of the name of the institution shall not affect the title to any property acquired by the institution heretofore, but the title to such estate shall be valid to the institution under the

name set forth in this act, whether made to the same, or under the name and style of "The Trustees of the McKendrean College," or, "The Trustees of McKendree College," that all contracts made with said corporation whether made under the name of the "Trustees of the McKendrean College" or "The Trustees of McKendree College," shall enure as well for as against said corporation under the name and style of "The McKendree College."

§ 15. If any trustee shall be chosen president of the college, his former place as trustee shall be vacated and his place filled by the remaining trustees and visiting committee, as hereinbefore provided. The trustees for the time being shall have power to remove any trustee for any dishonorable or criminal conduct: *Provided*, that no such removal shall take place without giving to such trustee notice of charges against him, and an opportunity to defend himself before the board, nor unless that two-thirds of the whole number of trustees for the time being shall concur in said removal.

§ 16. This act shall be in force from and after the time at which the trustees of the McKendrean college shall accept the same, and the evidence of said acceptance shall be a copy of the order of the board ordering this act to be spread upon their journals, certified by the president and secretary of the board.

§ 17. Should the corporation at any time act contrary to the provisions of this charter, or fail to comply with the same, upon complaint made to the Circuit court of St. Clair county, a *scire facias* shall issue, and the Circuit court of St. Clair county shall prosecute in behalf of the people of this State for a forfeiture of this charter. This act shall be a public act, and shall be construed liberally in all courts for the purposes hereinbefore expressed and so far as this institution is concerned, all acts, as far as they may be contradictory to this act, are hereby repealed. [Approved Jan. 26, 1839.]

At the first half-yearly meeting of the trustees of McKendree college for 1839, the following preamble and resolutions were, on motion of James Riggin and Benjamin T. Kavenaugh, adopted:

WHEREAS, The people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, by an act approved Jan. 26, 1839, and entitled "An act to incorporate the McKendree College," provided by the sixteenth section of said act, that it should be in force from and after the time that the trustees of "The McKendrean College" should accept the same, and that the evidence of said acceptance should be a copy of the order of said trustees ordering said act to be spread upon their journals, certified by the president and secretary of the board; and

WHEREAS, Said act, which grants liberal amendments to the college charter, is of great importance; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the trustees of the McKendrean College, that the act entitled "An act to incorporate McKendrean College," is hereby accepted by "the trustees of the McKendrean College," and ordered to be spread upon their journals.

JOHN S. BARGER.
Secretary.

March 4, 1839.

IN MEMORIAM.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society, deceased, January 1903—January 1904.

Dr. Humphrey H. Hood.

DR. HUMPHREY H. HOOD.

1823–1903.

(Miss Olive Sattley.)

Humphrey Hughes Hood, fourth of the ten children of Lambert and Sarah (Hughes) Hood, was born Sept. 19, 1823, in Philadelphia, of which city his father's family had been residents for four preceding generations. His mother was of Welsh nativity, coming with her parents to this country in early childhood.

In 1837, the family removed to Alton, Ill., and afterward to Otter Creek prairie, then in Green, now in Jersey county. Their stay in the west was only about 18 months, at the end of which time they returned to Philadelphia. In 1848, after reading with a tutor, he entered Jefferson Medical college, of Philadelphia, and was graduated in the spring of 1851. The following autumn found him in Jersey county, Ill., where he had lived a short time during his boyhood. In the summer of 1854 he removed to the new town of Litchfield, which had been laid out the preceding autumn, where he engaged in the practice of his profession, and excepting one year spent in Taylorville, remained a resident thereof until his death.

In June, 1855, he was married to Miss Matilda Woodhouse Jackson, eldest daughter of Mr. Charles S. Jackson, of Jerseyville. Five children were born of this union, of whom three survive: George Perry Hood, of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Misses Sarah Frances Hood and Annie Hughes Hood, of Litchfield, Dr. Hood became a widower Jan. 2, 1867; and July, 1869, was married to Mrs. Abigail Elvira Paden, daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Terry, of Springfield. Their children, both living, are; Harold Hood of Litchfield, and Mrs. Louise Rahmeyer, of Manila, Philippine Islands.

In Sept. 1862, Doctor Hood entered the army with the appointment of assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Seventeenth Illinois volunteer infantry, and, after one year, was appointed surgeon of the Third United States heavy artillery, with headquarters at Ft. Pickering, Memphis, Tenn., holding that position during the three remaining years of his service, a part of which time he was also on the staff of Gen. John E. Smith, as surgeon-in chief of the district of west Tennessee.

When a boy, during his short residence in and near Alton, in 1837 and 1838, his attention was first drawn to the subject of American slavery by the action of the pro-slavery mobs that destroyed the

presses of the Alton Observer and finally murdered its anti-slavery editor, the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy. These outrages, committed with impunity, together with the bitterly proscriptive and murderous spirit exhibited by many people toward those who condemned them, made the subject of this sketch an abolitionist for life. He, however, before the Civil war, never favored any Federal interference with slavery in the states where it existed; he did believe that its introduction into the territories should be forbidden and that no more slave states should be admitted into the Union. He identified himself with the Free Soil party, whose platform enunciated these views and whose battle cry was, "Free soil, free speech, free press, free labor and free men." He followed that party in 1856, when it was merged into the newly organized Republican party. He voted for the Republican nominees at every presidential election from 1856 to 1900, inclusive. Dr. Hood attended the Republican convention of 1860, which was held in Chicago and which nominated Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. Upon his return to Litchfield he gave an account of the proceedings in a letter addressed to the "Free Press," the Montgomery county Republican newspaper, then published at Hillsboro, Ill., an extract from which may not be inappropriate:

"Old Times.

"The first nomination of Abraham Lincoln, as reported by a citizen of Litchfield, H. H. Hood.

"The Chicago Convention.

"Litchfield, Ill., May 24, 1860.

"Mr. Editor—On the eve of my departure for Chicago, I made you a promise to write you from that city, regarding the proceedings of the National Republican convention. Upon my arrival, however, I found it altogether useless to do so. As it was quite impossible for my communication to reach you in time for the Press of last week, I propose now to give some account of my visit and my impressions of the convention, and the facts connected therewith as understood by me. We left the Litchfield station on the morning train on Tuesday, the 15th inst. Our company was not numerous at this point, but it received constant accession at each succeeding station, so that when we arrived at Mattoon, we were comfortably crowded. Here we changed cars, taking the Illinois Central. Our old friend, John Kitchell, found us at this point. After a short interval of waiting for the northern train, we again moved forward with a long train loaded with "black Republicans," and at each station the cry was "still they come." At the crossing of the Great Western, a fresh inundation poured in upon us, but few of whom found better accommodations than the aisles afforded; but at Urbana, two additional cars were attached which furnished seats for all. At the crossing we were joined by the future Governor of the State, Hon. Richard Yates. We arrived at Chicago at 9:00 o'clock and at once

hurried to the Metropolitan hotel, where we were fortunate in securing a room with a cot for each of our company. After refreshing our inner man at the table, we proceeded to the famed "wigwam," and found a large audience assembled, listening to the Hon. Anson Burlingame. When I entered he was speaking of the certainty of a Republican triumph next fall, no matter who the standard-bearer might be. Of all possible candidates he spoke in terms of appropriate eulogy, paying just tribute to the talents and virtues of each. Of Lincoln he spoke as "the gallant son of Illinois, who fought that wonderful battle of 1858, the like of which had not been known since the time when Michael encountered and subdued the arch fiend."

To view the wigwam alone when crowded with its immense audience, was worth a visit to the Garden city; we hear much of the meanness of Yankeetown, and the liberality of the southerner, but I think Chicago will loose nothing in comparison with Charleston. Let it be remembered that the wigwam was built solely for the use of the Republican convention, whereas the Democratic convention paid $500 per day for a hall in which to meet. The wigwam is a substantial wooden building, admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was constructed; well ventilated, well lighted, and for speaking and hearing as well arranged as such a building could be. Its dimensions are 180 feet by 100. One-third of this space was assigned for the use of the convention, and was divided into a platform and two spacious committee rooms, one at either end. The platform was seated with settees and the space assigned to each delegation designated by placards on each of which was the name of the state represented. These were elevated so as to be seen from all parts of the building. The speaker's chair was at the rear of the platform and toward it all seats looked. On the wall immediately behind the chair were painted United States flags and the chair was canopied with flags. There were four other larger paintings on the wall representing Justice, Ceres, etc

A portion of the floor in front of the platform was railed off and seated for the use of alternate delegates, members of the press, and the telegraph operators. Outside of this railing were found excellent standing accommodations for gentlemen not fortunate in holding tickets and not accompanied by ladies. In this unfortunate category was your correspondent.

Extending round three sides were spacious galleries appropriated to the use of ladies and their escorts; these were always filled to overflowing On the front of the galleries were painted the coats of arms of all the states. The roof was arched and well supported by posts and braces as were also the galleries and around all these twined evergreens intermingled with flowers. The whole space over the platform was festooned with evergreens and the tri colors, the red, white and blue; and there were states enough to represent a whole firmament of stars.

It was announced in the morning papers of the 16th, that the doors would be open at 11:00 o'clock. Two hours before that time the crowd was sufficient to fill the vast building,assembled on Lake and Market streets, and when the doors were opened, the rush and pressure were terrific. I was in the center of the crowd and thought myself fortunate in escaping with whole bones. Nevertheless, I tried the experiment again in the afternoon, but that sufficed me. And indeed, my subsequent experience proved that the better way to obtain an eligible position was to wait till the rush was over, and then quietly insinuate one's self through the crowd. In this way I never failed to obtain a position where the whole proceedings of the convention were open to me.

The first day but little of interest to outsiders occurred. Nothing was done beyond organizing and appointing the necessary committees. The morning of the second day was mostly taken up with the report of the committee on credentials, which was finally recommitted, some doubts arising as to the right of the Texas delegates to cast a vote of that state. The report of the committee on business in regard to the rules that should govern the convention also excited some discussion The committee recommended that on the vote for the president and vice-president, a number equal to the majority of 606 (of which number the convention would consist were all the states represented) should be required to nominate A minority of the committee recommended that only a majority of all the delegates present should be required. This question was not disposed of when the convention adjourned. In the afternoon the minority report was adopted by a large majority. In regard to Texas the committee reported again in favor of the delegates from that state; the report was adopted amid enthusiastic cheering.

The committee on platform and resolutions also reported during this session. The platform appeared satisfactory to almost everybody in particular Its reading elicited thunders of applause; particularly the sections in which freedom is affirmed to be the normal condition of the territories and in which protection to home industry, is recommended. With these and other sections the people could not be satisfied with one reading; but after shouting till one might suppose their lungs, if not their enthusiasm, were exhausted, they would demand the reading of them again, when they would again applaud with all the vehemence of the first demonstration.

On the motion to adopt the platform, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, demanded the previous question, which was not sustained. Mr. Giddings moved an amendment, which consisted in appending to the platform a quotation from the Declaration of Independence. This was deemed unnecessary, the truths of the Declaration being affirmed in the second section, and it was voted down. At this point, the Missouri Republican says, that Giddings left the convention, "shaking off the dust of his feet," etc. This is a pure fabrication on the part of that truthful journal. I had my eyes on Mr. Giddings during nearly the whole of the session, and he could not have left without my seeing

him, and he did not leave. Mr. Wilmot proposed to amend the 14th section, by striking out the words, "or any state legislation," etc., regarding them as derogating from state sovereignty; but upon being assured by Carl Schurz that they were not intended to recommend any course of national legislation but merely to express an opinion, he withdrew the motion.

Mr. Curtis of New York, offered an amendment similar to that presented by Mr. Giddings. It being objected that it had already been voted down, and was therefore out of order, the chair so ruled; whereupon Mr. Blair, of Missouri, protested against the ruling and avowed his willingness to go before the convention on an appeal from the decision. He then explained that this motion proposed to amend the second section, whereas the amendment offered by Mr. Giddings was to be appended to the platform. The chair reversed his decision and the amendment was adopted. And then the platform was adopted unanimously. Pending a motion to go to a ballot for president the convention adjourned.

On the the third day of the convention, it was called to order at 10:00 o'clock. The New York delegation, and the Young Men's Republican Club of New York and many others in favor of the nomination of William H. Seward proceeded in procession from the Richmond house to the wigwam. Many of them wore badges indicating their choice for the candidate, and they were all hopeful and, indeed, confident that their favorite would be the favorite of the convention. But they were doomed to disappointment. The first ballot revealed the fact that Seward had more friends in the convention than any other man, but, it also revealed the fact, that he would not be nominated. On the first ballot the most determined opponents of his nomination scattered their votes, and it was well known that Lincoln was their second choice. On the second ballot Seward gained 11, and Lincoln 79 votes; the former still having a majority On the final vote when all the states had been called, Lincoln still lacked two votes of the required number. Then Carter, of Ohio, rose and amid breathless silence, announced that Ohio changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln. This was enough and for ten minutes, nothing was heard but the roar of human voices and then came booming through the open doors and windows the voice of the first gun of the campaign. In five minutes from that time the dispatch from New York, 1,000 miles distant, announcing, "One hundred guns are now being fired in the park in honor of the nomination," was read in the convention.

Before the vote was counted State after State rose and changed its vote to Lincoln. Mr. Evarts, of New York, demanded: "Can New York have the silence of the convention?" Instantly every voice was hushed. He stated that he desired to make a motion and would inquire if the result of the ballot was announced. It was not, he would await that announcement. When the result was declared he took the floor, or rather a table, and in a speech which won the admiration of all that heard it; which was characterized alike by dignity, earnestness and deep devotion to the great statesman of New York, he pronounced a most glowing eulogy upon William H. Seward. It might

be deemed honor enough to be accounted worthy of such devoted friendship. At the close he moved that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be declared unanimous; at the same time elevating high above him a life sized portrait of "Honest Old Abe."

The motion was first seconded by Blair, of Michigan. He said: "We give up William Henry Seward with some beating of the heart, with some quivering of the nerves, but the choice of the convention is the choice of Michigan." He was followed by Anderson of Massachusetts and Carl Schuz of Wisconsin. This closed the morning session.

The convention re-assembled at 5 o'clock and at once proceeded to vote for vice president. Hannibal Hamlin was chosen on the second ballot. It may seem somewhat remarkable that Texas should vote steadily in the morning for Seward and in the afternoon cast six votes for Sam Houston. After appointing the committee the convention adjourned sine die.

In the evening a grand ratification meeting was held in the wigwam. Pomeroy, Giddings, Yates and many others spoke. The banner of the "Young Men's Republican Club," of New York, attracted much atttention, (they brought it with them) inscribed:

"For President....."

the blank to be filled, as they hoped, with the name of William H. Seward, but, instead, it bore the name of Abraham Lincoln, thus:

FOR PRESIDENT

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Thus ended the Chicago National convention. May we not congratulate ourselves on the happy results of its labors? Those results have satisfied all republicans."

Dr. Hood was never a seeker after public position, but, nevertheless, was not infrequently chosen to office. He was three times elected an alderman of the city of Litchfield and once the supervisor of North Litchfield township. He served many years as a member of the Litchfield board of education, and for much of that time was its secretary. Dr Hood was one of the first to take measures toward the establishment of a free public library in Litchfield On the currency question he advocated the single standard long before it was made a plank in any partisan platform.

In 1884 he was elected as the republican minority representative for the legislative district composed of Christian and Montgomery

counties, and was one of the memorable "One Hundred and Three" by whose votes John A. Logan was, for the last time, returned to the United States senate. His official duties in every case were discharged with the most scrupulous and careful consideration for the interests of his constituents and the people of the State. The same adherence to his convictions of duty and a close observance of the Golden Rule in his business and social relations, together with a warm fidelity to the interests of his friends, characterized his conduct in private life.

Dr. Hood was always a total abstainer from alcoholic liquors as a beverage; and, as a medicine, used and prescribed it very sparingly, and would not permit the sale of intoxicating liquors on any premises owned by him. In 1855, when a prohibitory liquor law was submitted to vote in Illinois, he gave his vote and voice in its favor. In later years he entertained but little hope of the successful enforcement or prohibition by statute and favored a local option law that would give every town, city or county the opportunity to vote on the question whenever a sufficient number of voters should ask for its submission.

Dr. Hood was from childhood a regular attendant upon religious services, and after his removal to Illinois, in 1852, upon those of the Presbyterian church, to the support of which he freely contributed, but with that communion he did not unite until 1890. During his remaining years he was active in church and Sunday school work.

His death occurred in his 80th year, on Friday, Feb. 20, 1903, after an illness of but four days. Although in failing health for ten years or longer, he had been giving unremitting attention to business, and, on the day preceding the fatal attack, was apparently in more than ordinarily good health His funeral, under the direction of the Grand Army of the Republic, took place at the Litchfield Presbyterian church on the Sunday following his decease, and was very largely attended.

BERNARD STUVE, M. D.

1829–1903.

(Dr. J. F. Snyder.)

It is said of an eminent man of old that he has done things worthy to be written; that he has written things worthy to be read; and by his life has contributed to the welfare of the republic and the happiness of mankind. He on whom this transcendant eulogy can be pronounced with even partial trust is entitled to the gratitude of his race. Nowhere within the broad limits of the commonwealth of Illinois has there died a man over whom this might more truthfully be said than Dr Bernard Stuve, who for many years figured prominently in Illinois as a lawyer and author and who in his private life was distinguished by all that marks the true gentleman. It was in the little village of Vechta in the duchy of Oldenburg, Germany, that Doctor Stuve first opened his eyes to the light of day on the 10th of September, 1829. When a lad of five summers he was brought to America by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Henry Stuve. The father was a bridge builder and contractor and in the hope of enjoying better business opportunities in the new world he severed the connections that bound him to the fatherland and with his wife and children sailed for the United States. He landed at New York, but did not tarry in the east, making his way at once to the west with its great and growing opportunities. He settled first in Minster, Auglaise county, O. Two of the children of the family died in infancy, another died in early manhood and the eldest of the five children departed this life about ten years ago, leaving Bernard Stuvé the sole survivor of the family for a number of years.

In the schools of Minster, O., Doctor Stuvé acquired a thorough English education, while from his parents he received instruction in the German language. His choice of a vocation was influenced by relatives, especially an uncle, who resided in Cincinnati and was a practicing physician. This uncle induced Doctor Stuvé to take up the study of medicine and directed his reading in the elementary branches of medical science. His lecture course was pursued in Cincinnati Medical college, of which he was a graduate with the class of March, 1851. Having prepared for active practice he then located in Benton, Scott county, Mo., where he soon demonstrated his skill and ability to cope with the intricate problems that continually face the physician. He did not find the place, however, entirely to his liking and within a short time established his home in Evansville, Ind. Still his ambitions and expectations were not satisfied and Illinois became the Mecca of his hopes. He journeyed only

Bernard Stuvé, M. D.

as far as Carmi, the county seat of White county, where at that day resided many men who won national fame. In their midst Doctor Stuvé entered upon the practice of medicine and soon gained a large and liberal clientage, but he found that the profession with its manifold duties was not entirely congenial to him. However, he continued in active practice for a number of years thereafter. In 1858 he removed from Carmi to Hickman, Ky., and in 1860 he returned to Illinois, locating first in Illiopolis. There he resumed the active practice of his profession, in which he continued for six years. He felt, however, that he had been unwisely influenced in his choice of a life work and although he practiced for 15 years and his labors were attended with good success when viewed from both a financial and professional standpoint, he was never entirely satisfied with the work and embraced the first opportunity for directing his activities into other channels.

It was in the year 1866 that Mr. Stuvé came to Springfield and commenced the study of law. He had formerly acquired a good competence in his medical practice and being thus enabled to provide for his family while pursuing his law studies he entered upon a course of reading which he believed would lead him into a more congenial field of labor. He applied himself assiduously to the mastery of the principles of jurisprudence and in the Chicago Law school completed a full course, being graduated with the class of 1868. He was then admitted to the bar of Sangamon county and also obtained admission to practice in the higher courts. The same untiring industry and strong purpose which had been manifested in his career as a medical practitioner now found exemplification in his legal work and for 30 years he occupied a place among the strongest and most capable of the Springfield bar. Devotedly attached to his profession, systematic and methodical in habit, sober and discreet in judgment, calm temper, diligent in research, conscientious in the discharge of every duty, all these qualities enabled him to take first rank among the distinguished lawyers of his day. Few members of the bar have made a more lasting impression both for legal ability of a high order and for the individuality of a personal character, which impresses itself upon a community. Such was his force of character and natural qualifications that he overcame all obstacles and engraved his name upon the keystone of the legal arch. The zeal with which he devoted his energies to his profession, the careful regard evinced for the interests of his clients, and an assiduous and unrelaxing attention to all the details of his cases, brought him a large business and made him very successful in its conduct. His arguments elicited warm commendation, not only from his associates at the bar, but also from the bench. He was a very able writer; his briefs always showed wide research, careful thought and the best and strongest reasons which could be urged for his contention, presented in cogent and logical form and illustrated by a style unusually lucid and clear.

It was not alone Doctor Stuvé's work at the bar, however, that gained him the attention of the public, for his literary taste won him

fame and found expression in writings which deserve a place in the literature of the State. He was a man of broad reading and scholarly attainments thoroughly at home in the domain of letters and science. Shakespeare was one of his favorite authors and poetry in its higher forms was a source of great pleasure to him. His aesthetic nature also found expression in his love of music, and everything that promoted culture and refinement had its claim upon his attention and deep interest. He was especially fond of historical research and in the early years of his professional career at the bar he employed his leisure hours in writing. In this connection he was associated with Alexander Davidson and together these gentlemen compiled the "History of Illinois," which was published in 1873 by H. W. Rokker,of Springfield. There came a demand for a second and enlarged edition of this work in 1884. In their division of labor Mr. Davidson, who had some time before commenced to write the history alone, prepared with few exceptions the chapters detailing the discovery and early settlement of the State, while Doctor Stuvé treated its later and more complicated political and industrial development. This is one of the splendid works concerning the history of Illinois and indicates the genius and scholarly attainments of its authors. A vigilant and attentive observer of men and measures Doctor Stuve also discussed for the press most of the great public questions which were agitating his time as well as to present matters of historical interest. He was likewise well known as an orator and in public speech was deliberate and earnest.

It was during Dr. Stuvé's residence in Carmi, Illinois that he formed the acquaintance of Miss Mary Illinois Wilson, and their marriage was celebrated in 1857. The lady was the eldest daughter of Judge William Wilson, who was a native of Virginia and was 29 years justice of the supreme court of this State, acting as chief justice during the greater part of that time. Mrs Stuvé was educated in Monticello seminary, Godfrey, Illinois, and in other private schools. She accompanied her husband on his removal to Kentucky and on his return to Illinois and in 1866 they came to Springfield, where she was soon well known in social and church circles. In early maidenhood she had united with the Presbyterian church at Carmi and in Springfield, her membership was with the Third Presbyterian church until 1872, when it was transfered to the First Church. She was always found at her place in the house of worship and her life was the exponent of her Christian belief. Although of a rather retiring disposition, she was generous and kindly in all her impulses and acts and her family knew her as a most devoted wife and mother, her acquaintances a faithful and loyal friend. Unto Dr. and Mrs. Stuvé were born five children, the only son being Dr. Wilson Stuvé now of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The living daughters are Mary, C. Clementine and Alice D. and one daughter died several years ago. Dr. Stuvé was called to his final rest April 11, 1903, when 73 years of age. The Doctor found his greatest enjoyment at his own fireside when surrounded by his wife and children. His deepest interest centered there and he ever manifested a strong and sincere delight in the

pleasures which entertained his children in youth, and in their development as they progressed toward manhood and womanhood. He put forth every effort in his power to promote the happiness of his family, and in friendship he was equally faithful, holding the duties of friendship as inviolable. He had been reared in the faith of the Roman Catholic church, but his study of the religious questions after attaining manhood caused him to sever his connection with that denomination. He never united with any other church organization, but was a firm believer in Christianity and gave his loyal support to many movements that tended to promote the moral welfare of his city and of higher civilization. His religious faith was shown in his daily life, his kindness and consideration for others, in his honor and integrity and his upright career. He was temperate in all things, using neither liquor nor tobacco, and everything that proved detrimental to the best development of the race received his censure, while all that tended to advance man to the plane of high moral development received his endorsement and many times his co-operation. His political support was given to the Democratic party and he regarded it as a duty as well as a privilege to exercise his right of franchise. He was, however, without political ambition for himself and served in no public offices. save those of county supervisor and as a member of the board of education. His was a notable character, one that subordinated personal ambition to public good and sought rather the benefit of others than the aggrandizement of self. Endowed by nature with high intellectual qualities to which were added the discipline and embellishments of culture, his was a most attractive personality. No man was ever more respected or ever more enjoyed the confidence of the people among whom he lived and none have more largely deserved the esteem in which they have been held. He was honorable in business, loyal in citizenship, charitable in thought, kindly in action and true to every trust confided to his care. For long years he was a resident of Illinois and for years to come he will be remembered by those who knew him as a man of gracious presence, charming personality and of purity in public and private life.

DR. ROBERT BOAL.

1806-1903.

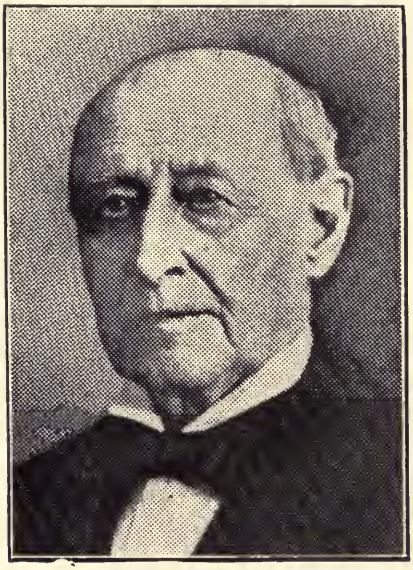
(Dr. J. F. Snyder.)

Dr. Robert Boal, a pioneer physician of Illinois, and for several years a politician and legislator of State reputation, was elected an honorary member of the Illinois State Historical society at its second annual meeting, on Jan. 30, 1901.

He was born near Harrisburg, Dauphin county, Penn., on the 16th of November, 1806, and was the oldest of a family of four children. His parents were Thomas and Elizabeth (Crain) Boal, both natives of Dauphin county, Penn., and of Scotch descent, their ancestors having migrated from Scotland to America at an early day. Dr. Boal's father, a merchant, moved with his family from Pennsylvania to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1811, when Robert was but five years old, and there continued in the mercantile business until his death, which occurred in 1816.

The death of the father disrupted the family and Robert became an inmate of the household of his uncle, for whom he was named, who was also a resident of Cincinnati. Robert Boal received a rudimentary education in the public schools of that city, including a term of instruction in the Cincinnati college. His residence was then changed to the town of Reading, Ohio, and there, when about grown, he concluding to enter the profession of medicine, he read for a year and a half, in the office of Dr. Wright, of that town, the elementary medical course. Returning to Cincinnati he continued his medical studies with Drs. Whitman and Cobb, professors in the Ohio Medical college, which institution he entered as a student and from which he was graduated in 1828.

He then located in Reading and practiced medicine there for four years, when, desiring a larger field for the exercise of his abilities, he moved to Cincinnati and there continued the practice of his profession for four years more, a part of that time having the position of demonstrator of anatomy in the medical college from which he graduated. On May 12, 1831, Dr. Boal was united in marriage, at Reading, Ohio, to Miss Christiana Walker Sinclair, also of Scotch descent, and in 1834 visited central Illinois to see what advantages that region offered to an aspiring young physician. He was evidently very favorably impressed with the broad prairies and rich soil of the young State, as he left Cincinnati in 1836 and founded a permanent home at Lacon, then known as Columbia, on the Illinois river. Lacon was then in Putnam county, but became the county seat of the new county of Marshall when it was organized on the 29th of January, 1839. He there continued the active practice of medicine until 1862, when he received the appointment of examining physician



Robert Boal, M. D.

for the United States board of enrollment of the Fifth Congressional district, the duties of which position necessitated his removal to Peoria.

After the close of the civil war he resumed the general practice of medicine in Peoria, remaining there until forced by declining vitality to retire from further professional labors, in 1893, at the age of 87 years. Laying aside the professional harness he had worn for sixty-five years, he returned to his former home, at Lacon, to pass the evening of life in well earned repose, with his widowed daughter, Mrs. Greenbury L. Fort, and there, from senile exhaustion, his long, useful and honorable life was quietly terminated by death on the 16th of June, 1903, at the ripe age of 96 years and 7 months.

His wife, an admirable type of that noble class of pioneer women who braved and surmounted the many frontier privations and dangers incident to the State's infancy, after sharing with him the vicissitudes and triumphs of life for fifty-two years, passed to her final rest in June, 1883. She was survived by three children, two sons and a daughter. Their first born, Charles T. Boal, is one of the prominent business men of Chicago The other son, James Sinclair Boal, was a successful lawyer of Chicago, for ten years assistant United States district attorney through several administrations, and died there in 1888. The daughter, Clara B. Boal, became the wife of Col. Greenbury L. Fort, who served with distinction in the civil war, subsequently served four terms in congress, and died Jan. 13, 1883, leaving one son, Lieut. Col. Robert Boal Fort, of the Spanish-American war, now representing Marshall county in the State senate.*

Dr. Boal the Physician.

When Dr. Boal located in Columbia (now Lacon) in 1836, four years after the Black Hawk war and expulsion of the Indians from Illinois, that portion of the State was very sparsely settled and, in common with other settlers, he was subjected to all the inconveniences and many of the hardships inevitable in the condition of the country at that time. The roads were but trails through the prairie grass and timbered river bottoms, much of the time rendered almost impassable by mud and water, no bridges spanned the streams, and for half the year the country was infested with mosquitoes, green-headed flies and other noxious insects, tending to render life of both man and beast a continuous burden.

On the 4th day of July in that year (1836) was begun the first actual work of excavating the Illinois and Michigan canal, and the prospects of its early completion was attracting many immigrants to the district of the State through which it was located. Dr. Boal was then 30 years of age, strong, vigorous and energetic, and ambitious to gain success, if not local distinction. Intellectually bright and eloquent of speech, with nearly eight years of experience in medical practice, he was well equipped for the arduous lifework before him, and at once his services were in demand to minister to the

*Col. Robert Boal Fort died at Springfield, Ill., May 21, 1905.

sick in a circuit so large as to seriously tax his physical endurance. The swampy bottoms and marshy prairies were prolific generators of malarial fevers and bilious disorders that often prostrated every inmate of the settler's cabin, and of entire settlements, requiring the doctor's attention at all hours of the day and night and much wearisome riding on horseback.

Dr. Boal practiced the "regular" or allopathic, system of medicine with all the refined barbarity of blood letting, blistering, emetics, etc., then in vogue, but administered those old-time tortures with care, prudence and clear-headed judgment. In his care of the sick he was attentive, kind and sympathetic, but resolute and relf-reliant, and, apart from the harmless deception and humbuggery absolutely unavoidable in the successful practice of medicine, he was invariably conscientious and honorable.

He was thoroughly devoted to his profession, regarding it a high and noble calling worthy of the best efforts of the most cultured minds; and was an enthusiastic student keeping well informed of all improvements and advancements in the healing art and adopting them whenever available. In 1862 he received the appointment of examining surgeon for the U. S. Board of Enrollment of the Fifth Congressional district, which required his removal to Peoria, where his services in that capacity continued until the close of the civil war in 1865. During that period he carefully examined over 5,000 volunteers and drafted men, deciding their degree of fitness for military service. Peace restored and his occupation for the government ended, he remained a resident of Peoria and resumed the practice of medicine from which he at last retired in 1893.

He was an active member of the Peoria Medical society and for some time its president. He was also a member of the American Medical association, and of the State Medical society of Illinois, of which last named he was elected president in 1882. He was one of the organizers of the Edward Dickenson Medical club of Peoria, and survived all of its original members. He was also one of the founders and first incorporators of the Cottage Hospital at Peoria and for some years one of its directors.

By all who knew him, Dr. Boal was ranked among the best physicians of his time; and his success, his well stored mind, his quick perception, sound judgement and common sense well sustained that reputation.

Dr. Boal the Politician and Statesman.

Notwithstanding Dr. Boal's devotion to his profession, it was too restricted a field for his versatile genius, and he soon became deeply interested in questions of public policy, then attracting general attention and provoking unlimited discussion. As a rule men inherit their fathers' political opinions, and occasionally their mothers' religious faith. From early manhood Dr. Boal was a staunch Whig and zealous partisan, as had been his father. He had tenacious, well-grounded convictions, and never hesitated to express and defend

them, when occasion required him to do so. He was a fluent and impressive speaker, and in several exciting political campaigns did much effective service for his party as a stump orator. Had he in early life abandoned the practice of medicine and adopted the legal profession, as did his friend Governor Bissell, in all probability he would have attained equally distinguished eminence in the political affairs of the State and nation.

By his valuable services on the rostrum and at elections he became an influential leader of his party, by which he was nominated, in 1844, its candidate to represent as State Senator, the district composed of Tazewell, Marshall, Putnam and Woodford counties, defeating Maj. Richard M. Cullom, father of our present U. S. Senator, Shelby M. Cullom. He was elected and served the term of four years with high credit. He was an able, aggressive debator, ever ready to defend the policy and principles of his party, and always watchful of the interests of his constituents. He was chiefly instrumental in effecting the passage of the bill providing for establishing, by the State, a hospital for the insane at Jacksonville. He supported the bill providing for calling a convention in 1847 for revising the State constitution, and championed the interests of the Illinois and Michigan canal then in seriously depressed financial condition, and succeeded in securing legislation for its relief as well as to promote its speedy completion. When his term of office expired, in 1848, he took up his practice and was again the busy physician as before, but none the less vigilant politician.

Dr. Boal first met Abraham Lincoln at the Whig Congressional convention of 1842, and there a warm mutual friendship began that continued through life. In the violent political ebulition consequent upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and promulgation of Senator Douglas' doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty Dr. Boal was conspicuously active in opposition to those innovations, and upon the stirring issues then presented was elected a member of the lower house of the Legislature, in 1854, with the distinction of being the last Whig ever elected from that district. At the session of the general assembly to which he was elected, a U S. Senator was elected to succeed Senator James Shields. The candidate of the Whig caucus for that position was Abraham Lincoln, who had been elected to Congress, in 1846, from the Sangamon district defeating Rev Peter Cartwright, his Democratic opponent. Joel A Matteson was the candidate of the Douglas Democrats in the Legislature against Mr. Lincoln. Dr. Boal and Stephen T. Logan with the Whig minority stood loyally at every ballot for Mr. Lincoln until all hope of his success was dissipated, and then only upon Mr. Lincoln's earnest appeal, changed their votes to Lyman Trumbull.

The Democrats were divided upon the Kansas-Nebraska question; and the Anti-Nebraska faction, led by John M. Palmer, holding the balance of power, finally fused with the Whigs and elected Mr. Trumbull. That defeat of Lincoln was the death knell of the Whig party in Illinois, and, with the triumph of the fusion Democrat in his stead, it passed out of existence forever.

Dr. Boal was a delegate from Marshall county in the ever memorable convention of Whigs and Anti-Douglas Democrats which met at Bloomington on May 29, 1856, and after electing John M. Palmer its presiding officer, there organized the Republican party of Illinois and nominated Col. Wm. H Bissell, a former Democrat, for governor, with a full State ticket, all of whom were elected, Colonel Bissell defeating Col. Wm. A. Richardson, his Democratic opponent by a plurality of 4732 votes, though the Democrats carried the State for Buchanan, their Presidential candidate, by the majority of 9159. At that election Doctor Boal was again elected to the lower house of the Legislature, as a Republican, and on taking his seat found himself again with the minority, the Democrats having a majority of barely one vote in each House.

In the session of 1855, Doctor Boal was selected as chairman of a joint committee of the two Houses appointed to investigate the condition of the State Institutions at Jacksonville, which was thoroughly done; and by recommendation of that committee the law was enacted requiring the trustees of those Institutions to be selected from different counties in the State, and not all from Morgan county as theretofore.

In 1857 Governor Bissell appointed Dr. Boal a trustee of the Jacksonville Deaf and Dumb asylum, a position he held for seventeen years, through the administrations of Governors Bissell, Yates, Oglesby, Palmer and Beveridge, for the last five years of that period being president of the board of trustees. With the expiration of Dr. Boal's last term in the legislature his active participation in party politics ceased, only appearing again in a political capacity as an alternate delegate to the Republican National convention of 1860 that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the presidency. In public as in private life Dr. Boal was conscientiously honest and incorruptable. As a legislator he was dignified, patriotic and unselfish, having at heart the welfare of his country, his party and his constituents. With clear and comprehensive grasp of the great questions then wildly agitating the public mind he never faltered in his bold defense of the principles he deemed to be right, unmindful of possible consequences of that course to himself. Though his public career was neither brilliant or remarkable, his ability, loyalty and firmness commanded the confidence and enthusiastic support of his party, and his invariably courteous, gentlemanly deportment, and his manliness and fairness in debate, won for him the respect and esteem of his opponents.

Dr. Boal the Citizen.

In stature Dr. Boal was above medium height, not quite six feet tall, erect in figure, perfectly proportioned, with high, broad forehead, and strong, pleasant features.

Among his many marked personal characteristics was the gift of oratory to a considerable degree. His command of language was remarkable; in conversation he was always attractive and entertaining; as a public speaker he was forcefnl and impressive, and his after dinner addresses for pungent wit and humor were but little inferior to Chauncey Depew's best efforts.

Nature endowed him with a sunny, affable disposition and genial temperament that attracted friendships and disarmed enmities. It also gave him a lofty conception of honor and justice that controlled him in all business transactions, and indeed in all the relations of his private and public life. He had an instinctive horror of vice, immorality, dishonesty and social depravity, whether in shameless squalor or gilded by wealth or power.

Next to his rugged patriotism his abiding interest was in the welfare and advancement of the community in which he resided, his public spirit extending to all things tending to the welfare of the people, to local improvement, to promotion of public education, the helping of the poor and unfortunate, and actively sustaining all agencies for the moral purification of society. Consequently, Dr. Boal's citizenship was of the most substantial type. In the Augustine age of Rome there was no higher honor than that of being a "citizen of Rome." Dr. Boal occupied the more exalted honor of being an American citizen, ennobling that proud station in life by his thorough manliness, his integrity of character and his intellectual and moral worth.

He was brought up by his mother in the Presbyterian church, of which he was a faithful member until the 35th year of his age, when he changed his church relations, seceding from the disciples and doctrines of John Calvin and joining the Protestant Episcopal church, with which he remained to the close of his life. His personal habits were most exemplary with the one exception that he was an inveterate tobacco smoker. He was an omnivorous reader; in fact, a lifelong student, displaying his refined tastes in fondness of art, poetry, the drama and higher literature.

To his last day Dr. Boal's mental faculties were bright and but little impaired, his memory retentive, and he delighted in entertaining his friends with reminiscences of his long and busy life. He also retained to the last—because of his exalted character and valued citizenship—the high esteem and veneration of all who knew him.

JOHN MAYO PALMER.

1848–1903.

(Alfred Orendorff.)

In presenting a sketch of the life of John Mayo Palmer I could not if I would avoid being influenced by my warm attachment to him while living and the cherished memory I hold of his admirable qualities of mind and heart. He was a member of this Association. He belonged to an historic family. He was a product of Illinois and nothing concerning the history and progress of the State was foreign to his interest.

It is therefore especially appropriate that a tribute to his memory should find a place on the records of this Society.

I will try to speak of him as he would have me speak. He was a sincere man, disliked exaggeration and to whom fulsome eulogy was distasteful. He was a devotee of truth and if his wishes could be consulted he would have extenuated nothing. In estimating his character it could be fitly measured by paraphrazing the notable expression of his illustrious father. As strong as humanity, no stronger; as weak as humanity, no weaker. The 53 years of this man's life, from his birth in Carlinville, March 10, 1848, including the half of the last century, was the most important in the state and nation's history. They cover great events They were full of deep significance and left their lasting impress on his mind. He in turn, within the sphere of his activity, met the new issues with studious thought and by pen and speech did his full part to settle right the momentous questions submitted to the judicial and legislative branches of our State government.

His father bore a conspicious part in the War of the Rebellion, returning from the service with the rank of major-general. John Mayo, too young to enlist, had the interesting and dangerous experience of accompanying General Palmer on several of his hard-fought campaigns.

His early education was obtained in the public schools of Carlinville, at Blackburn university and Shurtleff college. He adopted the law as his profession and after studying in his father's office, attended the law school of Harvard university, where he obtained his degree of bachelor of laws in 1868. He returned to Carlinville and began the practice of law, was elected city attorney and served two years in that position.

In 1872 he went to Springfield and entered the law firm of his father. The firm of John M. and John Mayo Palmer had a large

Hon. John Mayo Palmer.

and lucrative business. This connection was maintained until 1889, during which time he served one term as alderman and one term as representative in the general assembly.

His health having become impaired, he removed to the state of Washington. During his residence there his health was much improved, but the opportunities for desirable business being unequal to his capabilities, he returned to Springfield and took up the practice in the office of his father, who had been elected to the United States Senate.

After a year spent in Springfield he removed to Chicago and entered the law firm of Doolittle, Palmer & Tollman. Associates of the firm were Senator James R. Doolittle and Edgar B. Tollman, now corporation counsel of Chicago.

Mayor Harrison, the elder, appointed him assistant corporation counsel of the city of Chicago in 1893, and a year later Mayor John P. Hopkins made him corporation counsel, a position which he held with great credit. His opinions on municipal questions attracted the attention of legal advisors of the great cities of the country and were regarded as able expositions of the then mooted questions by the bench and bar of the nation.

At the end of his official term he entered the private practice of the law in which he was actively engaged until a few months before his death.

His marriage to Miss Ellen Robertson took place at Carlinville in 1869. They have three sons, who, with the widow, survive him. The eldest son, Capt John McAuley Palmer, an officer in the regular army, is now an instructor at West Point and has achieved success as a writer for the leading magazines; the second son, Robertson Palmer, is a practicing lawyer, and the third son, Dr. George Thomas Palmer, is a physician in Chicago.

He died at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, and was buried in the family lot in the Carlinville cemetery; near the father and mother, sisters and brothers, he sleeps well.

From the brief outline it will be seen that his life was devoted to the law. It is said the law is a jealous mistress. If so, she had no more devoted lover than he. He was engaged in famous cases. Among the more noted ones are the Macoupin county bond cases, the so called Pekin Whisky Ring cases, the Sny Carte Levee cases, the Railway and Warehouse cases, in all of which he took a conspicuous part.

It is but tardy justice to him to state that the result of his thought and research was often uncounsciously appropriated by others, and while plaudits were in store for them, this unostentatious man had only the consciousness, with which he was content, of knowing that he had contributed something that met the approval of his associates, and was frequently crystalized into statutory law and the decisions of the highest courts.

It could not be otherwise than that he suffered by comparison with his father, who was a distinguished lawyer before the son was admitted to the bar. It was for a time like a great oak overshadowing a young hickory. But lawyers are the best judges of the abilities of those with whom they come in contact, and a time came when in the estimation of the members of the bar who knew him best, John Mayo Palmer was not excelled in a knowledge of the law by any practitioner in our courts.

It only remains for me to speak of his personal characteristics which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. As son, husband, father, brother and friend he merited the love of all who held this sacred relationship. To his loved ones, a number of whom are in attendance here, how often has come the wish:

"Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still."

This genial, gentle, courageous man was a lover of humanity and a firm believer in the immortality of the soul. May we not all be sustained by at least a comforting hope that the good night here will be followed in some fairer, better clime by a welcome Good Morning! And may we not be upheld by an unfaltering trust that 'Since God is just, that somehow, somewhere, meet we must.'"

Rufus Blanchard

RUFUS BLANCHARD.
1821—1904.

(Frederick Latimer Wells.)

In the very early hours of the 3d day of January, 1904, at Wheaton, DuPage county, Ill., a member of this society sent for his lawyer in order that he might make his will.

His wife, in alarm, asked if he felt seriously ill. He replied: "I don't know, but I don't mean to take any chances." He was nearly 83 years of age. In about four hours he died. His name was Rufus Blanchard.

Previously in the night he had been troubled with an attack of acute indigestion. Five minutes before his death he even indulged in little pleasantries with his wife, and then, without warning or struggle, closed his eyes and gently passed away. That picture seems to show how clear Mr. Blanchard's mind was to the end.

The third day before his death he spent at his office at Chicago, reading proof for a new publication and arranging for the printing of several thousand maps. On the last day of his life he spent an hour or two reading Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe" and working over proofs. He literally died in harness, as, previously, in the early 70's he had said a map-maker ought to die. Let us hear Mr. Blanchard's own words, written some thirty years ago:

"The field of map-making in the United States is too large for one man or a hundred men when towns are springing into existence with a rapidity hitherto unparalleled in the history of the world. To keep pace with all these and connect them with railroads as fast as the same are built is the work of the restless map-publisher who never sleeps without one eye open, and works in his harness till he dies. Men may engage in almost any other business and retire from it, but the man who has spent the best of his life in mapping the most progressive country on earth can hardly be lured from the attractions which lead him along with the current of commerce and the destiny of his country."

How fitting an obituary in those words Rufus Blanchard wrote for himself.

At Lyndeboro, N. H., in Hillsboro county, one of the southern tier of counties, Rufus Blanchard was born March 7, 1821, the tenth and youngest child of Amaziah and Mary Blanchard (Mary Damon before her marriage) His parents were very well-to-do for those days, and were descended from many who had been active in making colonial and revolutionary history.

He attended the Ipswich academy, not far from his home, and had private tutors in mathematics and Latin. His brothers and sisters always told of his great fondness for books and of his proficiency in Latin; at 13 trying to carry on conversations in that language with his uncle, Dr. Abijah Blanchard, who spoke Latin fluently.

At 14 years of age he went to New York to his brother, Calvin Blanchard, who had a book store at 78 Nassau street. Calvin Blanchard and Horace Greeley were friends and learned the trade of typesetting; side by side.

His brother Calvin shortly afterwards procured for him a position with the firm of Harper Brothers. At the Harpers he was brought daily into contact with the literary men of New York, meeting and becoming acquainted with William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, N. P. Willis, James Gordon Bennett of the Herald, and Moses Y. Beach of the Sun, James Fennimore Cooper, Parke Benjamin, Charles Fenno Hoffman and other literary men.

These were a constant joy to the youth and he never tired of telling of their characteristics of speech and manner. He was fond of relating stories where the joke was on himself.

While working in the book store of Calvin Blanchard a tall and extremely dignified gentleman, wearing the white choker which betokened his calling, asked the youth for a copy of Comte's "Positive Philosophy," which the boy found, and began with the enthusiasm of a young salesman to recommend very highly to his clerical customer.

Mr. Blanchard used often to relate with the greatest satisfaction how the old gentleman adjusted his glasses and simply looked down upon him in disgust. "A lesson I never forgot," said Mr. Blanchard, adding, "Keep still if you don't know what you are talking about."

Mr. James Harper, the head of Harper Brothers, was very kind and considerate. The first Sunday young Blanchard went to church who should be coming down the aisle with the plate but his senior employer. The lad's salary was $1.50 a week, but he meant to appear as well as possible, so he dropped 25 cents on the plate. The next day Mr. Harper came to him in the store and said, "Rufus, you need not put any money on the plate because I pass it. If you do, don't put on any more than one cent."

In the eyes of the young resident of the metropolis the Astor House seemed a wonderful place with its imposing entrance and the throngs of men going in and out. The boy decided to be a patron also, and the only thing it occurred to him to order was cider. After drinking his mug of cider with all the dignity at his command he asked the price, expecting to pay 2 or 3 cents for what at his father's home had always been as free as water. He was somewhat startled when "25 cents" was ejaculated by the bartender, but he fortunately found he had 27 cents in his little purse and paid his bill as grandly as he could, using great care that no one should see he had only 2 cents left. He said that he never bought any more cider at the Astor House.

Mr. Gordon, the inventor and manufacturer of the Gordon print-

ing press, enjoyed sports, and used a special room in his home for fencing and boxing. He taught young Blanchard those gentle arts and found the youth, tall and agile as he was, a very satisfactory associate, writing him, after he had left New York: "I miss you; you are the best fencer I know outside of the professionals."

At 16, in partnership with a young printer a little older than himself, he undertook as a speculation the first publication on this side the Atlantic ocean of paper copies of some of Dickens' works which were just coming out at that time in London.

In 1838, in company with his brother, Edwin, he crossed the Allegheny mountains by stage, with a small stock of dry goods. Pittsburg was then but a village. Going down the Ohio river to Columbus they opened a small store. He bought 300 acres of wild land and spent several months upon it, hunting deer and other game and trading with the Indians for pelts. He also taught school during the winter months in a log school house. It is interesting to note that four of his students in that log school house corresponded with Mr. Blanchard throughout his lifetime, a letter from one of them coming to his address a few days after his death.

Longing, however, for the literary and social advantages of New York he decided to return; so he purchased a string of horses and started eastward, selling the horses one by one in Pennsylvania and New York state. Reaching Albany with the last horse he aroused some suspicion, and his story that he had brought the horse from the wilds of Ohio was hardly believed. The suspicious purchaser of that last horse became in later years a staunch personal friend.

With more money than he had ever before possessed he took steamer from Albany to New York.

When B. J. Lossing was preparing to start out for his 10,000 miles of travel through the Atlantic states, securing material for his "Field Notes of the American Revolution," he asked Mr. Blanchard to buy for him the horse he was to ride. Lossing and Blanchard were cousins and friends and had many talks about the work Lossing was undertaking.

Upon returning to New York Mr. Blanchard became connected with the map house of the Coltons, at that time the largest in the country. Then in partnership with Charles Morse he undertook map publishing at 195 Broadway, using a new process of making zinc map plates from a stone drawing.

In 1847 New York parties sent him to New Orleans to close out a bankrupt book store. He also had a book store at Cincinnati, which was burned in a couple of years and left him with nothing. At that time at Cincinnati Alice and Phoebe Cary were beginning their literary work and became good friends with the young bookseller.

In 1853 Mr. Blanchard opened a general book and map store, with a printing department, at 52 LaSalle street, Chicago, in a portion of the old Metropolitan block. Since then, for a period of over fifty years he has been actively in the map-making and publishing busi-

ness in Chicago and a familiar figure upon her streets, knowing and being known by a very large number of Chicago's best men.

Mr. Blanchard never grew old in heart or brain. He was always interested in the social life around him and the varied changes in the political world. He was fond of his cozy home, the first brick building of any sort ever erected in Wheaton, in which he lived for nearly forty years. He loved the trees and the birds; the latter he fed and cared for, particularly in the winter time. The wrens which came each year and occupied boxes he had prepared for them, were his especial pets, and he insisted that the same birds often returned.

Until the last few years Mr. Blanchard did much horseback riding. He was gentle and kind in speech and thought, always praising others and saying little of himself. He was simple in his tastes; tea, coffee and tobacco were strangers to him. He ate little meat. Although a student of politics he never held an office.

Misfortunes such as would have seriously injured the life and character of many came into his life but had no effect upon his temper or cheerfulness. He was never known to frown.

Shortly after coming to Chicago he went to Albany to be married to Miss Permilla Farr. On the way to New York a few hours after the wedding, the train was wrecked and his bride so burned and injured that she only lived a few days.

The great Chicago fire destroyed his book store and printing and engraving establishments, including all his book and map plates, leaving him only his home at Wheaton, a pair of horses, and some 3,000 bound volumes of his first edition of the "History of the Northwest," which, previous to the fire, he had sent to Wheaton for storage. Mr. Blanchard sold his horses and mortgaged his home, and with some 25 employes had just gotten well started when, six weeks after the Chicago fire, his Wheaton plant burned, and was a total loss.

It is related that when he stepped from the train at Wheaton an hour after the fire, his workmen were assembled at the station to tell him of his loss. He heard them quietly and then simply said, "Well, we all had better go to supper."

In 1858, at Buffalo, he married Miss Annie Hall, who has been a sympathetic and helpful co-laborer with him in his literary work. She survives him. They had no children.

In 1865, accompanied by his wife, he spent two months driving through Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Minnesota, going to a large number of the county seats of each of those states, correcting maps and getting material for guide books. He also visited and saw as much of the Indians as was possible on that trip.

In the early 80's he went to Oregon, spending several months verifying and collecting material for a history of that state Completed manuscript for such a history was destroyed by another fire in 1885.

As to Mr. Blanchard's literary works, they speak for themselves. His "Historical Map of the United States," published in 1876, and his "History of Illinois," published in 1883, together with his "History of

the Northwest and Chicago," are books which posterity truly needs and will most certainly highly appreciate. Without attempting to enumerate them all I feel sure that the last book, which was published only a few months ago, "The Documentary History of the Cession of Louisiana to the United States," will at this special time be largely welcomed owing to the present interest in the Louisiana Purchase.

Although not regaining his physical strength after a serious illness some two years before his death, Mr. Blanchard nevertheless went to his business daily and throughout the city of Chicago wherever his pursuits called him, with never a thought of his physical restrictions.

To sum it up, may we not all agree that he was what might justly be called a "gentleman of the old school."

ADDENDUM.

KASKASKIA CHURCH RECORDS.*

(Translated and Transcribed by Rev. C. J. Eschmann of Prairie du Rocher.)

Extrait des Registres de Baptême de la Mission des Illinois sous le titre de l'Immaculée Conception de la S. V.

Anno, 1692, Martii 20—Ego Jacobus Gravier, Soc. Jesu solemniter baptizavi Petrum Aco, recens natum. P., Michael Aco; M., Maria Aramipinchic8e; Patr., D. de Mantchy, cujus vices gerit De Montmidy. Matrina Maria Joanna pueri avia.

Julii 25—Joannen Jacobum, recens natum. P., Ludovic Paquier Delannas; M., Cathar. Roscanga; Patr., Joan La Violette.

Octob. 4—Michaelem, recens natum. P., Jean Colon Laviolette; M., Cather Exipakin8a; Patrinus, Michael Aco; Matr., Catharina Delannas.

1697, Maii 13—Ego, Julianus Bineteau, Soc. Jesu, baptizavi Joannem Jacobum, un dies. P., Jean Colon Laviolette; M., Cathar Exipakino8a.

1698, Maii 29—Carolum, heri natum. P., Ludov de Lannai; M., Catharina Roeceauga.

Nov. 27—Henricum, un mensis baptizavit par P., Jean Laviolette, de Montigny; Patri., Dominus Tonty, M., Cathar. Ekipakinoea.

1699, Sbre. 22—Mariam, hodie nat. P., Bizaillin; M., Maria; Patr., Antonius Buillaricon; Matr., Maria Aco, uxor.

2

1699, Septemb. 7—Ego, Gabr Marest, baptizavi Theresiam Panicoec 6 annos, apud Bizaillon.

1700, Juin 17—Guillelumme, un dies. P., Guill. Marion; Patr., Michael Aco; M. Brigitta; Matr., Marie Aco.

1701, April 17—Petrum ——. P., Antonius Baillarjeon; M., Domitilla Choepingoea.

1702, Jan 6—Mariam hodie. P. Joan Gaultier Sakingoara; M. Maria Susanna; Patr. Mich; Matri. Marie.

Feb. 22—Michaelem hodie natum—P. Mich. Aco; M. Marie; Patr. Perrigan Andreas; Matr. Maria Th. Bizaillon.

1703, Apr. 13—Ego J Gravier bapt. Petrum recens natum; P. Biraillon; M. Marie Theresia; Patr. Petr. Champagne; Matr. Elisabetha.

1703, Apr. 25—Ad ripam Metchagamia dictam venimus.

*The figure "8" appears frequently in names, usually of women. Its meaning not being clearly understood, the figure has been used as it appears in the records.

KASKASKIA CHURCH RECORDS.

TRANSLATION.

(Translated and Transcribed by Rev. C. J. Eschmann of Prairie du Rocher.)

Extract from the Baptismal Records of the Mission among the Illinois under the title of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.

A. D., 1692, March 20—I, James Gravier, of the Society of Jesus, solemnly baptized Peter Aco, recently born. F., Michael Aco; M., Marie Aramipinchic8e; Godf., D. de Mantchy, whose place De Montmidy took; Godm., Maria Johnanna, the boy's grandmother.

July 25—John James, recently born. F., Louis Paquier Delannas, M., Catherine R8scanga. Godf., John La Violette,

Oct. 4—Michael, recently born. F., John Colon Laviolette; M., Cath. Exipakin8ca.

1697, May 13—I, Julian Bineteau, Society of Jesus, baptized John James, one day old. F., John Colon Laviolette; M., Catherine Exipakin8ca.

1698, May 29—Charles, born yesterday. F., Louis de Lannai; M., Catherine R8scanga.

Nov. 27—Henry, one month old; Mr. de Montigny baptized him. F., John Laviolette; M., Catherine Ekipakin8ca; Godf., Mr. Tonty.

1699, Sept 22—Maria, born today. F., Bizaillin; M., Maria; Godf., Anthony Buillarjean; Godm., Maria Aco, wife.

Dec. 7—I, Gabriel Marest, baptized Theresa Panis8c, six years old, at Bizaillon's.

1700, June 17—William, one day old. F. William Marion; M., Bridget; Godf., Michael Aco; Godm., Mary Aco.

1701, April 17—Peter ——. F., Anthony Baillarjean; M., Domitilla Che8ping8a.

1702, Jan. 6—Marie today; F. John Gaultier Sakingora; M. Maria Susan; Godf. Mich; Godm. Maria.

Feb. 22—Michael born today; F. Michael Aco; M. Marie; Godf. Perrigan Andrew; Godm. Maria Th. Bizaillon.

1703, Apr. 13—I. J. Gravier baptized Peter, recently born: F. Bizaillon; M. Maria Theresa; Godf. Peter Champagne; Godm. Elizabeth.

1703, Apr. 25—We reached the shore of the socalled Metchagamia.

1703, Nov. 14—P. Gabr. Mar. bapt Domitillam 5 dies; P. Joan Gaultier Sakingoara; M. Marie Susanna Cape8fseize.

1704, Julii 26—Jacobum r. n.; P. Michael Phillipe; M. Maria 8canic8e; Patr. Jacob (?) Bourdon; Matr. Domit.

1706, Jan. 22—Agnetem r. n.; P. Michael Philippe; M. Maria 8canic8e; Matr. Symphorosa.

3.

1707, Jan. 19—P. J. Mermet bapt. Joannem r. n.; P. Joan Sakingoara; M. Maria Susanna; Patr. Jacob Bourdon; Matr. Cathar. 8abanak8e.

Apr. 26—Mariam 6 mens illegit: Pater Georgius Thoret vulgo Parisien; M. Tinioe 8tankic8e; Matr. Maria 8canc8e.

1708, Feb. 7—Petrum prid. nat.; P. Ludovic Duguet Duverdier; Patr. Petrus Hugnon; M. Helena Sacatchi8c8a; Matr. Cathar 8abanaki8c.

Junii 9—Mariam 3 mens; P. Steph Franciscus La Boissiere; M. Atchica Panic8c; Matr. Maria 8canic8c.

1709, Sept. 9—P. Gabr. Mar. bapt, Mariam r. n.; P. Petrus S. Michael; M. Cecilia Maminapita; Matr. Maminapita vel. Maria 8canic8c.

Nov. 16—Petrum Heri natum; P. Petrus Chabot; Patr. Stephanus Campo; M. Symphorosa Mer8tap8c8c; Matr Cathar. Forestier.

1712, Apr. 20—P. Jo. M. de Viller bapt. Michaelem 20 dies, illegitim; P. Bisaillon; M. Apenfamac8e; Patr. Jos. de Sir.

Junii 22—Elizabetham 1 d.; P. Michael Philippe; Patr. Petrus Huynan; M. Maria 8Kanic8c; Matr. Elizabeth Dee.

Julii 24—Baptizatus est in itinere a Ludovico Chauvin, Franciscus, 21 dies; P. Steph. Fr. la Boissiere; Patr. Ladov Chauvin; M. Martha Atchica; Matr. Cat. 8abanakic8e.

Nov. 24—P. Jo. Mermet bapt. Caecilam 2 annos; P. Joa Brunet Bourbonnois; Patr. Petrus Huynan; M. Elizabeth Dee; Matr. Symphor Mer8tap8c8c.

Item Mariam 1 dies usem parentibus; Patr. Petrus l'Epine; Matr. Maria 8canic8c.

1713, Januar 11—Joannem 9 dies; P. Joa Sakinghoara; M. Maria Sus. Cupki8pci8c, Matr. Maria Sakingoara.

Januar 26—Marianam 1 ann, 6 mens; P. Nicolaus Migneret; Mater Susanna Kerami; Matr. Petronilla 8crisic8c.

Jan. 30—Cathrinam; P. Joan Alaric; M. Maria Joan Ai88ec8c; Matr Catharina Ae8ma.

1813, Oct. 18—Petrum 4 dies; P. Nicolaus Mignaret; Patr. Petrus Chabot; M. Susanna Kerami, Matr. Cath. 8abanskic8c.

1714, Januar 21—Mariam 4 dies; P. Steph. Philippe; Patr. Mich. Philippe; M. Maria Ma8endic8c; Matr. Margarita Macates8c8e.

Nov. 14—Father Gabr. Mar. baptized Domitilla 5 days old; F. John Gaultier Saking8ra; M. Maria Susan Capei8sreize.

1704, July 26—James r. b ; F. Michael Philippe; M. Maria 8canic8c; Godf. James (?) Bourdon; Godm. Domit.

1706, Jan. 22—Agnes r. b.; F. Michael Philippe; M. Maria 8canic8c; Godm. Symphorosa.

1707, Jan. 19—Fr. J. Mermet bapt. John r. b.; F. John Sakingoara; M. Maria Susan; Godf. James Bourdon; Godm. Catherine 8abanak8c.

Apr. 26—Maria, 6 months old, illegit; Father George Thoret, nicknamed Parisian; M. Tinioe 8tankic8c; Godm. Maria 8canic8c.

1708, Feb. 7—Peter, born day before yesterday; F Louis Duguet Duverdier; M. Helen Sacatchi8c8c; Godf. Peter Hugnon; Godm. Cath. 8abanacki8c.

June 9—Maria, 3 months old; F. Steph. Frank La Boissiere; M. Atchica Panic8c; Godm. Maria 8canic8c.

1709, Sept. 9—Fr. Gabriel Marest baptized Maria, r. n.; F. Peter S. Michael; M. Cecilia Maminapita; Godm. Maminapita or Maria 8canic8c.

Nov. 16—Peter, born yesterday; F. Peter Chabot; M. Symphorosa Mer8tap8c8c; Godf. Stephen Campo; Godm Cath. Forestier.

1712, Apr. 16—Fr. J. M. de Viller bapt. Michael, 20 days old, illegitim; F. Bizaillon; M. Apenfamac8c. Godf. Jos. de Sir.

June 22—Elizabeth, 1 day old; F. Michael Philippe; M. Maria 8kanic8c; Godf. Peter Hugnon; Godm. Elizabeth Dee.

Jul. 24—Francis, 21 days old, was baptized on a journey by Louis Chauvin; F. Steph. Fr. La Boissiere; M. Martha Atchica, Godf. Louis Chauvin; Godm: Cat. 8abanickie8c.

Nov 24—Fr. Jo. Mermet bapt. Cecilia, 2 years old, F., J. Brunet Bourbonnais; M. Elizabeth Dee; Godf. Peter Hugnon; Godm. Symphor Mar8tap8c8c.

Likewise Maria, 1 day old, by the same parents; Godf. Peter l'Epine; Godm. Marie 8cannic8c.

1713, Jan. 11—John, 9 days old; F. John Sakinghoara; M. Maria Susan Capki8poi8c; Godm. Maria Sakingoara.

Jan 26—Marianne, 1 year and 6 mos. old; F. Nicholas Migneret; M. Susan Kerami; Godm Petronilla 8crisic8c.

Jan. 30 Catharine; F. John Alaric; M. Maria Jane Ai88ec8c; Godm. Catherine Ac8ma.

1713, Oct. 18—Peter, 4 days old; F. Nicholas Migneret; M. Susan Kerami; Godf. Peter Chabot; Godm. Cath. 8abanakic8c.

1714, Jan. 21—Maria, 4 days old; F. Steph. Philippe; M. Maria Ma8ondic8c; Godf. Michael Philippe; Godm. Margaret Macates8c8c.

1714, Jan. 28—Mariam Josepham, 4 d.; P. Mic. Philippe; Patrin Jos. Carrier; M. Maria 8canic8c; Matr. Agnes Philippe.

Junii 3—Mariannam 3 ann; P. Petro Boisjoly fafart; Patr. Petr. Chabot; M. Accica Pat8kic8c; Matr. Elizabeth Dee.

1715, Febr. 10—Jacobum heri nat; P, Jacobus LaLande; Patr. Ludov Chauvin; M. Maria Tetthio; Matr. Francisca la Brise,

Marl. 3—Joannem bapt. r. n.; P. Joa bapt, Potier; Patr. Jacob la Lande; M. Franc la Brise; Matr. Maria 8canic8c.

Apr. 14—Mariam 4 d.; P. Augustinus La Pointe; Patr. Bellaison; M. Martha Mer8n8etam8c8c; Matr. Marg. 8aft.

1715, Aug. 4—Mariam 1. d. P. Joannes Olivier; M. Petronilla Mausakime; Patr. Carolus Danis; Matr. Marie Tetthio.

Nov. 7—Josephum 2. d. P. Michael Philippe; M. Marie Scanic8c; Patr. Stephan Philippe; Matr. Fr. la Brise.

1717, Febr. 11—Symphorosam 2. d. Pater Lud. Tescier; Pratr. Jacques Bourdon; Mater Cat. 8abanakic8c; Matr. Mary 8afsecam8c.

Aug. 7—Antonium r. n. P. Antonius Bosseron; Patr. Jac la Lande; M. Susanna Kerami; Matr. Domit Sakatchie8c.

Aug. 25—Mariam Ludovicam 2. d. P. Petrus Roy; Patr. Jac. Bourd; M. Maria Mae8tensic8c; Matr. Agnes Philippe.

1717, Nov. 10—Marriam Franciscam r. n.; P. Joa Bapt. Pottier; Patr. Guill. Potier; M. Francisca la Brise; Matr. Maria Tetthio.

Nov. 20—Elisabetham r. n. P. Jac la Lande; Patr. Joa Pottier; Tetthio; M. Maria; Matr. Francisca la Brise.

Nov. 30—Franciscam r. n.; P. Joa. Olivier; Patr. Petrus du Roy; M. Martha Accica; Matr. Fr. la Brise.

1718, Sept. 9—Jacobum r. n.; P. Stephan Philippe; Ptr. Jac Philippe; M. Maria ch8Pinokissga; Matr. DomitillaTching8anakigab8c8c.

Oct. 4—Mariam Annam; P. Carolus Danys; Ptr. Adrian Robillard; M. Dorothea Mechipec8c8a; Matr. Fr. la Brise.

1719, April 6—Paulum; Pater Lodov. Texier; Patr. Joa Huet; M. Catharina 8abanskic8c; Matr. Magdal Quesnel.

Junii 18—Mariam Cathrinam heri nat; P. Joa B. Potier; Patr. Jac de Verassae; M Fr. la Brise; Matr. Maa Cat. Julienne.

Oct 2—Genvefam; P. Petrus Roy; Patr. Franc Arnand; M. Maria Anna Mafc8tent; Matr. Dorothea Mechiper8ata.

1732, Julii 14—Ludovicum r. n ; P. Joa B. Barrois; Patr. Lud. Du Tissoe; M. Magdal Cardinal; Matr. Mar. Fr. Rivart.

1733, Feb. 14—Mariam Josepham r. n.; P. Lud. Turpin; Patr. Petr. Bellevue; M. Dorothea Mechipec8ata; Matr. Maria Migneret.

April 29—Ludovicum 3. d.; P Lud. Du Tissne; Patr. Joa B. la Lande; M. Theresia Neven; Matr. Maria du Long.

1735, June. 6—Carolam 8 d.; P. Joa B Guillemeau; Patr. Stephan Longlois; M. Carola Marchand; Matr Maria Cat. Baude.

1714, Jan. 28—Maria Josepha, 4 days old; F. Mic. Philippe; M. Maria 8canic8c; Godf. Jos. Carriere; Godm. Agnes Philippe.

June 3—Marianne, 3 years; F. Petro Boisjoly fafart; M. Acacia Pat8kic8c; Godf. Peter Chabot; Godm Elizabeth Déé.

1715, Feb 10—James, born yesterday; F. James La Lande; M. Maria Tetthio; Godf. Louis Chauvin; Godm. Frances La Brise.

Mar. 3—John B., r. b., F. John Bapt. Potier, M. Frances La Brise; Godf. James La Lande; Godm. Maria 8canic8c.

April 14—Maria, 4 days; F. Agustine La Pointe; M. Martha Mer8-n8ctam; Godf. Bellaison; Godm. Marg. 8aft.

1715, Aug. 4—Maria 1. d ; F. John Olivier, M. Petronilla Mausakine; Godf. Carl Danis; Godm. Maria Tetthio.

Nov. 7—Joseph 2. d.; F. Michael Philippe; M. Maria 8cani8c; Godf. Stephan Philippe; Godm. Fr. la Brise.

1717, Feb. 11—Symphrosam 2. d.; F. Louis Texier, M. Cath. 8abanakic8c; Godf. James Bourdon; Godm. Mary 8assecam8c.

Aug. 7—Anthony r. born; F. Anthony Bosseron; M. Susan Karami; Godf. Jas. la Lande; Godm. Dormit. Sakatchic8c.

Aug. 25—Maria Louisa, 2. d.; F. Peter Roy, M. Maria Mae8tensic8c; Godf. Jas. Bourdon; Godm. Agnes Philippe.

1717, Nov. 10—Maria Francis r. b.; F. John B. Pottier; M. Francis La Brise; Godf. Wm. Potier; Godm. Maria Tetthio.

Nov. 20—Elizabeth r. b.; F. Jas. la Lande; M. Maria Tetthio; Godf. John Pottier; Godm. Francis la Brize.

Nov. 30—Francis r. b.; F. John Olivier; M. Martha Accica; Godf. Peter du Roy, Godm. Fr. la Brise.

1718, Sept. 9—James r. b.; F. Stephan Philippe; M. Maria ch8 Pinckinga; Godf. James Philippe; Godm. Domitilla Tching8anakigab8c8c.

Oct. 4—Maria Anna; F. Charles Danys; M. Dorothy Mechipec8c8c; Godf Adrian Robillard; Godm. Fr. la Brise.

1719, April 6—Paul; F. Louis Texier; M. Catherine 8abanakic8c; Godf. John Huet; Godm. Magdel. Quesnel

June 18—Maria Cathrine, born yesterday; F. John B. Potier; M. Fr. la Brise; Godf. Jas. de Verassae; Godm. Maa Cat. Julienne.

Oct. 2—Genevieve; F. Peter Roy; M. Maria Anna Mafc8tent; Godf. Francis Arnand; Godm. Dorothy Mechipea8ata.

1732, July 14—Louis, r. b.; F. John B. Barrois; M. Magdel. Cardinal; Godf. Louis Du Tissoe, Godm. Mar. Fr. Rivart.

1733, Feb. 14—Maria Josepha, r. b.; F. Louis Turpin; M. Dorothy Mechipec8ata; Godf. Peter Bellevue; Godm. Maria Migneret.

April 29—Louis, 3 d. old; F. Louis Tissoe; M. Theresa Neven; Godf. John B. La Lande; Godm. Maria du Long.

1735, June 6—Charles, 8 d. old; F. John B. Guillemeau; M. Carola Marchand; Godf. Stephan Longlois; Godm. Maria Catharine Baude.

REGISTRE DES BAPTEMES FAITS DANS L'EGLISE DE LA MISSION ET DANS LA PAROISSE DE LA CONCEPTION DE NOTRE-DAME, COMMENCÉ LE 18e JUIN, 1719.

L'n mil Sept Cent dix neuf le 17e de Juin est née une fille du mariage de Jean B. Pottier et de Francoise Brize, et le 18e du même mois a été baptizée par moi soussigné Aumonier des trouppes et on luy a donné le nom de Marie Catherine. Le parrain a été Le Sr Jacques Bouchart de verasae (?) enseigne des troupes et la marraine Marie Catherine Juliette qui ont signé avec moi.

Signé,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

Cette même année le 23 Juillet est né un fils du mariage de Jean B. Mercier et de Marie Baretteo et le même jour a été baptizée par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes, et on luy a donné le nom de Jean B. Le parrain a été Pierre Chabot et la marraine Catherine du Buisson qui ont signé avec moi.

Signé,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

La même année le 27 Juillet est né le fils de Michael Philippe et de Marie 8kenec8e Illinoise, ses père et mère maries ensemble et on luy a donné le nom d'Ignace, Le parrain a été Joseph Poupart et la marraine Marie Magdeleine Roi de Rochefort qui ont signé avec moi.

Signé,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

L même année ce 28 d'Aout est né du mariage d'Antoine Bosseron dit Leonard et de Susanne Pani8assa un fils qui a été baptizé le même jour par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes, et on luy a donné le nom d'Augustin, Son parrain a été Jean B. Pottier et sa marraine Marie Mamensio8c, Le parrain a signé et la marraine, ne pousant signer a mis sa marque.

Signé,

LE BOULLENGER.

La même année 1719 le 7 de pbre est née une fille de Catherine Bechet, le pere est inconnu, qui a été baptizée par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes le 8 du dit mois de pbre et on luy a donné le nom de Francoise, Le parrain a été Le Sr Charles de L'isle le gardeur, Enseigne de la marine, et la marraine Francoise de Brize qui ont signé avec moi.

Signé,

LE BOULLENGER, Vic.

REGISTER OF BAPTISMS ADMINISTERED IN THE CHURCH OF THE MISSION AND IN THE PARISH OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LADY, COMMENCED ON THE 18TH OF JUNE, 1719.

On the 17th of June, 1719, a daughter was born of the marriage of John B. Pottier and Francis Brize. On the 18th day of the same month she was baptized by me, the undersigned, chaplain of the troops, and she was named Marie Catherine Sir Jacque Bouchart (de verasae ?) an ensign with the troops, acted as godfather whilst Marie Catherine Juilliette was godmother. They signed with me.

Signed,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

In the same year on July 23d a son was born of the marriage of John B Mercier and Marie Baratteo, and was baptized on the same day by me, the undersigned, chaplain of the troops, and was named John B. The sponsors were Pierre Chabot and Catherine du Buisson, who signed with me.

Signed,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

The same year on July 27 a son is born to Michael Phillipe and Marie 8kanec8c, an Illinoise. Father and mother were seemingly married. He was named Ignatius; Joseph Poupart was godfather and Marie Magdalen Rio de Rochefort was godmother. They signed with me.

Signed,

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

The same year on August 28th a son was born of the marriage of Anthony Bosseron, called Leonard and of Susan Pani8assa, who was baptized on the same day by me, the undersigned, chaplain of the troops. They named him Augustin. The sponsors were John B. Pottier and Marie Mamensic8c. The godfather signed with me, the godmother, unable to sign, placed her mark.

Signed,

LE BOULLENGER.

The same year, 1719, September 7th, a daughter was born to Catherine Beobet; the father is unknown. She was baptized by me, the undersigned, chaplain of the troops, on the 8th of this said month of September, and named Frances. The sponsors were Sir Charles de L'isle, ensign of marines, and Frances de Brize, who signed with me.

Signed,

LE BOULLENGER, Vic.

Cette même année le 22e de zbre est née la fille d'une esclave de Paul Bouchart nommée Paniasic8c qui a été baptisée le même jour par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes. On luy a donné le nom de Marguerite. La marraine a été Marguerite 8affesam8c8c, femme de Bourdon. Laquelle n'a on signer.

Signé

LE BOULLENGER, S. J.

Cette même année 1719, 18c otbre est né le fils de Paniasie8c esclave de Paul Lami, qui e été baptizé par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes, on luy a donné le nom de Joseph. Son parrain a été Antoine Carriere et Sa marraine Marie Catherine Juliette qui ont signé avec moi. Signé

LE BOULLENGER.

Cette même année 19e otbre est né le fils du mariage d'Augustine La Pointe et de Susanna Cascaskie8e qui a été baptizé le 20 du même mois par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes; le parrain le Sr. Claude Charles du Tisne et la marraine Francoise de Brize, qui ont signé avec moi. Signé

LE BOULLENGER.

L'ANNÉE MIL SEPT CENT VINGT.

L'Année 1720, 30e du mois de Janvier est né un fils du marriage de Charles Danis et de Dorothée fille du grand vieur, qui été baptisé le même jour par moi soussigné Aumonier des troupes. On luy a donné le nom de Charles Pierre, le parrain a été Monsieur de Boisbriand, Lieutenant de Roi de la Province et la marraine a été Catherine du Buisson, qui ont signé avec moi.

Signé

LE BOULLENGER.

Cette même année 1720 le 17e de Mars est né un fils du marriage de Jean Olivier et de Marthe Pad8ca qui a été baptizé le 18e du même mois par moi soussigné aumonier des troupes, on luy a donné le nom de Jean B. Le parrain a été Jean B. Pottier et la marraine Dorothée Mercier. Le parrain a signé avec moi et la mariene a mis seulement une marque.

Signé

LE BOULLENGER.

L'an 1719 le 30e Mai est née une fille du marriage de Guillaume Pottier et de Marie Apechic8rata. Laquelle a été legitiment baptizée par Antoine Loysel par le qu'ils etrient dans des pays fort Eloiques d'ici, et le 6 Avril 1720, le dit enfant aiant été apporté a l'Eglise. je soussigné Superieur de la Mission donné le nom de Maria Marguerite et fait les ceremonies accoutumées dans le Baptême. Le parrain a été Jean B. Pottier et la marraine Marguerite 8Affecam-8c8c, Cella n'a on signer.

Signé

JEAN CHARLES GUIMOUNEAU,

Supr. de la Comp' de Jesu.

In this same year, 1719, December 22d, a slave, named Paniasic8c, belonging to Paul Bouchart, gave birth to a girl, which was baptized on the same day by me, the undersigned, chaplain of the troops. They named it Marguerite. The godmother was Marguerite 8affesam8c8c, wife of Bourdon, who could not sign.

Signed

LE BOULLENGER.

In this same year, 1719, Oct. the 18th, the son of Paniasic8c, a slave of Paul Lacavi, is born, who was baptized by me, the undersigned chaplain of the troops; they named him Joseph. His sponsors were Anthony Carriere and Marie Catherine Julliette, who signed with me. Signed

LE BOULLENGER.

In this same year, on Oct. 19th, a son is born of the marriage of August La Pointe and Susanna Cascaskie8e, who was baptized on the 20th of the same month by me, the undersigned chaplain of the troops. The sponsors were Sir Claude Charles du Tisne and Frances le Brize, who signed with me.

Signed

LE BOULLENGER.

THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY.

In the year 1720, Jan. 30th, a son was born of the marriage of Charles Danis and Dorothy, daughter of the grand ———, who was baptized on the same day by me, the undersigned chaplain of the troops. They named him Charles Pierre. The sponsors were Mr. Pierre de Boisbriand, Lieutenant of the King of the Province, and Catherine du Buisson, who signed with me.

Signed

LE BOULLENGER.

In this same year, 1720, March 17, a son was born of the marriage of John Olivir and Martha Pad8ca, who was baptized on the 18th of the same month by me, the undersigned chaplain of the troops. They named him John B. The sponsors were John B. Pottier and Dorothy Mercier. The godfather signed with me and the godmother placed only her mark. Signed

LE BOULLENGER.

In the year 1719, the 30th of May, was born a daughter of the marriage of William Pottier and Marie Apechic8rata, who was lawfully baptized by Antoine Loysel, for they were in the country, but they removed to this place, and the 6th of April, 1720, the said infant was brought to the church, and I, the undersigned Superior of the Mission, gave it the name of Marie Marguerite, and supplied the usual ceremonies of baptism. The godfather was John B. Pottier, and the godmother, Marguerite 8Affecan8c8c, who could not sign.

Signed

JOHN CHARLES GUIMOUNEAU,

Superior of the Company of Jesus.

REGISTRE DE BAPTESMÉS FAITS DANS L'EGLISE PAROISSIALE DE LA CONCEPTION, DE NOTRE DAME DES CASCASKIAS.

1720—Cette année 1720, 9 de Juillet j'ai soussigné Curé de cette Paroisse baptizée une fille esclave oagée de 5 a 6 ans; a laquelle on a donné le nom de Marie Jeanne. Le Parrain a été Le Sr. Pierre d'Artagette Cap. de Compagnie, et la marraine Marie Catherine Julliette qui ont signé avec moi.

D'Artaguiette. N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Ptr.
Catherine Julliet.

(Marginal note: Morte le 7 et enterré le 8 de Septembre, 1720.)

1720 —Cette même année 1720 le 6 de Septembre est né un fils d'une esclave; le père est inconnu, qui a été baptizé par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus le dixseptieme du dit mois de Septembre, et on luy a donné le nom de Pierre. Le parrain a été Le Sr. Pierre d'Artagette, Cap de Com, et la marraine Marie Catherine Julliette qui ont signé avec moi.

D'artagette. JEAN CHARLE GUYMONNEAU, S. J.
Catharine Julliette.

1720—Cette même année 1720 le 17 de Septembre est né un fils du marriage de Louis Turpin et de Marie Colon, qui a baptizé le 20 par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp de Jesus. Curé de la Paroisse de la Conception de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, on luy a donné le nom de Louis. Le parrain a été Augustin La Pointe et la marraine Magdélaine Quesnel. L'une et L'autre ayant declaré ne scavoir signer ont mis leur marque.

La Pointe, M M. N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Ptr.

1720—Cette même année 1720 le 14 Obre est née une fille du marriage de Jerome Pa8nanga et de Marie Inac8osic8a qui a été baptizée le 15 du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp de Jesus, curé de la paroisse de la Conception de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, on luy a donné le nom de Marie, la marraine a été Marie Barette, laquelle a declarée ne scavoir signer et a mis sa marque.

X N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Ptr.

Cette même année, 1720, le 20 Obre, est né un fils de Francoise Chonicone, esclave Le père est inconnu, qui a été baptizé de six du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp de Jesus curé de la Paroisse de la Conception de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, on luy a donné le nom de Thomas, le parrain a été Le Sieur Girardot Enseigne dans les troupes de la Marine, et la maraine a été Elizabeth Brunet.

Girardot, N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Ptr.

La maraine ayant declaré ne scavoir signé a mis sa marque X

REGISTER OF BAPTISMS MADE IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LADY OF THE CASCASKIAS.

This year 1720, the 19th of July, I the undersigned pastor of that parish, baptized a girl slave, aged five or six years, who was given the name of Marie Jeanne. The godfather was the Sieur Pierre D'Artaguette, captain of the company, and the godmother Marie Catherine Juliette, who signed with me.

D'Artaguette. N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Priest.
Catherine Julliette.

(Marginal note: Died the 7th of September and was interred the 8th of September, 1720.)

That same year 1720, the 6th of September, was born the son of a slave. The father is unknown. He was baptized by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Company of Jesus, the 17th of the said month of September, and he was given the name of Pierre. The godfather was the Sieur Pierre D'Artaguette, captain of the company, and the godmother Marie Catherine Juliette, who signed with me.

D'Artaguette. JOHN CHARLES GUYMONNEAU, S. J.
Catherine Juliette.

This same year 1720, the 17th of September, was born a son of the marriage of Louis Turpin and Marie Colon. He was baptized the 20th by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of the Parish of the Conception of Our Lady of the Cascaskias, and to him was given the name of Louis. The godfather, who was Augustin La Pointe, and the godmother Magdalaine Quesnal, both declared themselves unable to sign, and made their mark.

La Pointe, M. M. N. IG. DE. BEAUBOIS, Priest.

This same year 1720, the 14th of October, was born a daughter of the marriage of Jerome Pa8nauga and of Marie Mae8osic8a, who was baptized the 15th of the same month, by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of the Parish of the Conception of Our Lady of the Cascaskias. To her was given the name Marie. The godmother was Marie Barette, who declared she could not sign, and she made her mark, a cross. X.

N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Priest.

1720—This same year, 1720, the 20th of October was born a son of Francoise Chonicone, a slave. The father is unknown. He was baptized the 6th of the same month, by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of the Parish of the Conception of Our Lady of the Cascaskias To him was given the name of Thomas. The godfather was the Sieur Girardot, an ensign in the troops of the Marines, and the godmother was Elizabeth Brunet.

Girardot. N. IG. DE BEAUBOIS, Priest.

The godmother said she was unable to sign and made her mark, a cross. X.

Cette année, 1721, le premier jour de Janvier est née une fille du mariage de Francois Chesne et de Marie Coignon qui a été baptizée le même jour par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus Curé de la paroisse de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, on luy a donné le nom de Marie Louise, le parrain a été Louis Turpin et la maraine Magdelaine Quesnel, lesquels ont signé avec moi.

N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.

Louis Turpaine—M. M

Cette même année 1721, le deuxieme de fevrier est né un fils du mariage de J. B Pottier et de Francoise la Brize, qui a été baptizé le même jour, par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Jacques. Son parrain a été Jacque Bourdon et la maraine Marie Magdelain Quesnel. Lesquels ont signé avec moi.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

bourdon; M. M.

Cette même année 1721 le 15 fevrier est né un fils du mariage de Pierre Chabot et de Renée Mercier qui a été baptizé le 16 du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Pierre. Son parrain a été Le Sr. Pierre d' Artagette, Capitaine dans la Marine et la maraine Perrine Pivet, Lesquels ont signé avec moi.

N. Ig. De Beaubois. ptr.

X marque de Perrine Pivet.

Dartaguiette.

1721—Cette même année 1721 le 7 de Mars est né un fils du mariage de Guillaume de Pottier et de Marie apechic8ata. Lequel a été baptizé le 9 du même mois par moi, soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Guillaume. le parrain a été Le Sr. Nicolas Michel Guillaume Chassin, Commis de la Comp. d'Occident au pais des Illinois, et la maraine Marguerite 8-asacam8c8c. Laquelle ayant declaré ne scavoir signer, a mis sa marque

N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.

Chassin
Marque de X Marguerite 8asacam8c8c.

1721—This year, 1721, the 1st of January, was born a daughter of the marriage of Francois Chesne, and of Marie Louise Coignon, who was baptized on the same day by me, the undersigned priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of the Parish of Our Lady of the Cascaskias. To her was given the name of Marie Louise.

The godfather was Louis Turpin and the godmother, Magdalen Quesnel, who signed with me.

Louis Turpin, N. Ig De Beaubois, Priest.
M. M.

1721—The same year, 1721, the 2d of February, was born a son of the marriage of J. B. Pottier and of Francoise la Brize. He was baptized the same day by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this parish. He was given the name of Jacques (James). The sponsors were Jacques Bourdon and Marie Magdalen Quesnel, who signed with me.

bourdon, N. Ig. De Beaubois.
M. M.

This same year, 1721, the 15th of February, was born a son of the marriage of Pierre Chabot and Renée Mercier. He was baptized the 16th of the same month by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this Parish. He was given the name of Pierre. The godfather was Pierre D'Artaguette, captain in the Marine, and the godmother Perrine Pivet. They signed with me.

N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.

X Mark of Perrine Pivet.
D'Artaguette.

1721—This same year 1721 the 7th of March was born a son of the marriage of William de Pottier and of Marie Apechic8ata. He was baptized the 9th of the same month by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this parish. He was given the name of William. The godfather was the Sieur Nicholas Michel Guillaume (William) clerk at the mine of the Company of the West, in the country of the Illinois, and the godmother was Marguerite 8asacam8c8c. She declared she could not sign and made her a mark.

Chassin. N. Ig. Beaubois, Priest.
X Mark of Marguerite 8ascam8c8c.

1721—L'an mil Sept, cent vingt le dixseptieme Novembre est née une fille du legitime mariage d'Antoine Burel et Jeanne Chardon. Laquelle a été legitimement baptizée par le Sieur de Noyent, Major de la Plaze a la Nouville Orleans a cause de risques et danger du voyage ainsi qui me l'ont declairées plusieurs temoins dignes de foi et le dixseptieme de Mars mil Sept cent vingt un, le dit enfant ayant été apporté a l'Eglise, je N. Ig De Beaubois prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse luy a donné le nom de Jeanne et fait les ceremonies accoutumées dans le Baptéme. Son parrain a été Le S'r. Charles Le gardeur Delisle, Sous lieutenant dans la marine, et sa maraine la Demoiselle Marianne Guerin qui ont signé avec moi.

Legardeur Delisle N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
Marque de X Marianne Guerin.

1721—Environ l'an mil Sept cent dix le 25 au le 26 du mois de decembre est née aux Natchez une fille de l'un Francois et de l'une sauvagesse, Laquelle a été legitimement baptizée dans le temp par un voyageur nommé Pierre Laviollette vû qu'il n'y avoit aux Natchez aucun prestre et le 18 du mois de Mai 1721 la ditte fille ayant été amenée a L'eglise je N Ig. De Beaubois prestre relligieux de la Comp de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, luy a donné le nom de Therese et fait les ceremonies accoutumées dans le baptême. Son parrain a eté Louis Turpin et la maraine Elisabeth Brunet qui ont signé avec moi.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

Louis Turpain.
Elisabeth brunet.

1721—L'an mil sept cent vingt un premier jour de Juin est né un fils du mariage de Pierre Thevenard et Marie Louise Medan qui a été baptizé le 5e du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse on luy a donné le nom de Pierre. Son parrain a été Antoine Carriere et la maraine Marie Catherine Julliette. Lesquels, ont signé avec moi.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

Antoine Carriere.
Marie Catherine Julliet.

1721—L'an mil sept cent vingt un le Seizieme du mois d'avril est née une fille du mariage d'un esclave negre, nommée Scipion et d'une esclave nommée negresse. Laquelle a cause du danger pressant fut legitimement baptizée dans le moment par Le Sr. Provost chiurgien major, et le 8e du mois de Juin de le même année 1721, la ditte fille aiant été apporté a L'Eglise. je N. Ig. De Beaubois, prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse luy ai donné le nom de Francoise et fait les ceremonies accoutumées dans le baptéme. Son parrain a été Simon Lucas et sa maraine Francois La Brize.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

Francoise
Simon Lucas X
La Brize.

In the year 1720, the 17th of November was born a daughter of the lawful marriage of Antoine Burel and Jeanne Chardon. She was lawfully baptized by the Sieur de Noyent, major of the fort at New Orleans on account of the risks and danger of the voyage, therefore this having been affirmed by several witnesses worthy of belief, and on the 17th of March 1721, the said child having been brought to the Church, I, N. Ig. De Beaubois, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this parish, with the usual ceremonies of baptism gave it the name of Jeanne. The godfather was the Sieur Charles Le Gardeur DeLisle, sub-lieutenant in the marine, and the godmother was the demoiselle Marrianne Guerin. They signed with me.

Legardeur Delisle. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.
Mark of X Marianne Guerin.

During the year 1710, the 25th or the 26th of the month of December, was born in the Natchez, a girl, child of one Francois and an Indian woman. She was lawfully baptized at the time by a traveler (voyageur) named Pierre La Violette as there was no priest at the Natchez, and on the 18th of the month of May, 1721, the girl having been brought to the Church, I, N. Ig. De Beaubois, priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this parish, with the usual ceremonies of baptism gave her the name of Therese. The godfather was Louis Turpin and the godmother Elizabeth Brunet. They signed with me.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

Louis Turpain.
Elizabeth brunet.

1721 - The year 1721, the first day of June was born a son of the marriage of Pierre Thevenard and Marie Louise Medan. He was baptized the 5th of the same month, by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the society of Jesus, pastor of this parish. He was given the name of Pierre. The sponsors were Antoine Carriere and Marie Catherine Julliette, who signed with me.

Antoine Carriere. N. Ig. De Beaubois.
Marie Catherine Julliette.

1721—In the year 1721, the 6th of the month of April was born a daughter of the marriage of a slave, named Scipion, and a female slave called Negresse. On account of the immediate danger, the child was lawfully baptized at the time by the Sieur Provost, surgeon major, and the 8th of the month of June was brought to the Church, and I, N. Ig. De Beaubois, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this Parish, gave her the name of Francoise with the usual ceremonies of baptism. The sponsors were Simon Lucas and Francoise La Brize.

Simon Lucas. N. Ig. De Beaubois.
Francoise La.Brize.
(Her mark, a cross.)

1721 – La même année 1721 le 7e de Juin est née une fille du mariage de Cason Tagrigiege et de Francoise Chetomacha, qui a été baptizée le 8e du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse on luy a donné le nom de Marie. Son parrain a été Jaques La Lande et sa maraine a été Marie Caulone.

N. Ig. De Beaubois.

Jacques X La Lande.
Marie X Caulon.

1721—La même année 1721 le 22e de Juin est né un fils du mariage de deux negres du Sr. Carriere, connus sous le nom de Pierre et de Marie, qui a été baptize la même jour par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Jean B. Son parrain a été J. B. Pottier et sa maraine Magdelaine Quesnel. Lesquels ont signé avec moi.

M. M. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
Pottier.

1721—La même année 1721 et le même jour est née une fille du mariage de Jean Olivier et Marthe Axiga qui a été baptizée le même jour par moi soussigné prestre religieux de la Comp de Jesus, Curé de cette Paroisse; un luy a donné le nom de Francoise; le parrain a été Joseph Meunier et la maraine a été Francoise Brize. Lesquels ne pousant signé ont fait leur marque.

X Marque de Mensuier. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
Marque X de Francoize Brize.

1721—Le premier de Juillet mil Sept cent vingt un est né un fils d'une Esclave panis, nomée Fanchon dont (?); le père est Inconnu, qui a été baptizé le cinquieme du même mois par moi soussigné prestre relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse on luy a donné le nom de Philippe, le parrain a été le Sr. Philippe de la Renandiere directeur des mines pour la Compagnie d'Occident et la marraine a été Catherine Julliette. Lesquels ont signé avec moi.

Ph. Renandiere. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
Catherine Juliet.

1721—Le 3 Juillet mil Sept cent vingt un est né un fils du mariage de Sr. Philippe de la Renandiere, commis aux mines pour la Comp d'Occidente et Demoiselle Perrine Pivet, qui a été baptize le 7 du même mois par moi sousigné prestre religieux Comp de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Charles, le parrain a été Le Sr. Charles Legardeur de L'isle et la marraine Agnes Philippe. Laquelle ayant declarée ne scavoir signer a fait sa marque.

Legardeur Delisle. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
Marque d'Agnes Philippe X.
Chassin Dartaguiette.
J. Le Drenost. Girandotte.
Pinot. Sr. Jean Tonty.

1721—The same year 1721, the 7th of June, was born a daughter of the marriage of Cason Tagrigige and of Francoise Chetomacha, who was baptized the 8th of the same month, by me the undersigned, priest of the order of the Company of Jesus, pastor of this Parish. She was named Marie. The sponsors were Jacque La Lande and Marie Caulone.

Jacque X La Lande. N. Ig. De Beaubois.
Marie X Caulon.
(Their marks.)

1721—The same same year, 1721, the 22nd of June, was born a son of the marriage of two negroes belonging to the Sieur Carrierre, known by the names of Pierre and Marie The child was baptized the same day, by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, and pastor of this Parish. He was given the name of Jean B. His godfather was J. B. Pottier and his godmother, Magdelaine Quesnel. They signed with me.

M. M. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.
Pottier.

The same year, 1721, and the same day, a daughter was born of the marriage of Jean Olivier and Martha Axiga, who was baptized the same day by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, and pastor of this Parish. To her was given the name of Francoise. The godfather was Joseph Meunier, and the godmother was Franzoise Brize. They could not sign but made their mark.

N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.

X A cross, the mark of Meusuier.
X A cross, the mark of Francoize Brize.

1721—The first of July, 1721, was born a son of a panis (Pawnee Indian) slave named Fanchon the father of whom is unknown. It was baptized the 15th of the same month by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, rector of the parish. It was given the name of Philippe. The sponsors are the Sieur Philippe de la Renandiere, director of the mines for the Company of the West, and Catharine Juliette. who signed with me.

Ph. Renandier. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.
Catherine Juliet.

1721—The third day of July, 1721, was born a son of the marriage of the Sieur Philippe de la Renandiere, clerk of the mines for the Company of the West, and of the demoiselle Perrine Pivet, who was baptized the 7th of the same month by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, and rector of this parish. He was given the name of Charles. The godfather was the Sieur Charles Legardeur de L'isle and the godmother was Agnes Philippe. She having said she could not sign, made her mark, a cross.

Legardeur Delisle. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest
X Mark of Agnes Philippe. Chassin.
J. Le Drenost. Pinot.

1721—Le quatorzieme de Juillet mil Sept vingt un sont nés deux fils du legitime mariage de Jaques Guillaume Bigoto dit La Laude et Marie Titio qui ont été baptizé le même jour sous conditions dans doute s'il asvient été bien ondoyez par moi soussigné preste relligieux de la Comp. de Jesus, Curè de cette paroisse, on a donné a l'aisne le nom d'Etienne; le parrain a été le Sr. Etienne Hebert et la marraine Agnes Philippe. On a donné au 2 de. le nom de Gabriel, le parrain a été Gabriel Bertrand Cardinal et la marraine Magdalaine Quesnel. Lesquels ont signé avec moi au fait leur marque.

X Marque d'Herbert. N. Ig. De Beaubois, Ptr.
X Marque d'Agnes.
bertrancardinal
M. M. marque de
Magdelaine Quesnel.

1721—La même année mil sept cent vingt un le 11e de Juillet est née une fille du legitime mariage de Michel R8ensac et Susanne Amesac8o, qui a été baptizée le 15e du même mois par moi soussigné Relligieux Prestre de la Compe de Jesus, curé de cette paroisse, J'ai luy a donné le nom de Magdelaine. le parrain a été Louis Turpin et la marraine Agnes Philippe. Lesquels ont signé au fait leur marque.

Louis Turpain.
X N. Ig. De Beaubois
Marque d'Agnes Philippe.

1721—La même année mil sept cent vingt un le 28e de Juillet est née un fils du legitime mariage de Pierre Pillet et de Magdelaine Barron; qui a été baptizé le vingt neuveieme du même mois par moi soussigné relligieux prestre de la Comp de Jesus, Curé de cette paroisse, on luy a donné le nom de Jean Baptiste, le parrain a été Le Sr Jean B Girardot, enseigne des troupes de la Marine, et la marreine Marie Magdelaine Quesnel. Lesquels ont signé avec moi.

Marque de
X Chassin N. Ig. De Beaubois.
Marie Magdelaine Quesnal.

Girardot.
Lallemande.

1721—The 14th day of July, 1721, there were born two sons of the lawful marriage of Jacques Guillaume Bigoto, called La Laude. and Marie Titio. They were baptized conditionally the same day, because of the doubt as to their having been validly baptized privately, by me the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, and rector of this parish. The first born was given the name of Etienne. His sponsors were the Sieur Etienne Hebert, and Agnes Philippe. To the second child was given the name of Gabriel. Gabriel Bertrand Cardinal and Magdelaine Quesnel were sponsors. They signed with me or made their mark.

N. Ig. De Beaubois, Priest.

X A cross, mark of Hebert.
X cross mark of, Agnes.
bertrancardinal
M. M. mark of
Magdelaine Quesnel.

1721—The same year, 1721, the 11th of July, was born a daughter of the lawful marriage of Michel R8ensac and Susanne Annesac8c, who was baptized on the 15th of the same month by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, and rector of this Parish. I gave her the name of Magdalaine. The sponors were Louis Turpin and Agnes Philippe, who signed with me or made their mark.

Louis Turpain.
X N. Ig. De Beaubois,
A cross the mark of Agnes Philippe. Priest.

1721—The same year, 1721, the 20th of July, was born a son of the lawful marriage of Pierre Pillet and of Magdelaine Barron. He was baptized the 29th of the same month by me, the undersigned, a priest of the order of the Society of Jesus, pastor of this Parish. He was given the name of Jean Baptiste. The sponsors are the Sieur Jean B Girardot, ensign in the Marine troops, and Marie Magdelaine Quesnel, who signed with me.

Mark a cross of
X N. Ig. De Beaubois,
Marie Magdelaine Quesnel. Priest.

Girardot. Chassin.
Lallemande.

ILLINOIS LEGISLATION ON SLAVERY AND FREE NEGROES, 1818–1865.

(Mason McCloud Fishback.)

Perhaps it would be difficult to find many citizens of the State who are unacquainted with the general attitude of Illinois in the struggle which terminated in the great Civil War. The history of the State is too inseparably associated with the events of that period to render such a condition probable. The commonwealth which gave Lincoln and Grant to the Union could not easily forget the work of her illustrious sons. Although it would be possible to find but few persons ignorant of the part played by their State in the national struggle over the slavery question, it is very much to be doubted if there are many who are well informed as to the attitude of Illinois toward the same question within her own borders. When the war began and Lincoln issued his call for troops, there was a ready response from his home State. Too often, this condition is taken as a matter of course, but this conception is a very false one. Illinois was nominally a free state, but there is much in her history, (and this is not so very remote either) that might tend to refute this assertion. The question of slavery and free negroes played a large part in the life of the State. To show how this is illustrated in the laws of the commonwealth is the purpose of this discussion.

Although this paper deals with the period of 1818 to 1865, it is necessary to begin before this time in order to get a clear view of the situation in 1818. Slavery was originally established in Illinois by the French. Great Britain at the close of the French and Indian war in 1763 confirmed the right of the settlers to hold slaves. After Clark's expedition in 1778, Virginia acquired possession of the territory, and held it as a county under her jurisdiction. It was next transferred in 1784 to the general government. The bill ceding Illinois to the United States contained this clause: "That the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of the state of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties."*

*Acts of Virginia. (See Ill., Revised Statutes, 1877, p. 17.)

Thus it is clear that there had been no change from the conditions existing under the French. Their right to continue slavery had first been approved by Great Britain and then by Virginia. But not long after this time, in the ordinance of 1787, slavery was emphatically prohibited in these words: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."*

Thus it is seen that the Virginia deed of cession of 1784 and the ordinance of 1787 conflict. As a result two parties sprang up, one advocating the authority of the former, and the other declaring its faith in the latter. The pro-slavery party took the initiative as early as 1802, when it sent to Congress a memorial praying for the suspension of the article prohibiting slavery in the territory. This agitation was continued for several years, but in 1807, just two years before Illinois was separated from Indiana territory, upon a remonstrance being sent to Congress by the anti-slavery party the whole matter was dropped for the time being.

In 1807 a law was passed †which permitted masters to bring in their slaves, provided that immediately thereafter an indenture should be drawn up and recorded. If the slave should not consent to such an arrangement his owner was allowed sixty days to remove him from the territory. If the slaves were under 15 years of age, they could be held for several years—the males until they were 35, the females until they were 32 years of age. Male children born of indentured slaves were to remain in bondage until 30 years of age, while this was reduced to 28 in the case of females. The term of the indenture that was generally agreed upon was that of 99 years.‡ After the organization of the Illinois territory in 1809 this same law was adopted by the governor and judges, and their action was endorsed by the first legislature in 1812.

In 1817 a law was passed which provided for the repeal of as much of the above law as provided for the bringing of negroes into the State for the purpose of indenturing them as slaves. Governor Edwards, however, promptly vetoed the measure.§

This was the state of affairs in 1818. There seems to be no question that there was a large party which was radically in favor of the introduction of slavery. Morever this party contained the majority of the leading men of the territory. The governor, Ninian Edwards, was a Southerner having been born in Maryland and brought up in Kentucky. Though a slave holder he was in favor of Illinois entering the Union as a free state. ‖ Governor Bond, the first state executive, was not so firmly opposed to the introduction of slavery, and was willing to countenance its existence The most of the people of

*Ordinance of 1787, Art. IV.
†Davidson and Stuvé; p 314.
‡Gillespie, Recollections of Early Illinois, p. 9.
§Davidson and Stuvé: 316.
‖Brown: Slavery in Illinois: 10-11.

the State held the same views * The ordinance of 1787 was the great barrier to the pro-slavery party. The fear that slavery agitation might postpone statehood, prevented radical measures being taken.

The first constitutional convention met in July, 1818. The journal of this convention is not now available. However, it is known that there was a great deal of discussion and strong feeling aroused over the subject of slavery. The controlling spirit of the convention was Elias Kent Kane. That Kane was strongly pro-slavery in his views, the convention struggle under Governor Coles clearly demonstrated.

What was really accomplished is best shown by an examination of the constitution itself. Article VI, the one which refers to slavery is as follows: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, nor shall any male person arrived at the age of 21 years, nor female person, arrived at the age of 18 years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration received or to be received for their service. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of this State, or if made in this State, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity whatever, except those given in the case of apprenticeship"

Section II, of the same article, provides, that no person bound to service in any other state should be hired to work in Illinois except in the Saline tract near Shawneetown. The service should be for one year at a time, and such contracts were to cease altogether after 1825 Violation of these provisions was attended with the emancipation of the party concerned.

Section III, relates to indentured slaves. The indentures made under the territoral laws were to remain intact and in force. However, it was ordained that the children born after the formation of the constitution; of indentured parents should become free after a specified period of service. The male children were to serve until, they were 21, while the female children were released at eighteen.

Thus, it is seen that the question of slavery and of service formed a large part of our first constitution. Reasoning from effect to cause, it would seem that there must have been a great deal of discussion in the convention In fact it is known that the article on slavery was the subject of a heated debate, and was almost the only one over the adoption of which there was any excitement.

It was recognized before the convention met that this was going to be a disputed point, and as a consequence it was debated with great earnestness in the canvas † Ford states that in the election of

* Davidson and Stuvé: 316.
†Reynolds' "My Own Times": 209.

members to the convention the only questions placed before the people were regarding the right of the constituent to instruct his representative, and the introduction of slavery.

Considerable objection was advanced against the Constitution when it was presented to Congress. Tallmadge of New York objected to it on the ground that the prohibitory clause, if not actually sanctioning slavery, was not sufficiently strong.

The wording of the clause was that slavery "shall not hereafter be introduced." He objected to the use of the word *hereafter*. General Harrison and others thought that the prohibition was adequate. Tallmadge believed that the Illinois Constitution infringed upon the ordinance of 1787. His faction was a small minority, for when the question of admitting the territory into the Union was put, it was carried by a vote of 117 to 34.*

Although Illinois was known as a free State, her status on the slavery question was rather peculiar. The extent of the State north and south has brought it into touch with both factions in the United States. The southern half of the State was first settled and consequently the tide of immigration from Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky – pro-slavery districts—gained an early control of the commonwealth, and directed the trend of Illinois politics.

The Constitution of 1818 was not referred to the people Shadrach Bond, the governor elect, and the majority of the other executive officers were either avowedly for slavery, or passive in their attitude toward its introduction.

Once admitted into the Union the process of legislation began. This early included the subject of slavery and free negroes. At the second session of the First General Assembly, which met Jan. 4, 1819, a stringent slave code was adopted †This act of March 30, 1819, "An act respecting free negroes, mulattoes, servants and slaves," was the first of a long series, the provisions of the most of which remained in the statutes of the State until 1865. This act of 1819 is important not only in point of time, but with respect to its relation to those which follow. It is not only the forerunner of the rest, but the parent as well. All of its successors were in reality amendments to it, although not always so styled in their titles Since the importance of this act is so great, it is necessary that a close examination of its various features be made, and its different sections analyzed.

Sections 1—2. Previous to settling in the State the negro or mulatto had to produce a certificate of freedom under seal of a court of record. This was to be endorsed by the circuit clerk of the county in which he wished to reside, together with the date, name and description of himself and family The overseers of the poor, however, were empowered to remove any negro from the county who had failed to comply with the provisions of the poor law.

*Annals of Congress, 1818-1819: 309-311.
†Laws of Illinois, 1819-1821: 354.

§ 3. It was provided that it was unlawful for any one to bring in a slave for the purpose of freeing him. In case this was done, however, a bond of $1,000 was required as a guaranty that the former slave would not become a county charge. Failure to comply with this section was attended with a fine of $200 for each emancipated slave.

Sections IV and V.—These sections related to free negroes already residing in the State. They were to file name, description, and evidence of freedom, with the circuit clerk. Once recorded this was considered sufficient evidence of freedom. No negro unprovided with such a certificate was eligible for employment, and anyone having such a negro was to be fined $1.50 for each day's work performed.

Section VI.—Anyone knowingly harboring a slave, or preventing the recapture of the same was to be guilty of felony, and was to be punished accordingly.

Sections VII and VIII.—Every negro found without a certificate of freedom was to be considered a runaway slave, subject to arrest and commitment by a justice. He was then for six weeks to be advertised by the sheriff, and in the meantime not having established his freedom, was to be sold for the period of one year. If at the end of this time he had not been claimed he was to be given a certificate of freedom, which should guaranty his freedom unless he were subsequently claimed by his owner. The "taker up" or the one who informed against him, was to receive $10.00 or the reward offered by the owner. After his release the negro was to receive the amount of the wages for which he had been hired. Any person gaining possession of a free negro by false swearing was to be punished for perjury.

Section 9.—This section prohibited kidnapping, it being provided that anyone forcibly taking a free negro or indentured slave out of the State—excepting masters removing their runaway slaves—was to pay a fine of $1000 to the injured party.

Sections X and XXV.—The remaining sections of the code deal with the relation of the servant or slave to his master and to the public in general. The master was to provide suitable food and clothing for his servants, and at the end of the period of service was to supply him with a special outfit of clothing Servants guilty of misbehavior or laziness were to be corrected by stripes. In case of mistreatment the servant was to find redress in the circuit court. If he became sick or lame, or otherwise incapable of service, he was nevertheless to be maintained until the end of his period of service. A negro was not allowed to purchase as a servant anyone not of his own color. This, of course, was to prevent negroes from holding *white* slaves. Commercial dealings of all kinds, without the consent of the masters were prohibited under penalty of forfeiting to the latter a sum equal to four times the amount of the transaction. Where free persons were to be punished by fines, negroes and slaves were to receive whippings, at the rate of 20 lashes for every $8 00, though no offender was to receive more than 40 at one time. Upon being found 10 miles away from home without a permit, the servant was liable to be taken

before a justice and to receive 35 stripes, while ten were administered if he appeared at any dwelling or plantation without leave. Unlawful assemblages and routs of all kinds were prohibited, while any person permitting dancing or reveling by slaves on his premises could be fined $25 00. It was the duty of the county officers to assist in the apprenhension of slaves guilty of any such misconduct.

This code was in fact a re-enactment of the territorial laws regarding slavery, such a revision being necessary on account of the change in the form of government. Naturally, the law which permitted the introduction of slaves from the slave states was omitted. The section which, perhaps, is open to the most criticism is the ninth, which related to kidnapping. The clause stated that $1,000 should be given the *injured* party, and not to the one who should cause the offender's arrest. When the victim was carried so far south as to prevent his return, the remedy was stolen with him. In the second place, the penalty was insufficient, for in case the kidnapper was not able to pay his fine, no other punishment was provided. This was the "condition of the kidnapping scoundrels in 99 cases out of a hundred. Again, many of the ignorant blacks were enticed out of the state by fraud and deceit and then forcibly taken and sold into slavery. To prevent this the law made no provision." *Kidnapping was very common at this time, the sentiment in the southern part of the state being specially favorable to its practice.

Ford, in his history of Illinois† thinks that the object of these laws was partly to prevent free negroes from becoming numerous in the State, and partly to discourage slaves from escaping to Illinois in search of freedom He furthermore thinks that such an object was highly commendable when one stops to consider the importance for the sake of harmony and good government of preserving the homogeneous character of the people. Of course it is idle to speculate as to what might have happened if a different course had been followed, but it would seem that the danger of the State being overrun with large numbers of blacks was highly exaggerated. As a majority of the early settlers were from southern states, they unconsciously—as Ford believes—imported these laws along with a number of others, although they did not fit into the new conditions. He shows how laws were adopted from the south for the inspection of tobacco and hemp, when neither was an Illinois product. It is possible these laws were passed for the above reason, but it does not seem improbable that the contrary might be true. If the early legislators were largely from the south, they certainly had the interest of their native section at heart. In fact the history of the commonwealth both before and after the passage of these laws (1819) certainly proves this to be true. If it is reasonable to believe that the act of 1819 was unconsciously passed by slavery sympathizers, how much more credible it is that these same persons were alive to their opportunity, and were taking advantage of it. Such a code, no doubt, would have been justifiable in a slave state where the number

*Davidson and Stuvé. 317.
†Ford; History of Illinois, 34.

of blacks would have necessitated measures of this kind, but in Illinois, out of a population of 55,162 (in 1820) there were only 917 slaves, and many of these were simply indentured and registered servants.*

In August, 1822, occurred the second State election. There were four candidates for the governorship, Phillips, Browne, Moore and Coles. The first two were pro-slavery in their views. Moore was an independent candidate, although he was nominated by the military faction. Coles had been private secretary to President Madison and had been appointed register of the land office upon his removal to Illinois. Upon his arrival from Virginia he had set free his slaves and had established each family upon a quarter section of land. He believed that slavery was wrong, and was actively opposed to it throughout his life.†

While the question of making Illinois a slave State was not one of the express issues of the campaign, "it was in the air" and certainly had some influence upon the election ‡ Coles was successful, receiving 2,854 votes, Phillips 2,687, Browne 2,443 and Moore 622. Coles' plurality was but 167 and he was in a minority of the total vote cast.§ The lieutenant governor, Hubbard, was a pro-slavery man, while a majority of the legislators were pro-slavery also.

The new governor delivered his inaugural address Dec. 5, 1822, and then there began his fight against slavery in Illinois. He called attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the ordinance of 1787, slavery still existed in the State.

He recommended‖ that the legislature put an end to the practice and that it adopt more effective means against kidnapping, which seems to have been very common at this time, and "That justice and humanity required of us a general revisal of the laws relative to negroes, in order the better to adapt them to the character of our institutions and the situation of our country."

A committee was appointed to consider the governor's message, a special one being named for that portion referring to slavery. The latter, as was to be expected, brought in an adverse report ¶ It declared that although restrictions against slavery were imposed in the first Constitution, at the present time the State possessed the same right as the State of Virginia to alter her Constitution or to settle the slavery question.

It was considered that the best means to accomplish this would be to call a convention to alter the Constitution To submit this to the people it was necessary that a resolution be passed by a two-thirds vote. The pro-slavery men had enough votes in the Senate, but in the house just one was lacking, a member by the name of Hansen, in whom they had counted, having voted against them.

*Davidson and Stuvé. 311.
†Washburne; Sketch of Edward Coles: 17.
‡Moses' Illinois: Historical and Statistical: 309.
§Washburne: Sketch of Edward Coles: 58-59.
‖Washburne: Sketch Edward Coles: 65.
¶See Moses: 316.

Hansen's election had been contested at the beginning of the session by a John Shaw, but the committee on elections had reported unanimously in favor of the former. This episode was now remembered and the House decided to reconsider the matter. The result was. in brief, that Shaw was recalled and the resolutions calling the convention were adopted.* The thing now to be done was to defeat the measure at the polls.

The great majority of the political leaders of the State were against Coles.† The newspapers were about evenly divided. The most of the common people of the State were supporting the Governor.

The election, Aug. 2, 1824, after a very heated campaign, gave the anti-convention party a majority of 1,668 out of 11,612 votes ‡

During this struggle Governor Coles was subjected to a great deal of abuse and annoyance, and whatever could be done to injure him was attempted. In 1824 a suit was brought against him in the county of Madison for neglecting to comply with the provision of section 3 of the act of March 30, 1819. This §provided that anyone bringing slaves into the state for the purpose of setting them free should execute a bond of $1,000 in guaranty that the emancipated slave should not become a county charge. Failure to do this was attended with a fine of $200 for each slave set free. The act was passed a month before Coles came to Illinois, but was not published for several months afterwards As a result Coles had failed to comply with the law when he emancipated his slaves. The suit was begun in the March term, but went over till September when a verdict of $2,000 was rendered against the defendant. A motion for a new trial was made, but not being terminated, the case was continued to the March term in 1825. In the meantime (January) the legislature passed a law releasing all persons from penalties inccurred in this way.‖ Thereafter each person was immediately to comply with the requirements of the law In other words, a second chance was given to any who had unwittingly neglected this matter. This amendment was passed especially in the interest of Governor Coles, in order to release him from this unfortunate lawsuit. He was acquitted, but not until the case was carried to the supreme court.

Governor Coles delivered his valedictory message Dec. 6, 1826. In this last address¶ to the legislature he again took occasion to refer to the slavery question, and as a digest of the laws and a new criminal code were to be adopted during this session, he earnestly recommended that the laws referring to negroes be revised and be made less repugnant to the conditions in Illinois. But if the Assembly should not see fit to abolish slavery he would have them adopt such measures as would ultimately put an end to it. But even if this could not be done, he urged that the provision compelling children, born of indentured slaves, to remain in bondage up to a certain age should be swept away. He also advocated more protection for free negroes

*Washburne: Sketch of Edward Coles: 73.
†Ford's History of Illinois: 53.
‡Ford's History of Illinois. 55.
§Washburne. Sketch of Edward Coles, 199.
‖Laws of 1825-1850 or Washburne's sketch of Edward Coles, 203
¶Senate Journal, 1826; 21-22.

Although he was not in favor of encouraging their immigration, he thought that the State should furnish protection for those who were already within its borders. In conclusion he urged a change in the general attitude toward the negro, and that instead of being considered a slave until proven free, the contrary should be the case.

This was the third time that Coles had called attention to this subject. The first occasion was in his inaugural speech, Dec. 5, 1822, and the second in his message to the extra session of the Legislature, Nov. 18, 1824. Whatever one may think of Coles' method of procedure and his lack of tact, he cannot fail to admire his wonderful earnestness and zeal.

With the exception of the act of 1825 the "black code" remained unaltered until 1829 * In that year an act was passed January 17, which related especially to free negroes. It contains four sections, the first two of which were largely reproductions of sections one and two, and seven and eight of the act of 1819. No colored person who was not a citizen of another state could gain a residence in Illinois without first filing a certificate of freedom in the county commissioner's court and giving $1000 bond that he would be self-supporting. It will be seen that in this act the responsibility was placed upon the negro himself. No bond was required of a free negro by the former act. He simply had to file a certificate of freedom with his circuit clerk. It must have been almost impossible for a negro to gain a residence under these conditions. This was but one more barrier to the immigration of free negroes.

Anyone failing to observe these rules and hiring or harboring a negro who had not complied with the law was liable to a fine of $500. Section two details the manner of dealing with runaway slaves, which is practically the same as that set forth in the first act. If a slave should escape to this State (section 4) and afterwards institute a suit to procure his freedom, he should at once be turned over to the sheriff who should deliver him to his owner.

In section three a new point is dealt with which the former act had failed to consider. The intermarriage of whites and blacks was very strongly prohibited; such marriages were to be null and void and punishable by fine, whipping and imprisonment for a period not less than one year. Officials taking any part in such ceremonies were to be fined $200 and were to be ineligible for re-election.

The act of 1829 was amended February 1, 1831.† This amendment reiterated the necessity of the negro giving a bond. In addition the act provided that a fine of $100 should be imposed upon any one aiding a negro, in any way, to gain a settlement in the State. This act is a distinct amendment to the act of 1819 and is far more severe. The latter provided that a slave owner could bring his slaves into the State and free them, provided he gave a bond for their self-support.

*Revised Laws of 1833; 463-465.
†Laws of 1831; 101.

The act of 1831 makes no exception whatever. The sentiment against the blacks must have been pretty strong that such a law could have been passed. The violators and the opponents of this law however must have been many, for at the next meeting of the legislature it was found necessary to pass another amendment discharging from penalties all those who had violated the third section of the act of 1819.* As was shown above, an amendment was passed in 1825 affecting this very point. Without a careful reading, one would suppose that the two amendments were identical, with the exception of some minor differences in wording. But the second is much more comprehensive than the first. The latter provides, "that any person who may have failed or neglected to comply with the provisions of the third section of the act above recited, and to which this is an amendment, shall be and they are hereby released, and entirely discharged from any penalty incurred under the provisions of the said act or from any verdict or judgment rendered against them in any of the counties of this State" * * The amendment of 1833 reads: "That any person who may have failed or neglected *or may hereafter* fail or neglect to comply (the italics are mine) with the third section of the act to which this is an amendment, shall be and they are hereby released and entirely discharged from the penalty incurred *or to be incurred* under the provisions of the said act" * * * * That which follows in each case is that the party shall proceed at once to comply with the requirements of the act. The first amendment, as was seen, was passed during the administration of Governor Coles and expressly for his benefit. No provision was made for the future violation of the act, and of course none could have been made for those who may have failed to comply with the act of 1831. Hence the necessity of making the provisions of the act of 1825 more general. Apparently there was no opposition to the passage of the law of 1833, as no discussion is recorded in the journals.

The act of Feb 19, 1841, to which also there was no opposition, provided† that every native resident negro in the State should be permitted to file with the circuit clerk the names of himself and members of his family, together with their evidences of freedom. Thereupon the clerk was to issue a certificate of such record, which was to be *prima facie* evidence of his or her freedom, carrying with it the protection of the law. However, this act was not to be constructed to bar the lawful claim of anyone to the negro in question.

During this period, from 1818 to 1848, there were several bills introduced relating to slavery and to negroes which failed to pass, partly, I believe, because of direct opposition, but largely owing to indifference. The House and Senate journals are very unsatisfactory, as scarcely ever is the text of any bill recorded. In the Senate journal of 1835–6 an "Act in Relation to Runaway Slaves" is found

*Revised Laws of 1833; 466.
† Laws of 1841, 189, 190.

introduced.* It was reported to a committee of three, two members of which were from northern counties. The latter probably opposed it, for it never came up again. In the Senate journal of 1834–5 is found mention of a bill referring to negroes and mulattoes, which after a second reading was laid upon the table and ultimately lost sight of †

In the first session of the Ninth General Assembly a resolution was introduced by Maxwell, of McDonough and Warren counties, regarding the immigration of negroes ‡ The resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, That the committee on the judiciary be instructed to enquire into the propriety of amending the law concerning negroes, mulattoes, etc., so as to prohibit their introduction into the State for the purpose of gaining settlements, under any pretence whatever; and that they report by bill or otherwise." Though no action was taken respecting these resolutions they are important in showing how this question is thus early beginning to attract attention.

In the tenth general assembly the famous Lincoln resolutions were introduced. During this session Governor Duncan had sent to the legislature reports and resolutions from several of the states denouncing abolitionists. As a result the assembly passed a set of resolutions which denounced abolition societies, and maintained the right of slave-holding by the south, and declared that Congress could not abolish slavery at the seat of government without the consent of the people of the district.§

Lincoln could not endorse these resolutions and took occasion to record his protest. The importance of the latter as showing Lincoln's position at this time will justify quoting in full :

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the general assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

"They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy but that the promulgation of abolition doctrine tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

(Signed) DAN STONE.
A. LINCOLN.

Representatives from the County of Sangamon.‖

* Senate Journal, 1835-6, 154, 199.
† Senate Journal, 1834-5, 371.
‡ House Journal, 1834-5, 61
§ See Nickolay and Hay; Abraham Lincoln 1; 150.
‖ Most accessible in Lincoln's Speeches I; 15, Nickolay and Hay.

The sentiment in different parts of the State against abolition was very strong, and in Alton culminated in the death of Lovejoy, Nov. 7, 1837. Instead of silencing the opponents of slavery, this incident increased their enthusiasm. Petitions were sent to the Legislature of 1838-9. Two of these were presented in the House* Jan. 29, 1839. Two days later Calhoun of Sangamon, took these as a text for a set of resolutions. His statement was confined to three points: First, that Illinois should openly declare her position on the slavery question; second, that Congress possessed no right to abolish slavery at the seat of government, or in the several states, and that the question of slavery should not be considered in the admission of a state into the Union; third, that the laws against negroes as a class should not be abolished. The immediate adjournment† of the Legislature prevented any action being taken on these resolutions.

"An act for the safe-keeping of runaway slaves" was the title of a bill introduced in the first session of the Eleventh General Assembly, 1838-9 ‡ After a second reading it was laid on the table. Shortly afterwards an amendment to the "act in relation to free negroes" was introduced § When it came up for third reading it failed to secure a sufficient number of votes. The journal does not record the text of the bill, and so its exact nature is not known.

During this decade the southern part of the State manifested a great deal of interest in, and sympathy with, the neighboring slaveholding states at the loss of their escaping negroes. A bill for the apprehension and safe keeping of fugitive slaves was introduced in the Thirteenth General Assembly, 1842-3, although nothing came of it.‖ February 7, 1843, Senator Dougherty of Union county, expressed this sympathy in a set of resolutions. After expressing regret at the increasing number of desertions, he proposed to remedy this evil (as he viewed it) by the united action of all the states in the Mississippi Valley. To this end he advocated the calling of a convention to meet in Illinois for the consideration of this problem. No final action, however, was taken.¶ During the session of 1844-5 Representative Hick of Gallatin, recommended a bill for an act to prevent the stealing and enticing away of slaves ** A motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated, 78 to 11. The bill passed the House without any difficulty and probably would have been equally successful in the Senate had not the Legislature adjourned a few days later, thus preventing its passage.

Perhaps it would be well to pause here to examine some of the particular restrictive measures against negroes as a class. They held an inferior position in the body politic, and were to a large extent ignored. In cases of law the negro's evidence had no weight against that of a white—in fact his testimony was not listened to at

*House Journal, 1839, 301.
†House Journal 1839, 322.
‡Senate Journal, 1839, 62.
§Senate Journal, 1839, 222.
‖Senate Journal, 1843, 124, 167, 329.
¶Senate Journal, 1843 314.
**House Journal, 1845, 481.

all.* Every mulatto having one-fourth negro blood was likewise incapable of appearing against a white In the act respecting apprentices, in force June 1, 1827, it was provided that the child who was bound out should be taught reading and writing and the principles of arithmetic. However, it was added in a proviso, if the apprentice were a colored child, such education was not required.†

Section 158 of the criminal code (1833) shows in an indirect way another discrimination against the blacks. Here it is provided that no *white* female should be sentenced to stand in the pillory, thus implying that such punishment would be allowed in the case of a negro or mulatto woman ‡

These illustrations are sufficient to show what a large part negro legislation played in the history of the State. On the whole this legislation is not very creditable when viewed from the present, but it must be borne in mind that such laws were to a considerable degree characteristic of the time.

Although the constitutional convention of 1847 was not called to consider slavery measures, these played rather a large part in the convention proceedings. Slavery, as such, was prohibited, and in no such uncertain terms as in the first convention. Apparently the proposition was supported unanimously as there is no struggle recorded. As first presented in a resolution by Church of Winnebago§ it was as follows: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any person be deprived of liberty on account of color." As finally adopted the last sentence was omitted. Although the most of the people of the State were against slavery now, they were far from being abolitionists.

The discussion in the convention concerning negroes may be arranged under three heads: Citizenship and the right of suffrage; the "under-ground railway"; the immigration of free negroes.

Suffrage was to be exercised only by the whites. There seems to have been almost universal opposition to the idea of allowing the negro to vote. When a resolution was offered restricting suffrage to white male citizens—the restriction being primarily to citizens, Whitney of Boone moved to strike out the word white. Out of 185 there were only eight votes in favor of this ‖ It was also voted that colored persons should never be allowed under any pretence, whatever, to hold office in this State.¶ Shortly after the convention met, Singleton of Brown presented a petition which strongly protested against the citizens of Illinois interfering with the slave property of adjoining states. Naturally, this was a blow at the workings of the

*Revised Laws of 1833, 496.
†Revised Laws of 1833. 70.
‡Revised Laws of 1833, 208.
§Convention Journal, 1847; 46.
‖Convention Journal, 76.
¶Convention Journal, 469.

"underground railway" system, or "the Subterranean Underground railway" as it was then called. The hatred of this system, for it was fast coming to be that, was very great and no words were spared in condemning it.*

Probably the most important matter discussed was that concerning the restriction of negro immigration. Bond of Clinton, early proposed that there be adopted an article in the bill of rights prohibiting slave owners from bringing their slaves into the State for emancipation and prohibiting free negroes from settling in Illinois.† The next day a petition to the same effect was presented; later Church of Winnebago offered the following as an amendment to the bill of rights:‡ "The legislature shall pass no law preventing any citizen of any one of the United States from emigrating to and settling within this State." Eighty-nine voted against and 47 for it.

Rather than jeopardize the acceptance of the Constitution it was provided that the immigration clause be embodied in a separate article, and thus submitted to the people. The vote upon the Constitution proper was: for adoption, 59,887; for rejection, 15,859. The vote on Article XIV (immigration clause) was not so large, being 49,066 for and 20,884 against.§ This Article was much opposed in the northern part of the State, especially in Cook county.

It might be presumed that the negroes were rather harshly treated at this time (1847) for there were several petitions presented in their behalf. These generally prayed that the principles of the Declaration of Independence be extended, and that protection and security be granted irrespective of color.

An amendment to one of the immigration propositions provided: "That the legislature shall have no power to pass laws of an oppressive character applicable to persons of color." This failed to pass by a vote of 92 to 46.‖

Compared with the constitution of 1818 there are two differences to be noted: there is no question that the new Constitution prohibits slavery; secondly, free negroes are to be prevented from settling in the State by a law which was to be passed by the legislature at its next session. It may well be doubted whether the new Constitution was more liberal than the old, for while the blacks gained in one respect they lost in another. If the negro no longer was subject to bondage he still remained the butt of abuse and oppression.

The Constitution provided, as above noted, that a law prohibiting the immigration of free negroes be passed at the next meeting of the General Assembly. Accordingly in the Senate in 1849 a bill to that effect was drawn up. When the bill came up to be engrossed for third reading Mr. Judd of Cook moved to lay it upon the table ¶ His motion, however, failed by a vote of 16 to 8, whereupon he proposed

*Convention Journal, 95.
†Convention Journal, 92.
‡Convention Journal, 458.
§Davidson and Stuvé: 560.
‖Convention Journal: 192.
¶Senate Journal, 1849: 227.

as an amendment the repeal of Chapter 74 of the Revised Statutes. The chapter contained the "black laws." His motion was lost. Reddick of La Salle then offered* as an additional section a portion of the Declaration of Independence—"that all men are created free and equal." This also, strange to say, was promptly tabled. By a vote of 13 to 12 the bill was ordered to a third reading and finally passed the Senate by the same vote.† After the passage Mr. Reddick and Mr. Ames of McHenry took occasion to become slightly sarcastic. The former proposed the title of the bill be changed to "An act for a crusade by a Christian State against negroes." The latter desired a quotation from the Federal Constitution as the title: "An act declaring citizens of each State to be entitled to all privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States."‡ The bill was lost, as it failed to pass in the House by the vote of 34 to 31.§

Another attempt‖ was made in the next meeting of the legislature —the Seventeenth General Assembly, which met Jan. 6, 1851. But after being referred to the judiciary committee it was lost sight of.

In 1853 still another attempt was made, which proved successful. It was first introduced in the House and passed without difficulty. When it came up for third reading another unsuccessful effort was made to secure the repeal of the "black laws." The vote on the bill when it came up for passage in the House stood 45 for and 23 against.¶ Nixon of McHenry, thought that the title of the bill should be "an act to create an additional number of abolitionists in the State, and for other purposes." The vote in the Senate was much closer, the vote standing 13 to 9.** Judd thought that a truer title would be "An act to establish slavery in this State"

The provisions of this act of 1853 deserve special examination. Anyone aiding a negro, bond or free, to secure settlement in Illinois was to be fined not less than $100 00 or more than $500.00, and was to be imprisoned in the county jail not longer than a year. The negro was to be fined $50.00 if he stayed in the State ten days with the purpose of continuing his residence here. Upon failure to pay the fine he was to be arrested and to be advertised for ten days by the sheriff and then sold to the person who would pay the fine and costs for the shortest term of service. During this period the temporary owner was to work the negro at his pleasure. The prosecuting witness was to receive half the fine imposed ‡‡

There were several attempts to make this law more stringent. In 1857 an amendment was introduced in the House and got as far as a third reading before it was dropped ‡‡ In 1861 a resolution was introduced in the House asking for a more effective law. This was adopted by a

*Senate Journal, 1849: 227.
†Senate Journal, 1849: 269.
‡Senate Journal, 1849: 271.
§House Journal, 1849: 476.
‖Senate Journal, 1851, p. 31, 38.
¶House Journal 1853, 443.
**Senate Journal, 1853. 475.
††Laws of Illinois, 1853, 57-60.
‡‡House Journal, 1857; 446.

vote of 65 to seven * The constitutional convention of 1862 decided "that no negro or mulatto shall migrate to or settle in this State after the adoption of this constitution"† and this clause was ratified by the people though the constitution as a whole was defeated. In 1863 a final effort to make the law more effective failed in the Senate although endorsed by the House.‡

In 1853 Nixon of McHenry tried to get a bill passed which would enable colored persons to give testimony § But this was tabled by a large vote. In 1855 a resolution was presented by Representative Diggins of Boone county denouncing the policy which denied colored tax payers the right to send their children to the public schools.‖ This was also tabled.

During this decade, 1850–1860 the feeling on the slavery question in national politics grew more and more intense and the hope of a peaceable settlement became more remote. This struggle was reflected much in the different states, finding expression in the state legislatures. This was especially true in Illinois where each faction had ardent supporters. In 1849 Haven, a representative from Kendall county offered a resolution embodying these recommendations:¶ 1. That Congress should abolish slavery in the territories; 2. All United States laws sanctioning slavery in the District of Columbia or elsewhere should be repealed. That the resolutions were not in favor is shown by the fact that they were laid on the table by a vote of 40 to 24 ** In the preceding, or regular session, the two houses adopted a resolution which instructed our congressmen to use their influence "to procure the enactment of such laws by Congress for the government of the countries and territories of the United States, acquired by the treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement with the Republic of Mexico concluded Feb. 2, 1848, as shall contain the express declaration that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territories, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.††

The next General Assembly met Jan. 6, 1851, and on the very first day, Shaw, of Lawrence, started a discussion by offering a series of resolutions on the slavery question ‡‡ These were pro-slavery in tone. Four points were embodied therein: 1. That it was inexpedient and unconstitutional for Congress to interfere with domestic slavery in the different states; 2, that the resolutions passed at the preceding session should be repealed; 3, that the compromise measures (of 1850) should be endorsed; 4, that the Federal Constitution ought to be upheld. To show how strongly these sentiments appealed to

*House Journal, 1861; 51.
†Convention Journal, 1862; 1098.
‡House Journal, 1863; 500.
§House Journal, 1853; 145-6.
‖House Journal, 1855; 268.
¶ and **House Journal, 1849; 27.
††Senate Journal, 1849 (1st session) 50; House Journal, same session, 55.
‡‡House Journal 1851; 6.

Shaw's colleagues it is but necessary to give the vote upon a motion to lay the resolutions on the table—28 for and 45 against Thereupon the whole matter was referred to a special committee about equally divided as to northern and southern members.* Besides concurring with Shaw, the report endorsed the fugitive slave law recently passed by Congress. After lying upon the table for some time the report came up again Jan. 22. A new resolution† was added to the effect that no limitations should be placed upon the organization of a Territorial or State government other than that it should be republican in form, and in harmony with the Constitution. The set was adopted by sections, the opposition being small, the greatest disagreement being to the fugitive slave law and to the repeal of the resolutions offered at the preceding session, the vote being the same for each, 54 to 15. Similar resolutions were drawn up in the Senate‡ and adopted, the chief opposition here being to the Wilmot proviso clause, the vote standing 18 to seven. In the other sections the vote generally was 21 to four, or 22 to three.

From now on to the beginning of war, the all-prevailing tone of the resolutions on national affairs was that of peace, the maintenance of the Union and the complete suppression of slavery agitation. Any attempt to disturb the critical state of affairs was denounced. In 1855 and 1857 resolutions of this nature and purpose were adopted § In 1859. Higbee. a Senator from Pike county, in a number of resolutions‖ set forth the platform of the Democratic party. The planks of this which referred to the slavery question were anything but anti-slavery in aspect. Abolition movements were denounced, the compromise of 1850 including the objectionable fugitive slave law, was upheld. The Dred Scott decision was accepted as just, while Lincoln's claim that the Union could not continue to exist partly free and partly slave, was ridiculed. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799 were declared important foundations in the party's creed. Higbee's resolutions were accepted, 14 to 11 being the vote. Two days later there was a motion to reconsider this matter, but it was deferred until Feb. 7. On that day Marshall, of Coles, offered a number of resolutions as substitutes for those presented by Higbee ¶ He began by stating that he considered the slavery question not merely one of dollars and cents. After this he gave a brief outline of the history of slavery in the United States. He maintained the government should not reject a state constitution even if it did sanction slavery—provided it were republican in form With this exception his resolutions were strongly anti-slavery. The vote resulted in a tie and the Speaker cast his vote in favor of the resolutions. Higbee's resolutions thus amended were objection-

*House Journal 1851; 71.

†House Journal 1851; 126.

‡Senate Journal 1851; 4. 53.

§House Journal, 1855; 235; Senate Journal, 327; Senate Journal, 1857; 323-4.

‖Senate Journal, 1859; 194-7.

¶Senate Journal, 1859; 228.

able and his party rejected them by a vote of 12 to ten.* The House also during this session (1858-9) took an active interest in national politics. Davis,† of Montgomery, introduced a set of resolutions which were adopted by sections. Loyalty to the Union was expressed; popular sovereignty endorsed; constant agitation of the slavery question denounced; non-intervention of slavery in the states and the admission of a state irrespective of slavery were recommended; lastly it was declared that admission ought not to be denied a state if the latter prohibited the immigration of free negroes. The vote on this last clause was, for, 65, against, three.

In 1861, in an attempt to do something to prevent civil war, resolutions were offered in the Senate recommending that a national convention be held to propose amendments to the constitution ‡ Another scheme was that Congress should enact several compromise measures which should provide that slavery should not be interfered with where it already existed, and that popular sovereignty should settle the question in new states.§ No action was taken respecting these resolutions.

The Twenty-fourth General Assembly met Jan. 2, 1865. On the next day‖ a bill was introduced for an "Act to repeal certain statutes known as the black laws." When the bill came up for third reading, Jan. 24, McConnell of Morgan, moved that the act of 1853 be not included in the number to be repealed. His motion was lost, 13 to ten.¶ The bill finally passed the Senate by the same vote, while in the House 45 supported it and 31 were against it.** The actual repeal of the "black laws" did not, however, take place until 1865.

Feb, 1, 1865, Illinois ratified the Thirteenth amendment, being the first state to do so. On Feb. 7, the black laws were repealed. What did the expression "black laws" mean at that time? The law repealing these statutes provided that sections 16 of chapter XXX and 23 of chapter XL of the revised statutes of the State be repealed together with the chapter on negroes (LXXIV) and the act of Feb. 12, 1853.†† The first two sections above, referred to the prohibition of negroes acting as witnesses against white men ‡‡ The act of 1853 prohibited the importation of free negroes. Chapter LXXIV included all the remaining restrictions against negroes.§§

The revised statutes referred to here were compiled in 1845. At that time the acts of 1819, 1829, 1831, 1833, and 1841 were repealed and the above chapter substituted. It might be interesting to know what changes were made at that time. Practically all of the act of

*Senate Journal, 1859; 229-230.
†House Journal, 1859; 688.
‡Senate Journal, 1861; 16.
‖House Journal, 1861; 112.
¶Senate Journal 1865; 67.
¶Senate Journal,1865; 261-2.
**House Journal, 1865; 354.
††Public Laws of 1865; 105.
‡‡Revised Statutes (1845) Sec. 16, on p. 154; Sec. 23, on p. 237.
§§Revised Statutes (1845); 387.

1819 is retained and the sections respecting the kidnapping of negroes and the selling of intoxicants to them are found in the criminal code. All of the act of 1829 except the third section which dealt with the inter-marriage of whites and blacks (and which is found in section two of the chapter on marriages*) is retained. The act of 1832 is omitted and in its place was included a portion of the act of 1831 which dogmatically declared that anyone guilty of the offence of bringing a slave into the State in order to free him should be fined $100 †. The gist of the act of 1841—regarding the registration of resident free negroes—was included in section four of the new chapter. In short, the revised statutes of 1845 were more stringent against negroes than those laws for which they were substituted.

Thus ended with the repeal of these laws, the legal discrimination against the negro in Illinois. It would seem that this was a tardy piece of legislation. And yet repeated efforts were made to annul these laws. It is claimed‡ that with the exception of the act of 1853 these laws were long regarded as a dead letter. Ford thinks§ that they would have been repealed long before had it not been for the abolition excitement which rendered it dangerous for a politician to propose such a thing being done, since such an act might have branded him as an abolitionist.

Washburne‖ in his "Sketch of Edward Coles" in accounting for this indifference says that the pro-slavery sentiment which found a lodgement in the State was vastly stronger from 1825 to 1854 than it was in 1824 when the movement toward the legalization of slavery was blocked. From the study that has been made it would seem that the last estimate is *most* correct. The act of 1853 or even the amendment of 1831 shows that there existed not only indifference to the negro but antagonism as well. The people of Illinois were willing that the condition of the blacks in the far south should be ameliorated, but were unwilling to do anything that might make the State a haven of refuge for fugitive slaves.

*Revised statutes of 1845: 353.
†Revised statutes of 1845: 399.
‡Davidson and Stuvé: 318.
§Ford's History of Illinois: 34.
‖Washburne: Sketch of Edward Coles: 239.

MR. LINCOLN AS A WRESTLER.

(Col. Risdon M. Moore.)

[The following account of an incident that occurred in April, 1832, when the volunteers responding to the call of Governor Reynolds to repel Black Hawk's invasion of the State, were rendezvoused at Beardstown, is from the pen of Col. Risdon M. Moore, who commanded the 117th Illinois regiment of volunteers through the Civil war, and previous to that time was professor of mathematics in McKendree College for 12 years, and is now United States internal revenue collector at San Antonio, Texas.—J. F. S.]

As requested by you, I will state the facts in the Lincoln-Thompson wrestling match as I had them from my father and from Mr. Lincoln himself.

The place where the contest came off was near Beardstown, on the Illinois river, perhaps just across the river on the west side. It was when the volunteers were meeting there preparatory to taking the field against Black Hawk, in the spring of 1832. The occasion of the "wrassel" was this: A company of mounted volunteers from near Belleville, in St. Clair county, commanded by my uncle, Capt. William Moore, and one from Sangamon county under Capt. Abraham Lincoln, arrived at the same place at the general rendezvous at about the same time, and both wanted the same camping ground, which was just large enough, with conveniences of wood and water, for one company, but not large enough for two.

The proposition to wrestle for choice of camp grounds came from the Sangamon company, that the two captains, my uncle and Mr. Lincoln, wrestle for it. My uncle declined this banter, and then my father, Jonathan Moore, who was then orderly sergeant, or acting as such, proposed to have any man in the St. Clair company wrestle with any man in the Sangamon company for the camp ground in question. This proposition was accepted. Mr. Lincoln stepped out to represent his company, and my father designated Dow Thompson to represent the St. Clair company, his name being Lorenzo Dow Thompson. When a boy I saw Thompson often. He lived, I think, down south of Belleville, and was not a very large man. He was a compactly built man, however, and muscular, very strong, and as such was the champion wrestler of his company.

My father and Captain Lincoln tossed up a coin for choice of holds and my father won. Thompson's hold was a side hold, while Lincoln's was an Indian hug. The match was "two best in three."

On the 8th of August, 1860, I called on Mr. Lincoln at his own house in Springfield, Illinois, with a delegation of students from

McKendree College, in Lebanon, to congratulate him on his nomination and to assure him of his election to the presidency. We found quite a number of notable men there at the time. Among them were Lieutenant Governor Koerner, Norman B. Judd, R. J. Oglesby and many others of national prominence at that time. I was introduced as the spokesman, by Governer Koerner, to Mr. Lincoln.

As soon as the introductions were over Mr. Lincoln said to me: "I want to know which of the Moore families you belong to, before we go further, as I have a grudge against one of them." I, knowing to what he referred, replied: "I suppose I belong to the family against which you hold the grudge, Mr. Lincoln, but we are going to elect you president and call it even."

There were three Moore families in St. Clair and Monroe counties, my own, "Turkey Hill, or Moore's prairie Moores," the "Union Grove Moores" and the "Waterloo Moores," and there had been some men of some note in each of these families. Of the Waterloo Moores, Generals James and James B. Moore were prominent in the early history of Illinois, and "Little Enoch" was for years in charge of the State treasurer's cash. Gen. Jesse H. Moore, who commanded the 115th Illinois regiment during our late Civil war, was of the "Union Grove Moores," and my grandfather, Risdon Moore, was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1814-1816, and speaker of the House, and was also a member of the State Legislature in 1822-1823, when the question was up to call a convention to make Illinois a slave state, and he was the first to sign the celebrated protest against the call of that convention. It is a strange fact that a majority of those who signed the protest were from slave states.

Hence Mr. Lincoln might well ask which of the Moore families I belonged to. Mr. Lincoln gave the details of the preliminaries for the wrestle between him and Thompson about the same as given by my father above. So, he continued, after the introductions and explanation, as narrated, and said: "Gentlemen, I felt of Mr. Thompson, the St. Clair champion, and told my boys I could throw him, and they could bet what they pleased. You see, I had never been thrown, or dusted, as the phrase then was, and, I believe, Thompson said the same to the St. Clair boys, that they might bet their bottom dollar that he could down me. You may think a wrestle, or 'wrastle,' as we called such contests of skill and strength, was a small matter, but I tell you the whole army was out to see it. We took our holds, his choice first, a side hold. I then realized from his grip for the first time, that he was a powerful man and that I would have no easy job. The struggle was a severe one, but after many passes and efforts he threw me. My boys yelled out 'a dog fall,' which meant then a drawn battle, but I told my boys it was fair, and then said to Thompson, 'now it's your turn to go down,' as it was my hold then, Indian hug. We took our holds again and after the fiercest struggle of the kind that I ever had, he threw me again, almost as easily at my hold as at his own. My men raised another protest, but I again told them it was a fair down. Why, gentlemen, that man could throw a grizzly bear."

A GLIMPSE AT THE FUTURE.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS HENCE—A PROPHECY.

(By Professor John Russell. Written in 1830.)

But ye!——ye are chang'd since I saw ye last.
The shadow of ages has round you been cast,
Ye are chang'd—ye are chang'd; and I see not here,
What I once saw in the long vanished year. —MRS. HEMANS.

Where is the American that feels a deep interest in the fate of his country, who has not sometimes wished, like Dr. Franklin, that he could "burst the cerements of the grave," and revisit his native land, after the lapse of a few centuries? Such a wish is certainly pardonable in a citizen of the United States, for his government is yet an experiment, and his native land but just started in the career of glory. He sees the splendor of its morning sun, and it is natural that he should desire to awake when it has climbed to the meridian. But, alas! the power of return is not given us, and we can only conjecture from the present march of improvement, the future population and resources of our country. For myself, I never feel so strongly the wish to return as I do while riding over one of our Illinois prairies, with no boundary before me but the blue horizon. The stillness that reigns over these wide regions of verdure and flowers will one day be broken and the hum of a busy population be heard, where the deer now graze in fearless security. The improvements which the last twenty years have wrought in the west are truly surprising—what, then, may we not expect from two or three centuries with all the increase of means that will exist?

While on a visit to a friend who resides on the high table land that extends beyond that part of the American bottom which lies opposite the county of St. Louis, I took a solitary walk one afternoon in that wild, uncultivated region. The scattered forest trees, the oak shrubs, the wild flowers and the grass, had "felt the warm breath of spring." The birds were busy preparing their nests, and the joyful song of returning spring was mingled with their labors.

In no part of our extensive country is spring a more lovely season than in Illinois. There is something in the pure, bland air, in the deep blue of the heavens, over which a single cloud is sailing and throwing its long and moving shadow on the earth; in the ceaseless plaint of the mourning dove; there is something in all this, joined with the stillness and solitude of our boundless prairies, that finds its way to the heart.

Wearied with my walk I sat down at the foot of an oak on one of the high ridges that command an extensive prospect of the table land. In the edge of the landscape was an Indian mound of the largest dimensions, crowned with trees equal in size to those that grew around it. As I gazed upon the mound a fit of dreamy musing came over me. I thought of the people who reposed in that sepulchre of other years. "The flood of ages" had rolled over them, and its unceasing wave was still sweeping on. What changes, thought I, have been wrought upon this spot, wild as it now is, and what changes are yet to follow! In three hundred years, the shortest date ever assigned to the most recent of these mounds, how changed will be this landscape? I was attempting to pierce through the intervening ages, and behold, with "my mind's eye," the landscape as it would appear three hundred years hence; when a tall, majestic figure stood before me. A long snowy beard swept his bosom, and the furrows of countless years were on his foreheard. I felt my hair stand erect as I gazed upon him. He waved the wand which he held in his hand and addressed me in a tone that thrilled on every nerve: "Child of clay," said he, "I am the genius of this valley! From the time this globe rolled from the hand of Omnipotence, I have been its guardian and directed its destiny. From my throne on the Rocky Mountains I have seen the whale spouting in the ocean that once covered its surface. The destined period when it was to be drained for the residence of man at length arrived. Since that period I have seen powerful nations rise and fall. The schemes of war and ambition, the yell of victory, the soft strains of peace and domestic love have been here; but all that belongs to man soon joins itself to years and scenes that never have been. The white man has come, and the light of science beams on his track—the volume of destiny is now rapidly unfolding its pages. Son of mortals! I have heard your wish to behold this region as it will appear three hundred years hence. It is granted. For you I have rolled the tide of ages three centuries onward! Arise, and behold this region as it will be three hundred years hence!" He touched me with his wand and I sprang to my feet. The oak, at whose foot I had just sat, was no longer there; the forest trees, the shrubs and the wild flowers had disappeared, and I found myself in the midst of a luxuriant vineyard. I cast my eye over the tract which I had so lately traversed, but not a feature was left of its former appearance. My first impulse was to return to the house of my friend; but I soon recollected that he, and all whom I had known were, long since, mingled with their native dust; and in the beautiful language of scripture, "the places that once knew them would know them no more forever. I bent my steps to a cottage which I saw at no great distance. As I passed along I heard the simple song of a vine dresser, in a language which, at first, I did not recognize as English. I reached the hedge that enclosed the field and passed through a gate, near the cottage, into a broad and paved highway. The people stared upon me with astonishment, and the children set up a shout of surprise at my strange dress. In the streets was a stream of people, some on foot, and some in carriages of every description, loaded with various commodities, all going to or returning

from the west. This was a sufficient indication that St. Louis or some other town west of me had become the emporium of an immense commerce. I followed the moving mass of human beings in that direction. The road on either side was bounded by a hedge, and as far as the eye could extend its vision, houses and cottages, gardens and vineyards were thickly sprinkled. The small portion into which the soil was divided, showed that no law of primogeniture, giving all to the favored eldest, had yet prevailed.

From extreme old age to childhood all were busy. Before the doors, children were seen plaiting straw, or picking leaves for the silkworms, and old men preparing the bands to confine the grape-vine to the stake. Next to the road, the country was almost one continued village. As I journeyed on, I saw nothing to remind me of the former appearance of that region—even the natural features of the country, hill and dale, had changed under the all-subduing hand of human industry. A few miles onward, I came to a large village, and lingered there to admire the new and strange commodities suspended at the windows of the shops. A troop of boys soon followed me, attracted by the oddness of my dress. To avoid future inconvenience, I entered a clothes-shop, and exchanged mine for a suit of such as were worn by others I could not avoid smiling at the strange appearance I made in my new costume.

I now passed on to the west, without further interruption, and saw the denseness of the population constantly increasing. The cultivated land resembled one continued garden; and the passing throng received new accessions from every road that led into the great highway. At length I reached a spot which I recognized in a moment—the bluff that overlooks the great American Bottom! How beautiful a prospect was presented! The deep forest that once covered it had disappeared, and, as far as I could distinguish from the heights of the bluff, the whole bottom was teeming with population. "Every rood maintained its man." The little squares of land, bounded by a green hedge row, with a house or cottage to each, looked beautifully in the distance. At intervals, columns of smoke were thrown up from the chimneys of large manufactories, and the sound of the steam engine was heard in every direction. Industry is not among the virtues of a slave, and I knew by the busy throng of old and young around the low, straw-thatched, but neat cottages, that my native land was yet free.

My thoughts reverted to St. Louis, and I was ruminating upon the various changes that had probably taken place in its wealth and population, when that city, with its thousand spires, burst upon my view! How glorious was the sight presented by the great "Father of Waters!" A forest of masts lined both shores, for miles; and every flag of Europe waved at the mast head of the steam ships that ploughed its waters. I entered the city by one of the iron bridges that spanned the river. The streets near the water first excited my attention. The bustle of loading and unloading the vessels; the constant discharge of cannon from steam ships arriving and departing, carrying on commerce with every portion of the globe; the various

costumes and dialects of merchants and sailors from distant regions of the world, prepared me to learn, without surprise, that St Louis, in the interior of the most fertile region of the globe, far exceeded, in wealth and population, the largest city of the eastern hemisphere.

The language of the city bore a much nearer affinity to my own than that of the country. Many new words had been introduced, and others had acquired a new definition and pronunciation; but I had less difficulty in understanding those who appeared to be the educated. Subsequently I was informed that the English language was divided into three distinct dialects, differing from each other in writing and in sound; that of the British Islands, that of America, and that of India; produced by the difference of climate, governments, customs, and the languages of the people intermingling with each other.

I left the streets near the wharves, and passed a great distance beyond the former boundary of the city, yet all was still dense. The display of merchandise from the lofty buildings that lined the streets, was rich beyond description. The stream of passing people, the rattling of carriages on the pavement, the cries of people vending their commodities in the street, and the din of the artisans' hammer, were all mingled together in one confused sound. I was gratified that so large a proportion of buildings were devoted to religious worship.

I was particularly anxious to learn the state of American literature, and the relative esteem in which English and American authors were held. For that purpose I entered one of the immense book stores, and obtained permission to survey their shelves. My curiosity was fully gratified, but I will not reveal too many "secrets of my prison house."

I obtained information of past ages from an antiquary, whom I found in the store; but was astonished at the many gross errors into which he had fallen, about the times in which I had first lived. I asked of him the estimation in which some of our present great men were held. Alas! their very names were unknown—they had followed those of the "vulgar mass" into the gulf of "black oblivion." Man, brief in his mortal existence, yet more brief in the remembrance of others. The shouts of the mob at the success of political partsian, is not the voice of after ages. Superiority of mind only, is immortal.

The sun was now setting over this wilderness of houses. His parting beams flamed on the gilded spires of the metropolis, and reminded me of the years when I had beheld him sinking behind an unbroken line of forest. I remembered the friend with whom I had often walked, at that hour, on the banks of a romantic little lake in the environs of the city. I wished once more to tread the spot, hallowed by the memory of a long lost friend. With some difficulty I reached the vicinity of the lake. A thick cloud of smoke hung over that portion of the city, caused by the thousand fires of the steam engines, which the lake supplied with water. Here was the theatre of the most extensive manufactories of the west, I would gladly have entered these manufactories, but the labors of the day were closed,

and I heard only the expiring sound of business, and saw the fading wreathes of smoke. The artisans were retiring to their houses in the high buildings of the dirty and narrow streets. I rejoiced, as I saw this multitude of all ages and sexes, that employment and sustenence were afforded to so numerous a population, and I remembered with exultation, that I had warmly advocated every plan that was suggested, to induce emigration to the west, even that of giving the lands which belonged to all, as a bribe to entice settlers. Now was the good policy of these measures apparent wherever I went, in the overflowing population of country and town.

I lingered in this section of the city till the broad full moon arose, and threw her beams from Illinois, in a long tract of light, which the broken surface of the river sent back in a thousand glittering fragments I thought of the years when I had gazed upon the same moon that now looked down with a smile upon the graves of all who had lived in the same age with me Absorbed with these meditations, I leaned against the corner of a manufactory. Presently, an indistinct murmur arose, and broke the spell that bound me. I listened with a vague presentiment that all was not right, and removed for concealment into the shade of a building. People were gliding quickly along, like spectres, evidently wishing to be unobserved. I had not remained long in that place when a wild cry arose from every quarter of the manufacturing section, and the bells from every spire pealed an alarm. Multitudes of enraged manufacturers immediately arranged themselves under the command of their leaders, and the cry of "bread! bread! bread!" was heard in every terrific tone that the human voice can give it. An attempt was made by the insurgents to demolish the buildings of the most obnoxious of their employers, but the labor was too great, and the cry "fire them" scarcely had died away, when a thousand fires glared on the sky. A scene of plunder commenced, that baffles description; women and children of the manufacturers, squalid with hunger and rags, rushed with frantic yells into the buildings, for food and plunder. While this was acting the government of the town had declared martial law, the city guards were ordered to the disaffected quarter, and the militia summoned to arms. The noise of the approaching troops sounded nearer and nearer, and the insurgents posted themselves in the most advantageous position for battle.

Their chiefs rushed among them, animating them to the most deadly resistance, by reminding them of their starving families, and of the ignominious death that awaited all who were taken. The whole section was now red with conflagration, and the insurgents, as the flames glared on their faces, looked like a horde of demons, just escaped from the Gulf.

I found myself directly between the city troops and the insurgents, with no chance of escaping either way. The artillery of both parties was just ready to discharge, and sweep through the street in which I stood. But one hope was left me; that of joining the city troops, and watching my opportunity of deserting their ranks. I ran towards them, but as I approached, a soldier seized me and declared I

was one of the insurgents. My loud protestations of innocence availed not; the voice of reason and humanity was unheard, and vengeance was the cry. An officer ordered me instantly put to death. The soldier was prompt in obedience. He drew his sword. Horror seized all my faculties when I saw its glittering edge descending upon my naked head, with a force that—that—Awoke me! Yes, awoke me; for I had fallen asleep at the root of a long oak.

The trees were sending large shadows to the east, the cattle were returning homeward, and the tinkling of their bells, and the evening carols of the birds had taken the place of the late noise of approaching conflict. The vineyards and hedges, the thronged highway and crowded population, had vanished with my waking, and the country had assumed all its former wildness.

Now, gentle reader, peradventure, thou art not pleased with this dream, which I have related unto thee; albeit, before thou venturest to say ought against it, lean thine head against an oak, and see if thou canst dream a better; and if thou findest that thou canst, then verily, thou hast my consent to do thine own dreaming.

GOVERNOR KINNEY'S PROPHECY.

[Wm. Kinney, a native of Kentucky, was State Senator in the First and Third Illinois Legislatures, was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1826, and twice afterwards was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor. In 1837-38 he was president of the board of internal improvement commissioners appointed by the Legislature to carry out its gigantic scheme of railroad construction.

Nature endowed him with clear intellect, strong common sense and kind, jovial disposition, but his education was extremely limited. He was a fluent, pleasant and witty speaker, but not a writer The only product of his pen extant is his "Answer to Dicken's *American Notes*," first published on their appearance in the fall of 1842 in a series of communications to the *Belleville Advocate*. Governor Kinney was then a physical and mental wreck. His once bright mind, clouded by financial reverses, disappointments and dissipation, however, occasionally scintillated with flashes of its former power.

When his "Answer to Dickens" was written, in 1842, the only railroad in the State was the "Northern Cross" extending from Meredosia on the Illinois river to Springfield—the eastern section of that from Jacksonville to Springfield, having been completed in May of that year. The State, in consequence of collapse of its famous internal improvement folly, was then on the verge of bankruptcy without means to meet annual interest due on its enormous public debt.

Governor Kinney died at his home near Belleville on the 1st of October, 1843. Some years later the newspaper articles he had written in answer to Dickens were collected by his friend and amanuensis, Robert K. Fleming, who republished them in the form of a diminutive pamphlet which has for many years been out of print.

The answer to Dickens is merely a driveling, incoherent tirade of abuse of the English government, of Dickens and of abolitionists generally. In the part of it commenting upon Dickens' scurrilous description of Cairo occurs the following remarkable passage.—J. F. S]

"Now, after all that Boz has said against Cairo, it is plainly written in the book of natural philosophy, that some day, not far distant, the Central railroad must,* and will be built—the God of nature has

*The Central railroad referred to by Governor Kinney was the one projected, among several others in the great internal improvement scheme of 1837, to run from Peru, the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal on the Illinois river, to Cairo, with possible branches in future to Chicago and Galena.—J. F. S.

emphatically said so in all the marginal notes and references to His Book. The prosperity of this State, and the commercial interests of the whole people call for it, insomuch that it must, shall and will be done—if not by the energy of the State, a company will accomplish it—as it will be the best stock in the Union. When completed, it will set its foot upon the neck of the incredulous and its opponents; as there is timber sufficient in the southern and northern parts of the State, which can be carried into the interior of our prairie regions, cheaper by the agency of steam, than it can be by animal power, the distance of four miles to improve the whole, till the prairies, studded round with white painted houses, will resemble wheat stacks with flocks of pigeons on them, in the midst of plenty and to spare. The whole distance from Cairo to Chicago will be a street—a thoroughfare—for depots, both for receiving and discharging the exports of this vast country. There will be no obstacles by icebergs or sand bars in the Ohio or Mississippi at any season of the year to hinder the products of the country from being pushed into the great southern markets at the most propitious time for the benefit of the producers. It will draw into its central vortex numberless men of commercial enterprise, both carriers off and importers. The farmers and mechanics will prosper, rejoice and sing together. Then that ill-fated Cairo will raise herself above high water inundation, and seated as she is, in the forks of the two great rivers, Ohio and Mississippi, with all their tributaries hanging over her, loaded with commercial prizes, which, more or less, will be drawn at that point, as there they must touch, or go at least as close as Paul sailed to Crete. She will appear in the attitude of a fat turkey, in former times in old Kentucky, in the forks of a beech tree, the limbs above being loaded with mast, so that every hungry hunter desired a slice from its breast. So, in those days will hungry hunters for prosperity, desire a slice from Cairo's breast. It must and will be so, notwithstanding Boz's inuendoes.

"What had New Orleans to contend with in her infancy? and how did she overcome it? Was it not by enterprise and industry? And what was the cause of that enterprise and industry? It was the natural commercial advantages of the location, which were foreseen by sagacious men, which stimulated and prompted them to hazard everything, even life itself, in search after their own pecuniary prosperity; and Cairo, in like manner, although perhaps, in a less degree, must lead to a similar action and prosperity. The connection of the railroad with this point, will furnish, on the lowest possible terms, lumber to improve the whole prairie country on either side, both as to fences and houses. Coal for fuel in abundance lies on the Muddy river, and at other contiguous points, sufficient to supply the entire prairie country. Passengers will travel with the greatest ease, cheapness and comfort, from Cairo at the south, to Chicago and Galena at the north end of an empire State, and the garden of the world In fact, when these things come to pass, and which is certain, a ride in a railroad car, from one extremity of the State to the other, particularly in the balmy days of May and June, will drive

the blue devils from a passenger as far as a chase after a herd of buffalo would from one of Dickens' red brethren west of the Rocky mountains.

"What cannot man perform when fortified with capital, energy and industry? In 1829 there was not a railroad in successful operation in the United States. See in the space of a little rising 13 years, up to 1842, what *has been done.* And experience has proved it to be a fact, that railroad conveyance is a thousand times more safe for both property and passengers, (and as saving property or money is the same as to make it,) therefore, independent of the thousands of lives lost on river navigation, a calamity to be regretted, if all the property and money lost on the Ohio and Mississippi for the last 20 years could be reclaimed, it would build a double track railroad from Boston via the most commercial points to New Orleans, and one from the same point, Boston, by Buffalo, St. Louis, and the Iron Mountain, to the same point, New Orleans—saying nothing of the millions of money that would be saved in the hands of the consumers, on account of reduction of risk or insurance.

"I shall not see it, but thousands who are now living beings in this State, will see all these things come to pass, and who can then say, we now see what the writer of this article, and many others of his time longed to see, and died without the sight. The writer has been in this county (St. Clair county) 50 years, and when he came, there was not, perhaps, more than 200 or 300 American men in what is now the whole State of Illinois. Taking that as a data, what will 20 or 30 years more produce? Everyone knows that when our railroad system was born of the womb of the Legislature, dressed and handed over to the people for nursing, it was discovered to have the big head, which caused it to be unpopular with them, and a second Legislature, (many of whom had a hand in establishing the system,) instead of endeavoring to cure the disease, by lopping off those encumbrances, (as you would trim an orchard,) most useless, and leaving, at least, the Central railroad, that beautiful blaze in the face of the animal, they cut off the whole head. Should not a man be considered crazy or a fool who, having a fine colt or a valuable horse with the big head, in order to eradicate the disease, would cut off the whole head, leaving the body for corruption and worms? Certainly he would be so regarded.

"If anyone should say, or think, that I am in error or visionary on the subject of the utility and extension of the Railroad system, to satisfy them on the subject that I am at least in good company, I here quote from Col. Richard M. Johnson's speech at Springfield, on this subject: He said, in alluding to the rapid growth of the great west, of which he had been an eye witness, to the fact that in a few years there would be 29 States in the Union, that our enterprising population would soon pass over the Rocky mountains to the Pacific, and when there, he did'nt know whether we should throw a bridge across to Kamskatka, or carry on commerce by means of steamboats.

He had seen improvements and advances in civilization in the west which, at one time, would have been regarded as wonderful as those he enumerated.

"The writer is not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but he will venture to predict that the American eagle will spread her wings across the Rocky mountains, and flutter the tips of its feathers over the Oregon Territory, notwithstanding John Bull and his red allies. And it is his opinion that the time will come when the beautiful and fertile State of Illinois may appropriately be called the Key-Stone-State between the great western, south, and north-western States, including Oregon. Then the Goddess of Liberty will descend, and perching upon the topmast of our ship of state, Prosperity, with a golden ring in her beak, pointing directly down the Central railroad, directing the attention of the agriculturist to New Orleans, the great southern market."

Renè Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle.

ILLINOIS UNDER THE FRENCH—1673-1765.

(Stephen L. Spear.)

We cannot speak of Illinois without exultation. Recounting the simple facts of our history in the plainest possible language, seems like wanton vaporing. The cold, formal figures of statistics, impartially compiled from the returns of an unsympathetic census, seem to vaunt themselves, to be puffed up and proud. In describing the rapid development of our State in recent years such overtasked adjectives as "splendid," "grand," "magnificent," "wonderful," "marvelous," "unparalleled," seem stale and commonplace and wholly inadequate to the purpose. As related to Illinois, history becomes eulogy and statistical lore a panegyric.

All that we now have of wealth and population, of agriculture and commerce, of mining and manufactures, of architecture and construction, of art and science, of education and literature, has been the development of little more than half a century. Fifty years ago we had our virgin soil and native forests; our natural boundaries of lake and river; here and there an overgrown wooden town, dignified by the name of city; still other hamlets, by the grace of the statutes called towns, a few scattered patches of rudely cultivated soil by courtesy called farms; now and then a square brick house of a dozen rooms or so, by common consent called a mansion, and little else. Whatever we have today beyond these things has grown up within the memory of men but little older than myself. We have within our borders citizens whose years outnumber the years of the State; whose lives began before the writing of our first Constitution; who shared with the State her days of feeble infancy and blundering youth; and who now, "with halting step and slow" upon the last stages of their journey, behold our commonwealth, approaching with majestic stride the outer threshold of her greatness, retaining all the vigor, hope and promise of her lusty youth, enriched with the wisdom garnered by age and bought of experience.

In the life of a State or a Nation, fifty years is reckoned but a span; yet fifty years measures more than half of our existence as a State. But the history of Illinois is something more than the history of the State. It runs far beyond the memory of living men and reaches back to a time nearer to the little fleet of sail boats, which left the harbor of Palos in 1492 than to that more imposing armada which left the shores of the same decadent nation in 1898 and now lies wallowing on the rocks outside the port of Santiago. All Amer-

ican history is modern history. Whatever is ancient with us is legend and tradition, and we have little of these. But modern events seem old when compared with things still younger. Ten years before William Penn and his Broad Brims had established themselves on the shores of the Delaware, Marquette and his Black Robes had secured a footing on the banks of the Illinois. Fifty years before George Washington was born, LaSalle had obtained his commission as the first Governor of Illinois A full hundred years before the date of Boston's historic Tea Party, in December of 1773, Joliet at his home on the banks of the St Lawrence regaled his friends with the story of his trip through Illinois during his outing of the previous summer. Little of American history had been made when the making of history began in Illinois. This early history of Illinois, so slight in volume, so little read, so lightly valued, contains chapters of absorbing interest—tales of patient toil and heroic daring, of lofty enterprise and perilous adventure rarely found outside of fiction. The work done here and the manner of its doing as outlined in these fragmentary tales of trader and trapper and priest and soldier may be reviewed again and again with increasing interest; but the value of that work as far transcends our powers of computation as it overtopped the wildest dreams of those who wrought it out in the heart of the wilderness 200 years ago. Such a story furnishes the title for this paper: "Illinois Under the French."

This period of French control extends over nearly 100 years—from 1673 to 1765—from the discoveries of Joliet to the surrender of Fort Chartres to the British. Comparing that century of French control with the last half century of growth briefly referred to at the beginning of this paper, we are led to wonder what these Frenchmen were doing all these years. At the end of their stewardship of 100 years we know what assets they had on hand; a magnificent stone fortress on a sandy foundation all too close to the erratic channel of the Mississippi; a rude, wooden village insecurely founded on the banks of the same treacherous stream; three or four still smaller villages scarce worth the naming; a few inefficient water mills located on incapable streams; and what besides? No agriculture beyond the supply of their immediate local wants; no buildings but of the rudest; no commerce except trade and barter with the natives for the products of the forest; no mines developed, no factories built, no schools established, no printing press set up; no roads except the trail of the Indian and buffalo; no bridge other than an occasional tree felled across a narrow stream; no transportation facilities superior to those of the native red men; and yet they had occupied the land for nearly 100 years.

We do not know how all these years were spent. The record is incomplete. The details are meagre for the entire period, and for some years almost a blank. We know enough, however, to assure us that all those days were not holidays nor all those lives the lives of listless ease and careless leisure.

The story of the French in Illinois had its origin in the desire of the French government to prove the existence of the Mississippi

river, to determine its course and test its navigability to the sea, and had its continuation in the effort of that government to possess and control the valley of the Mississippi as it already possessed and controlled the basin of the St. Lawrence. From time to time traders and trappers from the upper lakes brought to Quebec and Montreal vague stories learned from the western Indians of a great river still to the westward of the outermost trading post—a mighty stream, flowing southward from its source in a land which the white man had never visited—and discharging its waters in the sea. There seemed little doubt of the existence of such a river, but whether it found an outlet in the Atlantic somewhere between Florida and the Virginias, or in the Gulf of Mexico, or far to the westward in the Gulf of California, then known as "The Great Vermilion Sea," was as far beyond the knowledge of the unlettered red men of the north as it was beyond the scholarship of the learned European geographers of that day. In 1672 the governor general of Canada, resolving to have this problem solved, put the question before Louis Joliet and told him to go out into the wilderness and fetch him back the answer. The adventure was much to Joliet's liking. His experience as a voyageur, his acquaintance with the languages of many Indian tribes, his good fellowship with the natives and his tact in dealing with them fitted him for the undertaking. The issue confirmed the governor's wisdom in the selection of his agent. Father Marquette was appointed to accompany him—the one to proclaim to the dusky natives of all newly discovered regions the temporal sovereignty of Louis the Grand, the other to proclaim the spiritual sovereignty of the Holy Church.

Marquette, at this time, was engaged in missionary work in the vicinity of Mackinac where Joliet found him in December of 1672 and carried to him the news of their appointment to an enterprise as congenial to the one as to the other—an enterprise the possibilities of which they had discussed between themselves at former meetings. They spent the winter here developing their plans, gathering such information as was possible from the slender details possessed by their Indian companions and making preparations for their southward journey in the spring. On the 17th of May, 1673, they left the mission of St. Ignace on the straits of Mackinaw for Green Bay, spending some time here among the natives with whom Marquette had previously labored, collecting additional information and supplies and securing guides for the first stage of their journey. Early in June they ascended the Fox river from the bay to the portage, where their Indian guides, after conducting them across to the head waters of the Wisconsin, left them to their fate. Heedless of the protestations of their timorous guides, their solemn warnings of rocks and rapids to be encountered, of savage natives and supernatural enemies as well,—this well-matched pair of pioneers with their five companions committed their canoes to the unknown waters of the Wisconsin and rapidly descended its course. One month from the day of their departure from the mission at the straits—seven days after embarking on the waters of the Wisconsin—they drifted out

into the swifter current of a broader stream, and on June 17, 1763, became the first French navigators of the Father of Waters. The weight of this newly acquired distinction was not allowed to impede their progress; and, christening their discovery "The River St. Louis," in honor of their sovereign, they continued down the channel of the greater stream past the mouths of the Illinois, the Missouri and Ohio in quick succession, swiftly borne by the rapid current, assisted at times by sail and oar, until they had reached a point near the mouth of the Arkansas. Here, after a conference with a tribe of natives whose confidence they had gained, they decided to go no further. Hostile tribes were ahead of them. The Spaniards—enemies more to be dreaded than the native savages—were known to be somewhere to the southward but how near to the mouth of the great river they did not know. The mosquitoes, more implacable than either Indians or Spaniards, assailed them by day and by night—enemies they could neither propitate, intimidate nor conquer.

Furthermore, they considered the chief object of their mission already accomplished. The great river had been discovered and its course followed so far to the south that they were sure it could find no outlet either in the Atlantic or the Great Vermilion sea, and must, perforce, discharge its waters into the Gulf of Mexico. Joliet wisely concluded to turn his back upon mosquitoes, Spaniards and unfriendly tribes alike and retrace his course. On July 17, one month after his first sight of the Mississippi, two months after his departure from St. Ignace mission, he turned his face homeward. On reaching the mouth of the Illinois, he entered this stream instead of continuing up to the Wisconsin. Ascending the Illinois, the little party encountered at their village near the present site of Peoria, a band of Illinois Indians with whom they had established friendly relations on the banks of the Mississippi some two months earlier. The little party halted here three days resting from the fatigues of their up-stream journey, replenishing their slender stock of provisions, distributing presents among the natives, not forgetting for a moment that part of the work assigned to Father Marquette. Again they took up their journey toward the lakes, stopping at another Indian village, a day's travel further up the river, then on up the Des Plaines so far as practicable, across the portage to the Chicago river, down its sluggish course to Lake Michigan, and, coasting along its western shore to Green Bay, they reached, late in September, the mission from which they had set out four months earlier.

It was a wonderful journey without serious accident or misadventure from start to finish. No deaths, no sickness, no desertions, no dissensions among themselves, no conflicts with the natives, no fatal scarcity of corn, no waste of time, no change of plan, none of the usual misfortune accompanying such expeditions in those days—a canoe voyage of more than 2,500 miles completed within four months—more than 20 miles a day for the entire trip. Cut off from their base of supplies—beyond the reach of friendly aid in case of need—2,500 miles in bark canoes over an uncharted route without

map or guide—without shelter from scorching sun, or pelting rain or driving wind—anchoring near mid-stream at night, not daring to go forward for fear of rocks and rapids; not daring to camp on shore for fear of surprise by hostile natives; refraining from shooting the game with which the country abounded for fear of attracting the attention of unwelcome neighbors—their little stock of corn and dried meat the only commissary on which they could draw for supplies; yet 20 miles a day up-stream and down, through foul weather and fair, including all stops and portages, returning to their point of departure without a mishap worthy of record.

Joliet and Marquette, at least, were not idlers. These 120 days were not all holidays. They had, in this short time, in the face of obstacles hardly hinted at in this paper, discovered the Wisconsin, Mississippi and Illinois rivers; had added to the geography of the world a fairly good map of the greater part of the course of the Mississippi; had seen the outlet of all the principal tributaries except the Arkansas and the Red, had navigated the entire course of both the Wisconsin and the Illinois; had discovered two feasible routes over natural highways between the great valleys of the St Lawrence and the Mississippi, had seen for themselves and placed on record a good description of the fertile fields, salubrious climate and wonderful resources of Illinois; had established friendly relations with all the native tribes with which they had to do; and, let us not forget, had made the preliminary survey of the Illinois and Michigan canal, and had marked the route to be followed two and a quarter centuries later by the great sanitary channel of Chicago. When any of us shall have formed the habit of dispatching business after this fashion, and can, in three short months, place to our credit such a volume of work so thoroughly accomplished in every detail, we shall not find it necessary to explain to our friends how we spend our Christmas holidays nor where we go for our summer vacations.

Had the work of that hundred years gone on as it began in this summer of 1673, with the same wise discretion and the same good fortune, John Bull, in the adjustment of his accounts with France at the close of this era, would have found other things to place to the credit of his new domain besides a groggy fortress and a backwoods town with a nondescript population of, perhaps, 300 or 400 souls.

No immediate efforts at colonization or further exploration followed the discoveries of Joliet. It is true that the good Father Marquette, faithful to his promise given the Indians in the Illinois village, returned the following year and established a mission among them and, on his death, was succeeded by Father Allouez Traders and trappers from the lake region came and went among the Illinois Indians, but nothing looking toward the colonization of the country occurred until LaSalle came upon the scene about six years later and took up the work of history making in Illinois. The first chapter made by Joliet is an unbroken record of successes. The second chapter to be made by LaSalle, wider in its scope, more thrilling in its details, is one sad series of misfortunes "following fast and following

faster" until they overwhelmed at last this pioneer of pioneers, described by one of his countrymen with pardonable exaggeration, as "great as the greatest, as pure as the purest, as unfortunate as the most unfortunate of men."

As early as 1669, four years before the Joliet discoveries, LaSalle had fitted out an expedition to explore the Ohio from its source to the sea. In July of this year he actually started from Montreal on his journey; but, owing to disagreements with the ecclesiastical wing of his expedition, he was diverted from his purpose and returned home without even reaching the Ohio. From this time on for several years, including the time of Joliet's explorations, he led the life of a *coureur des bois*, a runner of the woods, a fine apprenticeship for his greater work. These *coureur des bois* of LaSalle's day were, as a rule, the French counterparts of those English colonists described by Captain John Smith of Jamestown fame, as "coming to America to escape worse destinies at home." LaSalle, however, was of another type. He was something more than a runner of the woods. He was of good birth and education, of correct habits and unquestioned courage; a promoter of great enterprises whose management he always imposed upon himself; a man of energy, ambition, tenacity of purpose; fearing no danger, shirking no hardship; apparently incapable of discouragement and unconscious of defeat to the last.

Joliet, upon the completion of his voyage, having made his report and received his fee, seemed to take no further interest in the discoveries he had made, and the world took as little thought of him as he of his work. Marquette, good and capable man that he was, had no interest in the land of the Illinois except as a field for missionary work. LaSalle was a man of different mould. As daring as Joliet and devout as Marquette, he was a man of larger views and more ambitious schemes. His idea was not simply to see, but to acquire; not merely to discover, but to occupy; not only to explore, but to possess, to colonize, to utilize; to add to the crown of France a new dominion, he, under the king, to control, to develop, and to shape its destinies. Following his futile effort of 1669 to reach the sea by way of the Ohio, his intercourse with the natives as a trader took him over all the regions south of Lake Erie, down the Ohio as far as the falls and to the west as far as the southern shore of Lake Michigan. The work done by Joliet determined him to transfer his operations from the Ohio to the Illinois and, after completing the work of Joliet by following the Mississippi to its mouth, to hold the country for his monarch and to exploit it for his own profit. With such ends in view, he obtained from Louis XIV in 1678, five years after Joliet's voyage, authority to explore the great river to its mouth, to erect forts at his discretion, to garrison and colonize the country, to make treaties with the natives and to enjoy a certain monopoly of the trade over all the country brought by him under the flag of France within a period of five years. This privilege of exclusive trade was his only means of re imbursement for the great outlay involved in the prose-

cution of this enterprise undertaken as a personal adventure and at his own expense. His only hope of reward, his only chance of escape from financial ruin, lay in the success of his plans.

Late in the summer of 1679 he left his improvised shipyard on the coast of Lake Erie with his faithful lieutenant, Tonti, for the land of the Illinois. They had a more pretentious equipment than that of Joliet. A sailing vessel of 60 tons burden, constructed by LaSalle out of his own means at a cost of $10,000 or $15,000, carrying five small cannon with a considerable cargo to exchange with the natives for skins and furs, the profits on which were to furnish means for the conduct of the expedition, set sail on August 7th and reached Mackinac early the following month. Passing on to Green Bay after some unfortunate delay and there remaining until the vessel was loaded with furs, the Griffon, in charge of the pilot and a crew of five men, was dispatched, September 18th, for Montreal with instructions to discharge the cargo and return the vessel without delay to the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan, there to meet LaSalle and Tonti, with supplies needed for the furtherance of the expedition. But the Griffon, constructed under much difficulty and at great expense, the vessel which was intended by trade upon the lakes to be the bread-winner and tax-gatherer for the explorers and to keep them in touch with their headquarters on the St. Lawrence, was never heard of again.

Unaware of the loss of his vessel, La Salle with fourteen men in four canoes took up his journey southward along the western shore and around the southern bend of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Here he built a fort and was joined by Tonti with twenty men who had journeyed up the eastern shore of the lake to the same place. In December, after completing the fort and despairing of the return of the Griffon, all started for the land of the Illinois by way of the portage between the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers. After a terrible journey through a difficult country in cruel weather, the half starved, half-frozen adventurers on the last day of the year reached the principal village of the Illinois Indians, in the vicinity of the Starved Rock, to find it deserted; the natives, according to their custom, being absent on their annual winter hunt. The famishing voyagers supplied their immediate wants from a small store found in the village and passed on down to the Peoria Lake where they landed on New Year's day, 1680, among a large concourse of the returning hunters, and, after a parley and feast and mutual exchange of civilties, La Salle determined to go no further down the stream until better prepared for the successful prosecution of his plans. Here, near the present site of Peoria, he determined to take up his winter quarters, to erect a fort for immediate protection and as a future base of operations for the extension of his explorations to the south and here await supplies for which he still depended on the Griffon. He remained here until the first of March employed in the construction of Fort Crevecoeur as well as in the building of a boat of considerable dimensions for the descent of the river in the following spring. After seeing the work fairly under way, he despatched several of his men, including Father Hennepin and Michael

Ako, up the Mississippi to discover its source, while he, with six men, started back to Fort Frontenac for more men and fresh supplies, leaving Tonti in command at Fort Crevecoeur. From the upper Indian village two men were sent back to Tonti with such provisions as La Salle could secure there and he then pushed on overland, across southern Michigan and northern Ohio around the southern shore of Lake Erie to the Niagara, and on to Montreal by April 21—a journey on foot of more than 1000 miles, across swollen streams, through forest and swamp and fields of melting ice and snow.

In the meantime things had been going badly enough with Tonti. According to the instructions of La Salle, he had begun with a detachment of his men, the construction of another fort near the site of the upper village. While thus engaged the men left at Fort Crevecoeur mutinied, destroyed the fort and such supplies as they could not carry with them and proved themselves what La Salle had long suspected, cowards and traitors as well as thieves. Only two of the garrison proved true to their chieftain and his cause, but these two, in the absence of both La Salle and Tonti, were powerless to prevent the destruction of the fort or the desertion of its garrison. This disaster was quickly followed by a sudden invasion by the warlike Iroquois, who drove the Illinois Indians from their homes, seized Tonti, kept him in captivity until after the conquest of the country had been assured, and then allowed him to depart for Mackinac with his five remaining companions in a worthless canoe and with insufficient supplies to last him half the journey.

Vague rumors of Tonti's disaster came to La Salle at Frontenac, and in August, 1680, he once more started to the west with a force of 25 men to rescue Tonti if he might yet be found, and with him push on to the mouth of the great river. The summer had been spent in a struggle with persistent creditors and in finding men and means to continue his work. On reaching the Illinois country again in December he came upon a scene of desolation. He found the country depopulated. The work of the Iroquois warriors had been thorough. His forts were in ruins; the Indian villages were obliterated; the inhabitants, fortunate enough to escape the tomahawk, had sought refuge beyond the Mississippi. He descended the Illinois to its mouth in search of Tonti, but finding no trace of him, turned his back once more upon the immediate goal of his ambition, intent upon the possible rescue of his friend and faithful lieutenant. His companions urged him to continue on down the Mississippi to its mouth to complete the work for which the expedition had been organized. But La Salle, intent upon the rescue of his friend, once more traversed the deserted land of the Illinois from the mouth of the river to the fort on the St. Joseph, which he reached late in January, 1681; but no trace of Tonti had been found—no living soul in that wide waste to tell the story of his fate.

Here LaSalle entered upon a new role—that of diplomatist—a negotiator of treaties among the savages, and succeeded, after weeks of toil and many conferences with many tribes, in uniting the Miamis, the Foxes, the Shawnees, Tamoroas, Osages, and other tribes of western Indians in an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French and with each other, and against their mutual enemies, the dreaded Iroquois. This work occupied the remainder of the winter and it was the middle of summer when he reached Mackinac where he joined Tonti after a separation of 14 months, neither, in the meantime, having received any direct communication from the other—no reliable information of the other's movements or even of the other's existence; but each true and loyal to the other's interests—each confident of the other's fidelity.

During the time that LaSalle had been making his trip down and up the Illinois and negotiating treaties from his headquarters at Ft. Miami, Tonti had been engaged in a desperate journey on foot through the frozen wilds of Wisconsin, continuously threatened by frost and famine, in dire extremities at the hands of both. At the last moment he was found by a roving band of Pottawattamies—good Samaritans in spite of name and lineage—who took him to their wigwam, bound up his wounds, fed him, clothed him, nursed him back to health and strength and sent him on his way. He reached Mackinac one day before LaSalle with a tale to tell of a fight for life in that terrible wilderness which made the perils of savage warfare seem trifles of little moment.

Again LaSalle started for the east to renew his supplies, dispatching the faithful Tonti to Fort Miami to hold that post and keep in touch with those western tribes who were now, nominally at least, the allies of LaSalle. Since the desolation of the Illinois country, this place had been made a sort of western headquarters and second base of operations. Here LaSalle joined Tonti in December, 1681, and in the following month, all started on LaSalle's third winter journey down the course of the Illinois, enroute for the mouth of the greater river. The party consisted of 23 Frenchmen and 31 Indians, all told, fairly well equipped for the enterprise in hand. They crossed the lake to the mouth of the Chicago river where sledges were built, on which the canoes were mounted, and hauled by the men, yoked in pairs, over frozen streams and snowclad prairies. The site of their ruined fort, Crevecoeur, was reached January 25th, where they halted long enough to repair their canoes and transfer their supplies from their sledges. Then exchanging the yoke for the oar, they resumed their journey and on February 6th, reached the Mississippi at the mouth of the Illinois. Here they halted till the middle of the month on account of the ice still floating in the river, started again on the 15th, reached the mouth of the Mississippi on April 7, 1682 and formally took possession of this country of Louisiana with all "its seas, harbors, ports, bays, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers," in the name of "the most high, mighty, invincible and victorious prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, 14th of that name, and of his

heirs and the successors of his crown." The great object of this expedition had been accomplished and without delay the return journey was begun on April 10. LaSalle fell sick about the first of June before the mouth of the Ohio had been reached and Tonti was despatched with two canoes to carry the news of the discovery to Mackinac and to transact other business of moment while his chief remained behind at his rude fort on the Chickasaw bluffs. Here his fever burned itself out at last and with the remainder of his force he rejoined Tonti at Mackinac nearly two months later.

After his discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi and the practical demonstration of the navigability of the stream between the gulf and the Illinois country—LaSalle's country—he resolved to establish direct communication between France and his western domain by way of the lower Mississippi. His comprehensive mind grasped the entire situation. To make his concession valuable he must have a better route to Europe than was offered by way of the St. Lawrence, and he must protect from the incursions of the Iroquois on the east and the Sioux and Foxes on the north, those tribes of whose trade he had a monopoly. To this end he erected on the Starved Rock of the Illinois, Fort St. Louis du Rocher during the winter of 1682–1683 and gathered about the fort from the scattered remnants of many western tribes, 20,000 or more of his dusky retainers. This fort was to be the military headquarters of the country, the principal trading post of the region, the depot of supplies, the center of missionary effort, the rallying point of all the western warriors in opposition to the Iroquois and the nucleus of a French colony of artisans and agriculturists yet to be brought out from France. In the fulfillment of none of these designs did it serve its purpose for any length of time, though it continued to be occupied by the French for eight or ten years.

The fort finished, Tonti was placed in command, and early in the summer of 1683 LaSalle left for the east never again to return to the land of the Illinois. Arriving at Quebec in November, 1683, he found LeBarre, who had succeeded his good friend, Count Frontenac, not only wanting sympathy with LaSalle, but opposed to his schemes, jealous of his growing power and popularity, professedly incredulous as to discoveries already made and thwarting his plans for further work at every opportunity. The governor continuing unreasonable and irreconcilable, LaSalle at last determined to appeal unto Caesar. Of his trip to France, his favorable reception at court, the adoption of his views by those in power, of his new and greatest expedition—consisting of three vessels—a large contingent of colonists fairly well equipped with stores; of his plans to sail direct to the mouth of the Mississippi, there to build a fort and found a colony which, with like establishments at Fort St. Louis and intermediate points, was to command his great feudal estate of the Mississippi valley; of his failure to find the river, his landing on the coast of Texas, his fruitless wanderings there, his encounters with hostile natives and his death at the hands of his perfidious followers, want of time prevents

consideration. Besides, all these things are beyond the boundaries of Illinois and concern its history only as everything relating to LaSalle concerns Illinois.

There is no sadder chapter in history or fiction than the story thus passed over, of these last days of LaSalle. Broken in health and worn out by months of incredible toil, unable to placate the savages which surrounded his accidental establishment on the gulf, his ships across the sea or at its bottom, his supplies exhausted, his men insubordinate, his only hope of success for himself or succor for his men was to reach the land of the Illinois. Unable to find the Mississippi from the gulf, he started overland for the prairies of Illinois undaunted by what he had endured and undismayed by what lay before him; and here in the Texas wilderness he perished at the hands of a miserable assassin unable to comprehend the greatness of his spirit or the goodness of his heart. Whatever may be your haste or mine to finish this paper, let us stop long enough to quote the words of Parkman's tribute to the memory of the greatest of the early pathfinders: "It is easy to reckon up his defects but it is not easy to hide from sight the Roman virtues that redeemed them. Beset by a throng of enemies, he stands like a King of Israel, head and shoulders above them all. He was a tower of adamant against whose front hardships and danger, the rage of men and of the elements, the southern sun, the northern blast, fatigue, famine and disease, delay, disappointment and hope deferred, emptied their quivers in vain."

During these last dark days of LaSalle's career, Tonti, while waiting on the Rock for his master's coming, protected as well as he could the interests of LaSalle against the machinations of his political and clerical enemies and successfully withstood a savage attack of the Iroquois and repulsed them with loss. He also conducted a band of his western warriors to the far east and, in conjunction with the Governor of Canada, fell upon the Iroquois in their own country and struck them a blow from which they never fully recovered. But the settlement at the Rock was doomed. With the death of LaSalle and the wreck of all his plans, support failed Tonti and his last important act as commandant of the post was to conduct, in the winter of 1688-9, an expedition down the river to the coast in quest of the remnant of his chief's last ill starred expedition. After this the decadence of Fort St. Louis was rapid. Tonti abandoned it and in 1700 sought and obtained service with Bienville in his new settlement in lower Louisiana. The Indian mission was transferred to the mouth of the Kaskaskia, with a considerable number of the Illinois Indians and the few French settlers left about the fort. The original route of Joliet from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi via the Wisconsin had proved the more popular, the fort on the Rock was off the line of travel, and the means and necessity for its continuance alike seemed wanting Upon the withdrawal of the garrison the valley of the Illinois, exposed to the forays of the Sioux and Foxes of the north, was virtually abandoned by the French and their Indian allies as well.

About this time begins the story of Kaskaskia. This sketch, though still within the first decade of the 92 years of French control, has dwelt so long upon Joliet and LaSalle that little time remains to consider the doings of this first permanent white settlement of Illinois. This apparent disproportion of space has been purposely given these two men because their work was the only work done during this period of French control that proved of lasting value, The work about Kaskaskia, whether viewed from the standpoint of the soldier, the proprietor, the colonist, or the native, was of little temporary worth and of no continuing importance; while the work of Joliet and LaSalle in exploring the country between the lakes and the gulf; in demonstrating the vast resources of the region; in conciliating the natives in possession and permanently securing their good will and in breaking the power of neighboring tribes of hostile natives, was a work great in its design, great in its achievement, enduring in its value; and yet, effected by such humble means, that we rarely think of it as a great event of history.

Illinois under the French, after the time of LaSalle, was never a distinct unit, ecclesiastical, military or commercial. It was always the fractional part of a mixed quantity of which the integer was Canada or Louisiana; Quebec or Montreal; New Orleans or Mobile. The settlement of lower Louisiana was accomplished a year or two, perhaps, before the establishment of the mission posts of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. During the early years of the eighteenth century priests and traders, none of them tarrying long, passed to and fro between these points and the northern posts; occasional hunters and trappers, tired of the rigors of the northern climate, settled round about the mission, planting and harvesting their little crops very much after the fashion of the Indian squaws; but no serious effort was made to colonize the country until after 1712 when, under the proprietorship of Crozat, some ineffectual attempts were made to build up a colony here The first real impetus given to the work of colonization was in 1718 under the "Company of the Great West," one of the many products of John Law's fertile but erratic brain. A military commandant with a small force was sent to Kaskaskia, the first Fort Chartres was built and emigrants came in gradually from Canada and lower Louisiana. It was during this era that Philippe Renault came over from France with his company of colonists and a band of 500 slaves picked up in the West Indies to work his undiscovered and undiscoverable mines. He acquired title to a large area of land, founded the little village of St. Philippe to the south of Kaskaskia, remained about four years prospecting the hills and streams of Illinois and Missouri for precious metals and, after dissipating all his dreams and much of his wealth, abandoned his enterprise He disposed of his slaves and returned to France leaving upon the country the stain of African slavery, traces of which remained even after Illinois became a State

It is not worth while to recount the names or doings of the dozen or more commandants who successively ruled this region with mildly autocratic sway. None of them seems to have been specially capable

or incapable, neither very good nor very bad, very wise nor very foolish. Little that occurred to distinguish one commandant or one administration from another has found its way to record. In 1736, D'Artiguette, young, handsome, brave, and greatly beloved of his people, in an ill-considered attack upon the Chickasaws in their own country, after being wounded and his force exterminated, was captured by his savage enemies and perished at the stake. Macarty, the Frenchman with an Irish name (or the Irishman with a French commission, as the case may be) distinguished his administration of ten years by the reconstruction of Fort Chartres at a cost to his government of something like $1,000,000. Finding it in logs he left it in limestone, the most notable fortification on the continent. His successor, DeVilliers, while yet a major subordinate to Macarty, led from Fort Chartres an expedition to the headwaters of the Ohio, in 1754, and on the 4th day of July compelled the capitulation of Fort Necessity and its garrison commanded by Colonel George Washington of Virginia.

It would be interesting to review the character of these early colonists, the manner of their lives, their communistic cultivation of fields and pasturage of flocks, their general immunity from all thirst for wealth or appetite for power or ambition for distinction above their fellows, taking thought, perhaps, of "what they should eat, what they should drink and wherewithal they should be clothed," but surely of little else. It would be interesting to notice the many striking contrasts between this little community midway between the oceans and those colonies of the Atlantic coast with whose history (the more shame to us) we are more familiar. No sketch of this era can be complete, or even approach completeness, and leave unnoticed that heroic band of devoted priests, who, consecrating themselves to a hopeless task, reaped little where they sowed much; took up nothing where they laid down all, and yet who seldom stopped in their work to murmur of the folly of casting pearls before swine. All these things might be made interesting; but, in order to keep this paper within reasonable limits, I lightly pass over or wholly ignore many events belonging to this period.

The end soon came and with little warning to these dwellers in a land where even ill-news traveled slowly. That fateful September morning of 1759 on the far away Heights of Abraham had sealed their doom. Negotiations carried on still further away in point of distance and further yet removed from every thought of their placid minds, ended in the treaty of Paris, Feb 10, 1763, by which the land of the Illinois was made a part of the British empire and its people subjects of the British king. The formal transfer of the post was delayed by the difficulties thrown in the way by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas and greatest of Indian generals, who thrice drove back the detachments of red coats sent to take possession of the settlements. October 10, 1765, nearly three years after the treaty stipulating their surrender, the British took possession of Fort Chartres and the Kaskaskia settlements (the last spots upon the continent to fly the white flag of the Bourbons) and finally turned down the last page of the history of "Illinois under the French." The king of France and of

Navarre could transfer their territory but not so lightly their allegiance. Repugnance to English rule, inherited from their fathers and fostered by generations of conflict, could not be dispelled by the bargains of diplomats and the proclamations of kings. Still ignorant of the terms of the treaty and the broad sweep of its provisions, many betook themselves to New Orleans, supposing lower Louisiana still within the French domain, while others passed across the Mississippi to St. Genevieve and St. Louis, only to learn that what had been withheld from the hand of the English king had been laid at the feet of another hereditary enemy, his Catholic majesty, the king of Spain. Still others, fortunate enough to possess the requisite means, found their way back to the mother country. A mere handful remained—few of them attempting more—and continued to remain, on and on, until submerged by the overwhelming tide of Anglo-Saxon immigration and until the site on which they had built crumbled away beneath them, a prey to successive floods of the insidious stream which had brought them hither. The name of Kaskaskia and the memories that cluster around it are all that are left us.

Kaskaskia and its environs seem a fitter field for the poet than for the historian. When some skilled hand worthy of the task shall weave into the sober warp of fact the softer threads and brighter colorings of romance, and do for Old Kaskaskia what has been done for Acadia, we shall gladly excuse the historian from his labors. We do not care to know the formal history of Acadia. We do not concern ourselves about the number or the names of its governors, civil or military, if such there were, nor seek to know the precise date of the founding of the "beautiful village of Grand Pré," the exact number of its inhabitants, the extent of its cultivated acres, the quantity of its agricultural products or the value of its fisheries. If these facts were ever ours they have long since escaped us and we make no effort to reclaim the fugitives; for we know the story of Evangeline and of Gabriel, of saintly Father Felician and sturdy Basil the Blacksmith, and what more do we care to know?

Comparing old Kaskaskia with Acadia as a field for poetic endeavor the setting seems as picturesque, the life as idylic, the souls as devout, the spirits as brave, the hearts as true, the end as tragic, the effacement as complete. They are all gone—

> "Scattered like dust and leaves when the mighty blasts of October
> Seize them, and whirl them aloft and sprinkle them far o'er the ocean"—

the soldier and his fortress; the priest and his people; the master and his slaves; the gold digger and his dreams; the hunter and his quarry; the trader and his traffic; the voyageur and his canoe; the cottager and his village; leaving no more impress upon the country or upon its institutions than was left by their fragile barks upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi. The work of Joliet and LaSalle alone endures—a priceless heritage, a legacy in perpetuity to all the ages.

Yes, it is a theme for the poet and not for the historian. Until another Longfellow shall arise to take in hand such naked facts as I have set before you, touch them with the magic wand of his sympathetic genius and clothe them in the graceful drapery of poetic thought and form, there will be no satisfactory rendering of the story of "Illinois Under the French."

CHICAGO—ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE CITY AND THE OLD PORTAGES.

(John F. Steward.)

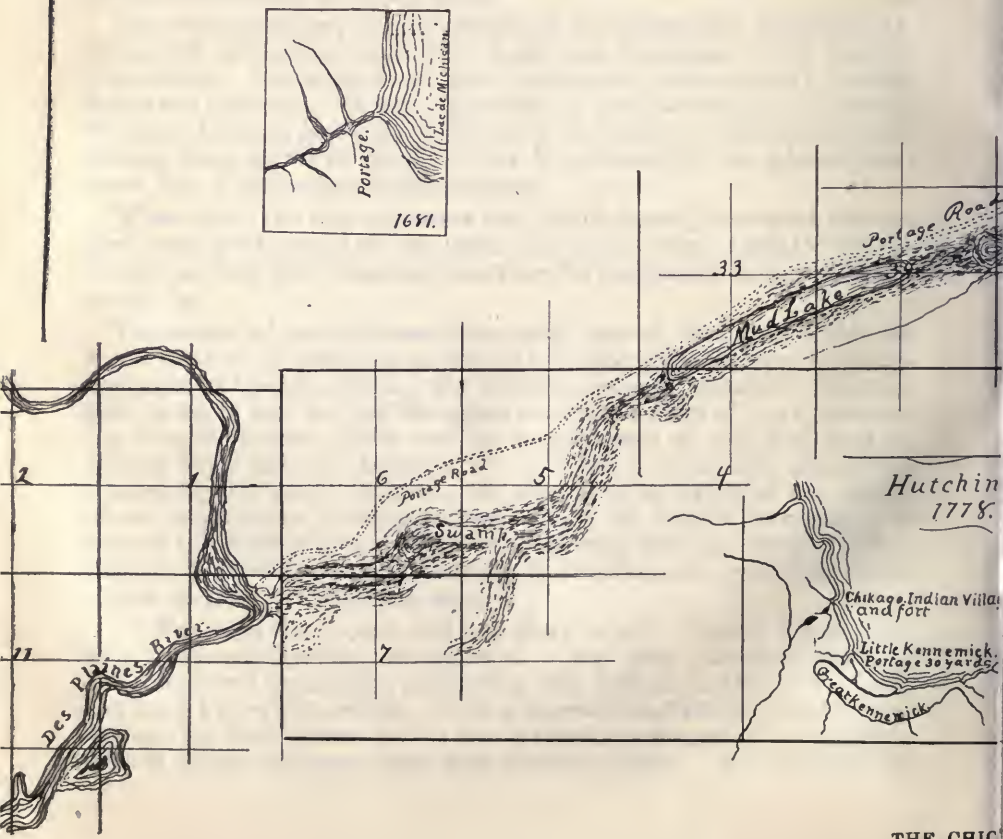
The origin of the name of our city will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all, notwithstanding the many proofs left us. We agree, however, that the natives gave descriptive names to all geographical localities, and that the region of our present city was given a significant name by them.

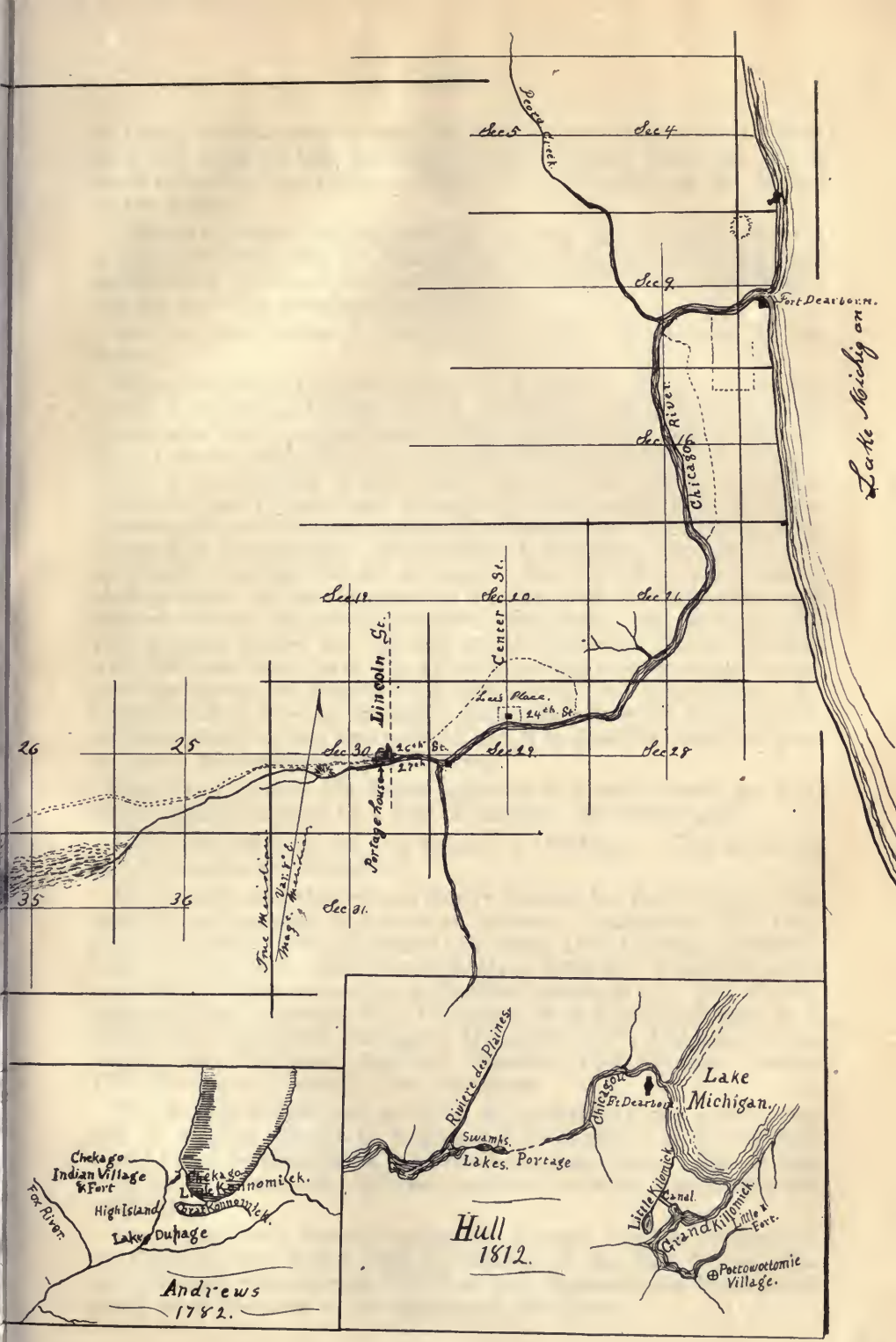
Few who speak any of the dialects of the Algonquin language remain, and not many more who knew the meanings of its limited vocabulary. Fortunate it is that intelligent explorers left records that avail us much. It is my pleasure to number among my friends William Jones, a graduate of Harvard University, and having in his veins a deep strain of blood of the Fox branch of the Algonquins; from him I gather much information.

When came the first explorers the Miami branch occupied this region, and their names of our lakes and rivers were imitated by the French as best their tongues, untrained to the sounds so new to them, could do.

The name of our odorous river, and also of that into which we strive to turn its repulsive waters, the French spelt in ways as representative as to each making the attempt, seemed possible. The result, to us, is that we find the name was spelt a score of ways; the ending is most varient. This was in consequence of the fact that in French there were no symbols for the exact vowel and diphthong uttered by the native tongue. Mr. Jones, in speaking of the origin of our city's name, judging as best he can, the dialect he speaks and that of the Miamis whom the French writers tried to imitate, differing much, gives the reason ascribed by the Foxes for referring to our region as that of the skunk, says:

"A Fox, now dead, once had this story to tell: 'Some Foxes were on a hunt and came to the shore of a big lake. Looking out over the water, and toward the northwest, they beheld an object with only the head above the surface. It was approaching and soon came near enough for them to see that it was a skunk, a monster of a skunk, the like of which had never been seen before or since. The hunters lay


Portage.
Lac de Michigan
1681.
Portage Road
Mud Lake
33
Hutchin
1778.
Portage Road
Swamp
6
5
4
2
1
11
7
Des Plaines River
Chikago Indian Villa
and fort
Little Kennemick
Portage 30 yards
Great Kennemick


Sec 5
Sec 4
Sec 9
Fort Dearborn
Lake Michigan
Sec 16
Chicago River
Sec 19
Sec 20
Sec 21
Center St.
Lincoln St.
Lees Place
24th St.
26
25
Sec 30
Sec 29
Sec 28
35
36
Sec 31
Portage Road
True Meridian
Chekago Indian Village & Fort
High Island
Lake Duhage
Chekago Lake Kannomick.
Great Kannomick.
Fox River.
Andrews 1782.
Riviere des Plaines
Swamps.
Lakes. Portage
Chicago
Ft Dearborn
Lake Michigan.
Little Kinzie
Canal.
Grand Kinzie
Little M Fort.
Pottowottomie Village.
Hull 1812.

PORTAGE.

in hiding till the monster came ashore and there they killed it. Ever after that time the lake south of the course along which the skunk came swimming was known as *Shegagoegi*, the place or the region of the skunk.'"

"*Egi* is a locative ending, and the presence of the long *o* before it is due to the fact that *wa*, the ending in *Shegagwa*, is not a happy combination with *egi*, the locative; *wa* drops out, leaving a long *o* but not with the meaning of a diminutive."

And he then refers to the probable origin of the name of the onion.

"The Sauks and Foxes call a skunk *Shegagwa*. *Sheg*, the fore part of the word, is found in the verb to micturate, and the part in *agwa* occurs also with *agagwa*, the word for a porcupine. A kitten skunk should also be called *Shegagoa*, and the reason is this: A diminutive of a word ending in *gwa a kwa* is sometimes got by dropping out the *w*, and in that case a long *o* or a long *u* falls into the place. For example, the word for muskrat is ashaskwa, and the word for a little muskrat is *ashaskoa*. But instead of *Shegagoa*, meaning a kitten skunk, it is the word for an onion. The word for a kitten skunk is *shegagoaa*. *A* has the sound of *a* in hat, and is a diminutive sign. The word really has two diminutives. *Shegagwa* and *Shegagoa* are both animate nouns; that is, they are the names of objects endowed with life; may both have the animate ending *a* in the singular and *gi* in the plural, the plurals being *shegagwagi* and *shegagoagi*. To a mind fond of drawing analogies the analogy between an onion and a skunk would be easy and natural, and it is possible that the word for onion came about in just that way."

In view of all this, Mr. Jones suggests, as a coat-of-arms for Chicago, a skunk rampant on a field of onions! He further says:

"The wild onion in the Fox tongue is Chukagoh. The skunk in the Fox tongue is Chekagwa."

On 13 early maps before me, mostly French, the Indian town, portage and trading post is spelled as follows: Franquelin, 1687, Checagou; Tilleman, 1688, Chekagou; De Lisle, 1703, Checagou; Sutteri, 1710 (?) Checagon. (The *n* is probably a misprint. I find the script *u* in French often copied in unfamiliar names as *n*.) Old French map in British Museum, 1718, Chicagou; Moll, 1720, Chekagou; Bollin, 1744, (two maps) Chicagou; D'Anville, 1746, Chicagou; Vaugondy, 1755, Chicagou; Andrews, (English) 1782 Chicago; Bowles, 1783, Checagou; Pownall, 1794, Checagou.

The French termination *ou* is in all probability the correct one, and in English should be represented by double *o*, as in boot, that sound being represented in the French language by *ou*. The change from *goo* to *go* naturally followed because the latter is more easy and euphonious.

During the early harvest the prairie between the Des Plaines and the Chicago river is pink with the blossom of the wild onion. The early French writers were told that that vegetable, the little skunk plant, gave the name to the region and the rivers.

Cadillac, who wrote in 1695, says:

"The post of Chicagou comes next. The word signifies the river of the onion, because it is there produced naturally without any care, in great quantities."

LaSalle, writing in 1681, says: "The land there produces naturally a quantity of roots good to eat, as wild onions."

The Chicago Portages.

The following is the result of an effort to interpret Marquette's journal, so far as it relates to Chicago history, and to get together early references to the principal way between Lake Michigan and the Des Plaines river. (Explanatory words, phrases and sentences in the following enclosed in brackets are mine.)

Turning to the journal, at the date Nov. 27, 1674, we learn that Marquette and his party were on Green Bay. He says: "*Nous rencontrames dans l'anse a l'Esturgeon les Sauvages qui Marchaient devant nous.*" Taking into account various circumstances, elsewhere mentioned in the journal, these words mean, when translated freely: "At Sturgeon Bay we overtook the savages who had preceded us and whom we needed as guides." "28th. We reached the portage." (From Sturgeon Bay, a small arm of Green Bay reaching eastward toward Lake Michigan.) "30th. The Illinois women completed our portage in the morning." "Dec. 1st. We went ahead of the savages in order to have an opportunity to say Holy Mass." "3d. Having embarked, after saying Holy Mass, we were compelled to make for a point so that we could land, on account of the floating ice."

For several days the party had been delayed, from the 27th of November, by varying conditions of weather; by "a wind from the land, by heavy waves from the offing and by cold." The party was nearing the Chicago river, and I take it that the point referred to was known to our early German settlers as "Gross Point" where Evanston adorns the shore, 12 miles from the mouth of the now odorous river. They had not gone far after saying mass, and hence it may be possible that the camp of the 1st was at Highland Park, of our day, as is now held by some well versed in our early history. (Traditions of the early settlers are not silent.) Quoting again, we find: "We departed [from the point] under favorable conditions, for the river of the portage." . . . "The navigation of the lake is good enough from one portage to the other, not having any breadths [bays] to cross."

It is contended by some that Marquette's portage was made by way of the Calumet lake and river, thus passing beyond the Chicago portage; but such belief is not tenable, as may be clearly seen. If he had known of any such portage then he could have had a choice between the two; which true, we may well ask which two he referred to in saying "from one to the other." He continues: "The river was frozen to the depth of half a foot, and there was more snow than elsewhere." On the 12th is the entry "During our stay at the entrance of the river," etc., and, "as we began yesterday to haul our

baggage [over the ice] to approach the portage," etc. We thus gather that the stay "at the entrance of the river" was from the 4th to the 12th, and that the "river of the portage" was a then well-known stream, and, furthermore, one that led to a well-known portage; it was a portage certainly known to Marquette, as he had traveled it 18 months before with Joliet. He gives no hint that he knew of two portages into the DesPlaines. His map of 1673 shows the existence of but one, and Joliet's map makes it plain that the portage availed of by him and Marquette was by way of the overflowed regions of the south branch of the Chicago river and not through the 20 miles and turns of the Calumet river and Stony brook, as told by Andreas in his history or Chicago.

On the 14th Marquette writes: "Having encamped near the [beginning of the] portage, two leagues up the river," etc. Now, the government survey of 1822 locates the portage and represents it by a double line running from the headwaters of the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago river, two French leagues from the mouth, to the DesPlaines, north of the swamps and Mud lake, to which I shall soon refer.

On Governor Hull's map of 1812 we find the words, "The portage is generally from the Chicago R. to the R. des Plaines." And in the table of distances we read, "From Chicago [then a trading post] to the portage, six miles, the portage seven miles, from the portage to the river aux Plaines [DesPlaines] three miles."

It is plain that the proportions of Hull's map outrage the facts, but it nevertheless gives a good general idea; the distances given in figures are approximately correct. Let it be noted that he shows two lakelets, in part connecting the two rivers, and that Marquette speaks of two; and further, that LaSalle not only mentions them, but refers to a beaver dam between them. We find a close correspondence with these details in John Andrews' map of 1782 and in Hull's map of 1812. The beaver dam was on the small stream that flowed westward, as Hull shows, at any rate, the fact that a beaver dam was between them shows that the outlet of one led into the other.*

In a report to the king of Great Britain dated Sept. 8, 1721 (New York Colonial documents) we are told, when speaking of the traders, that they passed "to the lake of the Illinois [Michigan], thence 150 leagues on the lake to the fort Miamis, situated on the mouth of the river Chicagoe; from hence come those Indians of the same name. viz. Miamis, who are settled on the fore mentioned river that runs into Erie." "Up the river Chicagoe they sail but three leagues to a passage of one-fourth of a league; then enter a small lake of about a mile, and have another small portage [to another lake] and again another [portage] of two miles to the river Illinois, thence down the stream 130 leagues to the Mississippi."

The above estimates of the distance from Lake Michigan to the DesPlaines, by way of the river and portages, aggregate about 12 miles, which agrees fairly with that of the surveys; but we find no actual mention of two little lakes, the presence of which the num-

*On Hutchin's map of 1781 the Chicago river, its branches, the two lakelets and the swamps connecting them with DesPlaines river are shown.

ber of portages they made indicates. Variations in the descriptions given by early writers may be accounted for by the fact that as the seasons came and went the aspects of the region changed. The spring floods deepened and broadened the swamps into lakes, and, in fact, into an almost continuous waterway, as Marquette's descriptions indicate.

The distance traveled by the traders were always estimated, often very inaccurately, which accounts for the disparities often noticed. The approximate distance from the lake to the Des Plaines was established very early, particularly that to the head of the portage, given as two French land leagues (2 42 miles) Taking the United States survey of 1822, and following the winding of the south branch of the river 4⅞ miles (two French leagues) we find, where Lincoln street now crosses the river, a house shown on the map, and near it the words, "portage house." From that, always north of and along the margins of the marshes and little lakes, to the Des Plaines is drawn, and so named, "portage road." The two lakes that head the marsh between which, no doubt, was the beaver dam mentioned by La Salle, are laid down. One of them represents Mud lake, although no name is given. It is probable that at the locality of the "portage house" had always been a stopping place. Marquette says they resolved to winter there, "two leagues up the river," and speaks of "their cabin." He does not say that his men made a cabin, and, judging by the way he speaks, we may conclude that the cabin was already there; perhaps an Indian cabin or one made by the traders. Marquette continues: March 30—On the 28th the ice broke up and stopped above us. The 29th the flood became so great that we scarcely had time to decamp; we put our goods on trees and endeavored to find a place to sleep on a knoll; the water gained nearly all night, but freezing a little it fell. * * * The (ice) dam (above us) has just broken, * * * and, because the water is rising, * * * we are about to embark and continue our journey. * * * 31st. We started yesterday and made three leagues in (on) the river, in mounting, without finding any portage;" that is, without finding any place where it was necessary to port (carry) the canoes and goods. "We hauled our goods perhaps about an arpent." (A French lineal acre.) "Besides this discharge the river has another (that we are to reach) by which we are to go down." In other words, the outflowing Chicago river had another outlet, through Mud lake and thence into the Des Plaines, which is several feet lower than Lake Michigan, down which they were to go. Until the hand of man had turned their courses, the waters also flowed from the swamps into the great lake and found their way thousands of miles to the northeast, as well as into the Des Plaines, and sought the Gulf, a thousand miles southward, seemingly at will.

Late in Dec. 1681, La Salle's men, Tonty in command, made the trip down the western shore of Lake Michigan, passed the Chicago portage and waited for the great explorer at the end of one day's travel down the Des Plaines, then called the Checagou. La Salle

had remained behind in order to cache (hide) supplies that he could not take further, and he left there December 28th on foot to join his party, which he overtook January 6th. He had been delayed by the snow several days at the portage, and thus been given an opportunity, by observation and inquiry, to learn the lay of the land. He says: "This is an isthmus at 41 deg 50 min at the west of the lake of the Illinois, which is reached by a channel formed by the union of several streams that drain the prairies. It is navigable about two leagues (4 84 miles) to the border of the prairie. At one quarter of a league (a little less than three-quarters of a mile) toward the west, is a little lake, divided by a beaver dam, having a length of about a league and a half (about three and two-thirds miles) from which passes a stream that, after winding among the rushes a half league (about a mile and a fifth) falls into the Checagou (Des Plaines) when at full height, also discharges part of its waters into this little lake, from which it flows into the lake of the Illinois."

The outflow of the Des Plaines into the present Chicago river has often been seen by many of us.

When LaSalle wrote the above he had not met Joliet and from the accounts of the latter had gained certain information which he took opportunity to criticise. He denied that by availing one's self of a canal made for the purpose one could pass with boats to the Des Plaines and thence descend to the sea. "This could perhaps be done," he tells us, "during the spring time, but not during the summer, because there is not sufficient depth of water [in the Des Plaines] as far as Fort St. Louis." (Now Starved Rock)

The above is taken from a letter written in 1682 by LaSalle. (Margry, part 2, p. 164.)

In a previous letter written by LaSalle to his associates, dated Sept. 29, 1681, are found a few important facts. In speaking of the difficulties of passing from Canada to Louisiana, he says, referring to portages: "Another is at the lower end of the lake of the Illinois, where the navigation ends, at the place called Checagou; there one must pack up the things that one had brought in the barks and carry to the canoes, two leagues from there, from which place only canoes can navigate as far as the village of the Illinois, a distance of forty leagues." We thus learn that the place called Checagou was located at the point where the voyagers unloaded the *barques*, [large lake boats] made the goods into packages and then carried them to the canoes, two leagues from there; that is, two leagues from the beginning of the portage.

There were two lesser portage routes—that by way of the Calumet and Stony brook, sometimes used by canoemen when the swamps were full, and another route up the north branch of the Chicago river, past the Miami village (later Pottawatomy) at the present site of Bowmanville, and onward to where the river most nearly approaches the Des Plaines. The land carriage may have passed the

modern village Norwood Park. On some of the old maps now before me the Chicago portage is laid down and so named. On others is found simply the words "*Portage les Chenes*," meaning Portage of the Oaks. In the majority of cases where the latter is found the North branch is laid down, and when only the South branch is laid down the portage is usually called that of the Chicago. The writers of many of the accounts knew the Des Plaines only as the Chicago, and when those writers spoke of the Chicago portage they may have referred to either. The Portage of the Oaks, or that by the lesser branch of our river, must have been little used because of the shallowness of its water, particularly during the summer months.

J. F. STEWARD.

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT IN ILLINOIS.

MASON H. NEWELL.

Thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Law and Administration in the Graduate School, University of Illinois.)

Chapters.

Introduction ....
I Development to 1848..... ...
II The Constitutional Convention of 1847..... ...
III First Attempts at Organization..... ...
IV The Internal Improvement Craze—State Aid..... ...
V Municipal Aid to Railroads... ...
VI The Constitutional Convention of 1870 ....
VII Present Organization and Powers ....
VIII Criticisms and Suggestions.. ...

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INTRODUCTION.

The word "town" is the Icelandic *tun*, Anglo-Saxon *tun*, German *zaun*, and seems originally to have meant a hedge, then a hedged or fenced plot or enclosure.* In Scotland it still denotes the farm house and buildings; in Iceland the manured grass plot, enclosed within a low green bank or raised dyke, which surrounds the baer or farm house. In parts of eastern England, the chief cluster of houses in a parish is still often called the "town." In the north of England, where the parishes are more often larger than they are in the south, the civil divisions of a parish are called townships.†

Township organization is of recent date, and no scheme having much similarity to it can be found in ancient history. The municipal divisions of Athens and the other ancient republics were rather into castes or social ranks, than territorial; although the "demes" of ancient Athens, the Roman and Grecian colonies, and at a late date the free cities of Mediaeval Europe possessed more or less of the privileges of a municipal corporation, such as choice of voters, election of officers, possession of a seal, management of funds, and the like. These cases, however, are exceptions; isolated instances of the universal instinct of self-government, which is born with all men, but repressed under non-elective and irresponsible governments.‡

King Alfred, about A. D. 871, instituted a territorial division, which probably contains the first germ of our American idea of a township. This was a division of the kingdom into "tithings," an Anglo-Saxon term equivalent to "tenthings," or groups of ten. Each

*Prior to the Township Organization Act, the word "town" was used to designate an incorporated town in this State.

†Brice, American Commonwealth, I, 565.

‡Haines, Township Laws, Introduction.

tenthing was the area inhabited by ten contiguous families, who were "Frankpledges," i. e., free pledges or sureties, to the king for each other's good behavior, and were bound to have any offender within their district forthcoming. One of the principal inhabitauts of the tithing was annually appointed to preside over it, entitled tithing-man, or headborough, being supposed to be the most discreet man within it.*

As ten families constituted a tithing, so ten tithings formed a hundred, governed by a high constable or bailiff; and an indefinite number of hundreds composed a shire †

Tithings, towns or vills, were in law of the same signification. The word town or vill has, it seems, by the alteration of times and languages, now become in England a generical term, comprehending under it the several species of cities, boroughs and common towns. A city, says Blackstone, is "a town incorporated, which is or hath been the see of a bishop. A borough is understood to be a town either corporate or not, that sendeth burgesses to parliament."

The inhabitants of these tithings, towns or vills in England, possessed but few powers or privilege; on the contrary all their officers were appointed from without, and they had no voice in their local concerns.

Before the reign of Edward I, there were all kinds of townships beginning with the mere rural township, and ending with the great community of London. Examining the "liberties" and "franchises" bestowed by the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, we can determine the corporate character of the typical borough. It had its moot, held by the sheriff. except in some boroughs which had been Danish, where there seems to have been a group of hereditary lawmen or doomsmen. It is possible also that the miltary organization of the borough has caused the formation of wards (custodiae) at the head of each of which stands an alder-man, whose office, like every office, is apt to pass to his son. But the little evidence that we have suggests that a close and definite college of doomsmen was exceptional, and we have small warrant for supposing the existence of any legally constituted patriciate. Oftentimes one of the liberties granted in the charter was that their court should not be held too often—not more frequently than once a week. Henry I had allowed the Londoners to elect their sheriff and judiciar;‡ many towns, London included, bought their right to have an elected mayor; the bailiffs were also elected in some of the greater boroughs, although before they entered into their offices they had to be approved by the king's justiciar. Beyond conceding these slight liberties, the charters of this age seldom define any constitution for the borough. The active organ of the borough was a court rather than a council. In 1200 John granted the men of Ipswich a charter providing for 12 chief portmen ("as there are in the other free boroughs of England"),

*Davidson & Stuvé, 556.

†1 Bl. Com. 115.

‡Stubbs, Select Charters, 107.

who maintain the borough and render the judgments of the town.* At a little later time we find that the 12 chief-portmen hold their offices for life, though they might be removed for misbehavior, by the judgment of their fellows. Vacancies were filled by cooptation.† This body was first rather a judicial than a governing body, for the powers intrusted to the burgesses by their charter were much rather judiciary than governmental. But as municipal life grew intenser and more complex; the court had to ordain and to tax as well as to judge, and it was apt to became a council; the governing body of the borough. When trial by jury came, the court and the council were slowly differentiated. This, except in London and a few other towns. happened in the 14th century. The power of acting in the name of the borough passed little by little from a general assembly of burgesses to a council or select body; but even until 1833 there were towns with long histories in which all the most important business of the corporation had to be brought before a meeting in which every corporator, every burgess or freeman had a vote. Such was the case at Winchester, Maidstone, Cambridge, Ipswich.‡ The charters do not expressly grant any power of legislation but no doubt such power was often exercised. Definite legislation begins in London at an early date; the earliest English Building Act was issued in 1189.§

We now come to consider the first rise of the town organization in America. The system, as at present existing in the northern and eastern states, originated in New England, and is an evidence of the confidence which the early patriots of those colonies entertained in the ability of the people to govern themselves. It appears, as far as the records show, to have been substantially a result of the experience of practical inconveniences which the Puritans took such pains to remedy as were suggested to them by their home recollections, but with whatever modifications their remarkably direct and practical common sense suggested. The New England colonies were at first governed by a general court, or legislature, composed of a governor and a small council. The court consisted of the most influential inhabitants, and possessed and exercised both legislative and judicial powers, which were limited only by the wisdom of the holders. They made laws, ordered their execution by officers, tried and decided civil and criminal cases, enacted all manner of municipal regulations, and in fact did all the public business of the colony.

The first general enactment to establish towns, that of the General Court of Massachusetts, of March, 1635, so far as it indicates any motive, implies convenience only as the reason of the law. It provides that whereas "particular towns have many things that concern only themselves, and the ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of business in their own town," therefore "the freemen of every town,

*Pollock & Maitland, Eng. Law, 658 (Gross Gild Mer., II, 115.)

†Ipswich Domesday, 167.

‡Munic. Corp. Rep. 1835, II, 899; 760; IV, 2188; 2306.

§Pollock & Maitland, Eng. Law, 637 *et seq.*

or the major part of them, shall only have power to dispose of their own lands and woods, and all the appurtenances of said towns, to grant lots, and make such orders as may concern the well ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders established by the general court." They might also impose fines of not more than 20 shillings, and "choose their own particular officers, as constables, surveyors for the highways, and the like."* Evidently this enactment relieved the general court of a mass of municipal details, without any danger to the powers of that body in controlling general measures of public policy. Probably also a demand from the freemen of the town was felt, for the control of their own home concerns.

Similar provision for the incorporation of towns were made in the first constitution of Connecticut, adopted in 1639; and the plan of township organization, as experience proved its remarkable economy, efficacy and adaptation to the requirements of a free and intelligent people, became universal throughout New England, and went westward with the emigrants from New England, into New York, Ohio and other western states, including the northern parts of Illinois.†

But a different policy determined the character of the institutions of the southern part of our State. This was the "County System," which originated with Virginia, whose early settlers soon became large landed proprietors, aristocratic in feeling, living apart in almost baronial magnificence on their own estates, and owning the laboring part of the population. Thus the material for a town was not at hand, the voters being thinly distributed over a large area. The county organization, where a few influential men managed the whole business of the community, was consonant with their recollections or traditions of the judicial and social dignities of the landed aristocracy of England.

This system was spread from Virginia, where eight counties were organized in 1634, to all the southern states, and some of the northern states, unless we except the nearly similar division into "districts" in South Carolina, and that into "parishes" retained by Louisiana from the French laws. Illinois, which became a county of Virginia on its conquest by Gen. George Rogers Clark, retained the county organization, which was formally extended over the State by the constitution of 1818.‡ Under this system, as in other states adopting it, most local business was transacted by three commissioners in each county, who constitutes a county court, with quarterly sessions. During the period ending with the constitutional convention in 1847, a large portion of the State had become filled up with a population of New England birth or character, daily growing more and more compact and dissatisfied with the county system. Under the influence of this feeling, the constitutional provision of 1848 and subsequent law of 1849, were enacted, permitting counties to adopt a township organization.§

*Palfrey, History of New England, I, 434.
†Haines, Township Laws, x.
‡Schedule, Seection 4.
§Haines, Township Laws, xi.

Chapter I.

DEVELOPMENT TO 1848.

For several years after the final ratification of the federal compact, nothing was effectually done by Congress or the states in reference to the western lands. At length terms of compromise were arranged between Virginia and the Federal Government, and Virginia authorized her delegates to make a deed of cession of her outlying territory agreeable to the terms therein prescribed.* This authority was soon afterward executed, and the cession of Virginia, upon the conditions sanctioned by the report of the committee, was accepted by Congress.† Massachusetts followed the lead of Virginia, and in April, 1785, ceded to the United States all her claims to territory west of the western boundary of New York. This cession was based upon the pledge given by Congress in October, 1780.‡ The last sacrifice of state pretensions to the common good was made by Connecticut. In September, 1786, her authorized delegates ceded all the land, within her chartered limits, lying 120 miles west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, to the common use and benefit of the United States, Connecticut included.

After the cession of western land by the states to the government, two aspects of the duty of disposing of it confronted them: first, the governmental, and second the commercial, considering its value as property to be disposed of for the common good. It was the occasion for maturing and applying upon the vast interior a system of land surveys, locations and entries, securing perfect titles with least possible expense, such as had never before been attempted on such a magnificent scale. In devising and maturing this scheme, the preconceived ideas and practices prevailing in New England, on the one hand, and in the southern states on the other, came into close contact. The southern plan of entering and acquiring title to public lands favored acquisition of large and choice tracts of land by those only who could bear the expense of surveys. It was also attended by great confusion of titles, as each purchaser, on paying a trifle (two cents per acre) could locate his warrant on any land not already surveyed. This resulted in lapping and over-lapping, the only lines being those run by each individual proprietor. By the New England plan the lines were run and established by government authority, and titles came from grants made, each one of which was defined by metes and bounds, marked out by surveyors, who acted for the government under oath. Not only the rights of separate ownership were thus protected, but the civil, religious, and educational wants of the population were carefully guarded and accommodated. The following from the History of Hardwicke, is an illustration of the New England plan:

"June 17, 1732, the general court of Massachusetts granted six

*March 1, 1784; see Starr & Curtis's Ann. Stat. 1st Ed., 41.

†Pitkin's United States, II. 210.

‡Land Laws, United States, 102.

miles square for a township, to be laid out in a regular form, by a surveyor and chainmen under oath. The said lands by them to be settled on the following conditions: that they within the space of five years settle, and have on the spot, 60 families, (the settlers to be none but natives of New England); each settler to build a good and convenient dwelling house one story in height, 18 feet square at least; and clear and bring to, four acres, fit for improvement, and three acres more well stocked with English grass; and also lay out three shares in the town (each share to be 1–63 of the town), one share for the first settled minister, one for the ministry, one for the school; and also build a convenient meeting-house, and settle a learned and orthodox minister within the time aforesaid."* This was for a company of 60 neighbors, who proposed to settle a new tract of country together. "On Feb. 21, 1732, they voted unanimously that the remaining lands belonging to the partners be lotted out by a committee, in such quantities that each proprietor have three lots, and so sorted as that in the draft each may have a just and equal share."

This sample gives the drift of the New England idea; that the soil should pass into the hands of its future cultivator with perfect title, and so that "each person may have a just and equal share." In this way these little republics-townships of convenient size were originated, placing the civil and political power in the hands of those who own the country, at the same time making some provision for moral and educational wants.

So far as retaining control until definite boundaries were marked out on visible objects, and disposing of titles only in accordance with governmental surveys, the New England plan seems to have been adopted very early by Congress, but it required long discussions and efforts to agree upon details.† On May 21, 1779, the delegates from the state of Maryland received instructions, that were entered upon the journal of Congress, claiming that the unsettled country, if "wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall direct."‡

The first direct announcement by Congress of the policy of organizing new states or distinct governments in the northwest is contained in the journal of Congress for Oct. 10, 1780: "Resolved, that the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States by any particular state, pursuant to the recommendations of Congress of the 6th of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states; that each state which

*History of Hardwicke, 23. (Manasseh Cutler, I, 124.)

†Manasseh Cutler, I, 123 ff.

‡Ibid. 336.

shall be formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 or more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular state may have incurred since the commencement of the present war in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining posts or garrisons within and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed; that the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine of them."

On May 1, 1782, the following resolution was embraced in a report made by a committee to whom had been referred the sessions of New York. Virginia and Connecticut, and petitions from Indiana, Vandalia, Illinois and Wabash Land Companies:

"Resolved, that whenever the United States in Congress assembled shall find it for the good of the Union to permit new settlements of unappropiated lands, they shall erect a new state or states, to be taken into the Federal Union in such manner that no one state so erected shall exceed the quantity of 150 miles square, and that the same shall be laid out into townships of about six miles square."

The journal does not show that this resolution was adopted, but it indicates the prevailing views at the time.

The next expression of Congressional policy is found in the adoption of a report made by Messrs. Jefferson, Howell and Chase, April 23, 1784. In this case the previously declared intentions of Congress in regard to new states were so far consummated as to work out the general outlines of a governmental scheme. On May 7, of the same year, Jefferson reported to Congress an ordinance providing for the division of the land into townships ten miles square, each mile to be 6086 feet in length, thus dividing the township into 100 lots of 850 acres each.*

These efforts were evidently unsatisfactory, as no attempt was ever made to effect a settlement of territory under their provisions.†

The next report, April 26, 1785, proposed townships seven miles square with sections of 640 acres each, or 49 in a township, of these one section, number 16 was to be set apart for school purposes, and one section, number 29, for support of religion. This latter provision was stricken out by a singular expression of the legislative will. Of the 23 members present, 17 voted to retain and six to strike out, but the votes being by states, the rules gave the small minority the control over that question, and the section for support of religion was stricken out of the bill.††

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*For the text of these ordinances see Manasseh Cutler, II, 407; and same work, I, 123 ff.

†Manasseh Cutler, I; 336-8.

††Ibid, I, 123 ff.

On May 20, 1785, soon after the ratification of the treaty ceding the western lands to the Federal government, Congress proceeded to provide by ordinance for the future survey and sale of the public domain in the west. The ordinance fixed the system substantially as it has remained ever since; that is, surveys to be made by the government in ranges, towns and sections, townships six miles square, divided into 36 sections of 640 acres each; title to be obtained only by entry in a government office of a tract surveyed and recorded. The Secretary of War was directed to reserve one-seventh of the land surveyed for the use of the continental troops. Four sections in each township was reserved for future sale by the United States, and one section (16) for the use of schools. Three townships on Lake Erie were allotted for the use of refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, and the towns of Guadenhutten, Schoenbrun and Salem, on the Muskingum, were given to the Moravian Indians, already settled there. The residue was to be distributed among the states, to be sold according to regulations prescribed by Congress, and at the price of $1 00 per acre * The provision for section 16 has been retained. All this is substantially the New England theory.†

By the terms of the ordinance of May 20, 1785,‡ "a surveyor from each state shall be appointed by Congress, or a committee of the states who shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, before the geographer of the United States, who is hereby empowered and directed to administer the same, and the like oath shall be administered to each chain carrier by the surveyor under whom he acts."

"The surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships six miles square by lines running due north and south, and others crossing them at right angles, as near as may be, unless the boundaries of the late Indian purchases may render the same impracticable, and then they shall depart from this rule no further than such particular circumstances may require * * *." "The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsylvania; and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole territory, *provided*, that nothing herein shall be construed as fixing the western boundary of the state of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships, or fractional parts of townships, by numbers progressively from south to north; always beginning each range with number 1, and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward * * *." "The plats of the townships respectively shall be marked by subdivisions into lots of one mile square, or 640 acres, in the same direc-

*Land Laws, United States, 1828, 349.
†Manasseh Cutler. I., 125.
‡Ibid., II., 431.

tion as the external lines, and numbered from one to 36; always beginning at the succeeding range of the lots with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded* * * *."

By section 7 of the ordinance of 1787, it was enacted that "previous to the organization of the general assembly, the Governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order of the same.†"

Provision for the first civil township in the west was made in 1790 by an act of Governor St. Clair and the judges of the North-west territory, but these towns were invested only with rudimentary powers. It was enacted that each county should be divided by the justices of the court of quarter sessions into townships with such "bounds natural or imaginary, as shall appear to be most proper," and for each the court shall appoint a constable to act "specially" for the township and generally for the county, also a clerk and one or or more overseers of the poor.

The act, with a few minor omissions, is as follows:

"An act to authorize and require the Courts of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, to divide the counties into townships and to alter the boundaries of the same when necessary, and also to appoint constables, overseers of the poor, and clerks of the townships, and for other purposes therein mentioned, passed at Cincinnati in the county of Hamilton, the 6th day of November in the year of our Lord, 1790, by his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, esquire, major general in the late armies of the United States, and governor and commander in chief of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, and the honorable John Cleves Symmes and George Turner, esquires, judges in and over the territory aforesaid."

Section 1. *Be it enacted*, that as soon as may be after the publication of this act, the justices of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace in the several counties within this territory shall in their sessions respectively, proceed to divide the said counties into townships, assigning to such townships respectively such limits and bounds, natural or imaginary, as shall appear to be most proper, having such regard to the extent of country, and number of inhabitants residing therein; and the said townships or any of them to subdivide from time to time whenever the interest and convenience of the inhabitants thereof may seem to require it. And the justices in session as aforesaid shall cause their clerk of the court to enter of record on the docket of the said court the particular time when each township is set off, and the specific boundaries assigned thereto.

§ 2. *And be it enacted*, that the said justices in session in each and every county shall respectively nominate and appoint annually in each township within their county, one or more constables, each of whom shall continue to serve as a constable of the township specially, and as a constable of the county generally for the term of one

*Manasseh Cutler, II., 431-2.
†Poore's Charters, I., 430; Revised Statutes of Illinois.

year next ensuing his appointment; and his power and duty shall be to serve all such summonses, warrants, subpoenas, mittimusses, and other lawful precepts, as shall be directed to him specially, or to him generally with the others, or any constable of the county, and be put into his hand for the purpose of service, and generally to do and perform all duties and services incumbent on him as an officer of the township or county, or of the several courts of law, and justice which may from time to time be appointed and held in the county for which he may be a constable and furthermore to do all and singular the duties now or hereafter to be enjoined by law * * *."

§ 3. *And be it further enacted*, that the said justices in session in their respective counties, shall annually appoint one or more overseers of the poor in each and every township of the county, to serve for the term of one whole year, and it shall be the duty of every such overseer to make report to any such justice of the peace, in and for the county, of all vagrant persons likely to become chargeable to the township for which he is appointed overseer. * * *

§ 4. *And be it further enacted* that the justices in session as aforesaid shall appoint in each township throughout the several counties respectively a clerk of the township during good behavior, whose duty it shall be to keep a fair book of entries, containing the particular marks and brands assumed for distinguishing the horses, cattle, hogs, or other beasts of such inhabitants of the township as may choose to be at the expense of thus registering the same, and the name and particular place of abode of every such inhabitant shall at the same time be entered therein, and for every mark or brand so registered the clerk of the township shall be entitled to demand and receive of the person employing him, the sum of one quarter of a dollar, and no more. And that it may be readily known to what particular township estrays belong, the justices in session as aforesaid shall assign to each and every township a distinct letter of the alphabet to be taken and used, as the particular and general brand of the same township by all the inhabitants thereof, who shall cause the form of such letter to be impressed upon one or both of the horns of every bull, cow and ox, and upon one or both of the shoulders of every horse, mare and colt to such inhabitants respectively belonging."

Provision is also made for the registering by the town clerk, of any estray found, and penalties for not reporting the taking up of an estray.* No laws were adopted on taxation until 1792.†

The above law was repealed in part by "an act providing for the appointment of constables," approved Dec. 2, 1799. By this act the court of quarter sessions was authorized to appoint one or more constables in each township who should serve for one year and so long thereafter as may be sufficient for their successors in office to have notice of their appointment, take the oath, and enter on the duties of their office.‡

*Laws of Governor and Judges, N. W. Territory, 1791, 47.
†Laws of Governor and Judges, N. W. Territory, 1792, 16.
‡Laws of Governor and Judges, N. W. Territory, 1799, 101.

In 1802 the General Assembly of the Northwest Territory provided for a more popular organization by "an act to establish and regulate township meetings," approved Jan. 18, 1802.

It was enacted:

Section 1. That the townships in the several counties in this territory, as they are or may be laid out and designated by the courts of general quarter sessions of the peace of the said counties respectively, be, and they are hereby declared districts for the purposes of exercising and enjoying certain rights and privileges hereinafter defined.

§ 2. That it shall be the duty of the courts of general quarter sessions of the peace in the several counties, at their first or second session after the first day of February next, to issue their warrant to a constable of each township in their counties respectively, appointing the time and place for the first meeting of the electors of each township, and directing the officers then and there to be chosen; a copy of which warrant shall be set up by the constables in three of the most public places within the township, at least ten days before the day of such meeting, and the electors, when assembled, shall have the same powers and perform the same duties as are hereinafter provided. All free males over 21 years of age and who pay a county or territorial tax should convene on the first Monday of April yearly. They should elect a chairman, township clerk, three or more trustees or managers, two or more overseers of the poor, three fence viewers, two appraisers of houses, one lister of taxable property, a sufficient number of supervisors of roads, and one or more constables.

Thus a town meeting was instituted, but for election purposes only. All the officers elected at town meetings were elected by ballot. The duties of the town clerk were about as now; the trustees or managers exercised the general supervisory powers of the town board, they divided their respective townships into districts, allotting to each supervisor one, settled accounts of supervisors of highways and overseers of the poor, for which purposes the said trustees, supervisors, overseers of the poor and township clerk met annually on the first Monday of March.*

Another act entitled "an act to authorize the courts of common pleas to divide the counties into townships and to alter the boundaries of the same when necessary," was passed Sept. 17, 1807, by the General Assembly of Indiana Territory It was similar to the act passed by the governors and judges of the Northwest Territory in 1790; in fact many of the laws enacted by the Northwest Territory and Indiana Territory were re-enacted by the legislature of Illinois Territory.

The act of 1807 is as follows:

Section 1. The judges of the court of common pleas in the several counties within this territory shall in their terms respectively proceed to divide the said counties into townships, assigning to such

*I Territorial Laws, c. 16.

townships respectively such limits and bounds, natural or imaginary, as shall appear to be most proper, having due regard to the extent of country and number of inhabitants residing within the same; and the said townships, or any of them, to subdivide from time to time, whenever the interest and convenience of the inhabitants may seem to require it; and the court of common pleas shall cause their clerk to enter of record on the docket of the same court the particular time when each township is set off and the specific boundaries assigned thereto.*

Prior to 1820 the inhabitants of Illinois were almost exclusively from Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas, the majority being settled in the southern end of the State. Consequently the constitution of 1818, and the laws made under it, organized the counties upon the Virginian model. The Congress of the United States had divided the State into townships and given one mile in each township for school purposes. To give effect to this provision, the State enacted a law† making the township a body corporate for school purposes. Soon the county election district was made to coincide with the school township. Constables, justices of the peace, road supervisors and overseers of the poor had their jurisdiction determined by these same township lines.

With the admission of Missouri as a slave state, northern Illinois began to be occupied by settlers from the eastern and middle states, while southern emigration was directed to Missouri. A long and bitter sectional struggle ensued, terminating only with the revised constitution of 1847.

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*Pope's Territorial Laws, II. 673. Re-enacted by legislature of Illinois Territory Dec. 13, 1812. Pope's Territorial Laws, I, 33.

†"An act relating to the lands reserved for the use of schools," Laws 1819, 107.

Counties organizing in 1849. Vote on township organization in Illinois, Constitutional Convention of 1847.

Chapter II.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1847.

Under the condition of the government survey, every man held his land by a deed which reminded him that his freehold was part of a township, and there is much even in a name.

As New England town life grew up around the church, so western localism finds its necleus in the school system. Thus we see that the township which was at first a tract of land laid out by the judges with boundaries real or imaginary, and in size varying to suit conditions, has become a definite local division ready to be made the unit of our local government system.

The additional strength gained by the New England faction, with the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state, made the north or New England element dominant, when the question of a new constitution was brought up.*

The convention of 1847 met pursuant to an act of the General Assembly,† approved Feb. 20, 1847. The question had been submitted to a vote of the people and only in the following counties was there a greater vote against than for the convention; Alexander, Williamson, Perry, Edwards, Monroe, St. Clair, Clinton, Madison, Jasper, Jersey, Shelby, Edgar, Menard, Tazewell, Woodford, Henderson, Grundy, Kendall, DeKalb. The vote in Jackson was a tie; and no returns were received from Stephenson. See map.

Although the calling of the convention was claimed not to be a party measure, delegates were elected on party lines in every county except Morgan, where by an agreement of parties, four non-partisan delegates were appointed.‡ The convention consisted of 162 delegates who met in Springfield on the first Monday in June, 1847.§ The only records available are the journal of the convention and newspaper files.

The subject of townships seems to have received considerable attention. On June 10, a resolution "that there be added to the standing committees, a committee on townships, with instructions to report whether it is expedient so to amend the constitution as to provide for the incorportion of the several townships in this State for municipal and other purposes," ‖ was not adopted, but on June 24, a special committee of eleven persons was "appointed to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the commissioner's court and pro-

*See Local Govt. in Ill., Albert Shaw, J. H. U. Studies Vol. 1.

†Laws 1847, 33.

‡Anthony's Constitutional History, 103.

§The northern members wished the delegates apportioned according to the new apportionment act of that session based upon the census of 1845 (662,125); the south preferred the old apportioment on the census of 1840 (476,183). By making their contention prevail, the north gained many delegates, the increase of recent years being largely in the north. Davidson & Stuvé, 543.

‖Journal, 20.

viding for the organization of townships, which townships shall have the general superintendency of their fiscal affairs, and also to report a plan for the better administration of county affairs.*

Petitions were from time to time received from inhabitants of northern counties praying for the abolition of the county commissioner's court and the establishment of some precinct of township organization, and were referred to the committee on organization of townships.

On July 16, the special committee on organization of townships and the management of county affairs, reported the following article:

Section 1. The General Assembly shall provide by law that the townships and parts of townships in the several counties in this State may become incorporated for municipal and other purposes.

Sec. 2. All township officers shall be elected annually and their number, powers, duties and liabilities shall be fixed by law.

Sec. 3. The General Assembly shall provide by law for the creation of a board of supervisors in the several counties of this State, to be composed of one or more officers from each township and city in the county, for managing the affairs of the county. The powers and duties of the board of supervisors shall be fixed by law.

Sec. 4. The General Assembly shall provide by law, that the qualified voters of the several counties of this State may abolish the county commissioner's court, and substitute therefor, the board of supervisors.

The report was laid on the table.†

On Aug. 16, was offered the following as an additional section: "The Legislature may pass a general law authorizing township organization in all counties in which a majority of the legal voters may, at any general election, vote for such township organization, and when such township organization shall be established in any county, then the county court hereinbefore provided shall cease to transact county business in such county. The additional section was adopted.‡

On Aug. 20, the report of the select committee on the organization of townships and the management of county affairs, was taken from the table for consideration and the first and second sections were adopted § The vote on the adoption of the first section was afterwards reconsidered when it was stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof: The Legislature shall provide by law that the legal voters of any county in the State may adopt a township form of government within each county by a majority of votes cast at any general election within such county.‖

*Journal, 87.
†Journal, 173.
‡Journal, 378.
§Journal, 440.
‖Journal, 446.

The first section as amended was referred to the committee on revision and adjustment, where it assumed the form in which it appears in Art. 7, Sec. 6, of the Constitution of 1848.

Upon the final vote, the southern counties, generally speaking, voted against the section, while the northern counties voted for it; in the central portion, the counties along the Mississippi and along the Indiana boundary voted for the measure, while those centrally located were generally against it.

The constitution was ratified by the people, March 6, 1848; DuPage and Monroe being the only counties casting an adverse vote. No one seemed entirely satisfied with the new constitution, yet all concurred that the new was preferrable to the old.*

Some of the western states at this time had systems similar to that conceived by the convention. Ohio had passed acts in 1831 and 1833, evidently patterned after New York's system but very rudimentary and brief. Iowa's enactment of 1842 was similar so far as it goes but the subject of local government there does not seem to have been causing much anxiety.

Chapter III.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT ORGANIZATION.

Pursuant to the provisions of Article VII, Section 6 of the Constitution just adopted, the legislators passed "An act to provide for township and county organization, under which any county may organize whenever a majority of voters of such county, at any general election shall so determine."† In force April 16, 1849.

The bill provided that at the next general election the qualified voters should vote for or against township organization. The clerk of the county court should enter an abstract of the returns and if it appeared by the returns that a majority of all the votes cast for or against township organization was for township organization, then the county should be governed by the provisions of this act on and after the first Tuesday in April, 1850.

The county commissioners should appoint three commissioners to divide such county into towns by making as many towns as there are townships by government survey, and report the names and bounds of each town to the clerk of the county court by March 1, 1850. The clerk of the court should then make out notices to each town designating a place for holding the first town meeting.

Each town as a body corporate should have capacity:

1st. To sue and be sued in the manner prescribed in the laws of this State.

*Davidson & Stuvé, 545.

†Approved Feb. 12, 1849; Laws 1849, 190.

2d. To purchase and hold lands within its own limits, and for the use of its inhabitants, subject to the power of the General Assembly.

3d. To make such contracts, purchase and hold such personal property as may be necessary to the exercise of its corporate or administrative powers.

4th. To make such orders for the disposition, regulation or use of its corporate property as may be deemed conducive to the interests of its inhabitants. No town shall possess or exercise any corporate powers, except as are enumerated in this act, or shall be specially given by law, or shall be necessary to the exercise of the powers so enumerated or granted. All acts or proceedings by or against a town in its corporate capacity, shall be in the name of such town; but every conveyance of lands within the limits of such town, made in any manner for the use or benefit of its inhabitants, shall have the same effect as if made to the town by name.

These powers* are all among those of the old county commissioners' court,† which was abolished.

The annual town meeting of the whole voting population is the central fact in the town government. They choose one supervisor, one town clerk, one assessor, one collector, one overseer of the poor, three commissioners of highways, two constables, two justices of the peace, as many overseers of highways as there are road districts in the town, and as many pound masters as the electors may determine. The assessor and commissioners of highways are *ex-officio* fence viewers ‡

The electors shall have power at the town meeting:

1st. To determine the number of pound masters and the locality of pounds.

2d. To elect such town officers as may be required to be chosen.

3d. To direct the institution or defense of suits at law or in equity in all controversies where such town shall be interested.

4th. To direct such sum to be raised in each town, for prosecuting or defending such suits, as they may deem necessary.

5th. To make rules and regulations for ascertaining the sufficiency of all fences in such town and for empounding animals.

6th. To determine the times and manner in which cattle, horses, mules, asses, hogs, sheep, or goats shall be permitted to go at large.

7th. To impose such penalties on persons offending against any rule or regulation established by such town, excepting such as relate to the keeping and maintaining of fences, as they may think proper, not exceeding $10 for each offense.

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*Identical with powers in New York system then in vogue. I. R. S. 337, Ch. II, Article 1. (3d. Ed.)

†The old Commissioner's court was abolished by the Constitution of 1848. Art. VII, Sec. 6, and counties not under township organization are governed by the county court, composed of the county judge and two associate justices, who have all the powers of the old Commissioner's Court. For prior law see R. S. 1845. Ch. 27.

‡Taken from 1 R. S. N. Y. 3d Ed. Title II, Art I, Sec. 4.

8th. To apply such penalties when collected in such manner as they may deem most conducive to the interests of said town.*

Special town meetings shall be held to supply vacancies in the several cases hereinafter provided for. They shall be held when the supervisor, town clerk and the justices of the peace or any two of them together with twelve other freeholders of the town shall, in writing, file in the office of the town clerk, a statement that a special town meeting is necessary to the interests of the town, and the town clerk shall then, by posting up notices in five of the most public places in the town, giving at least ten days notice of such special town meeting, and such meeting shall act on no subject which is not specified in the notice calling such meeting.†

The town meeting is opened between 9:00 and 10:00 o'clock in the morning by the electors then present, who choose a moderator.‡ The town clerk shall be clerk of the meeting.§ After the polls have been proclaimed open, the supervisor, town clerk, assessor, overseer of the poor, collector, commissioners of highways, constables and justices of the peace, shall be chosen by ballot.‖ All other officers shall be chosen either by ballot, yeas and nays, or by dividing the electors. All the town officers shall hold office for one year, except the justices of the peace who hold for four years.¶

The supervisor is general manager of the town and also member of the county board. He receives and pays all moneys for the town,** and prosecutes for certain penalties.†† Process against the town in all legal proceedings shall be served against the supervisor.

The town clerk keeps all the books, records and papers of the town.‡‡

The supervisor, town clerk and the justices of the peace, shall constitute the board of auditors.§§ They examine the accounts of the overseers of the poor and the commissioners of highways. The town clerk and the justices examine the accounts of the supervisor. The board also audits all claims and charges payable by their respective towns.

Each county as a body corporate has capacity to sue and be sued, to purchase and hold land within its limits, to make necessary contracts and to hold such property as is necessary to the exercise of its corporate powers, to dispose of its property to the interests of its inhabitants, and shall exercise no other corporate powers.‖‖ All acts by or against a county in its corporate capacity shall be in the name of the board of supervisors, and the powers politic of the county can only be exercised by them.¶¶

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*Same powers as in New York system. 1 R. S. 340.
†Cf. I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. II Tit. 2, Art. I., Sec. 15.
‡In New York a Justice of the Peace presides; a moderator is chosen only when no justice is present. I. R. S., Tit. 2 Art. 2, Sec. 19.
§Cf. I. R. S. (N. Y.) Tit. 2, Art. 2, Sec. 22.
‖Subject matter identical with New York Statute, I. R. S. Ch. II., Tit. 3, Art. 1, Sec. 2.
¶One year for all officers in New York.
**Only certain moneys in New York.
††Cf. I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. II., Tit. 4, Art. II., Sec. 2.
‡‡Same in New York, I. R. S. Ch. II., Tit. 4, Art. 2, Sec. II.
§§Same in New York, I. R. S. Ch. II, Tit. 4, Art. 5 Sec. 47.
‖‖Same in New York, I. R. S. Ch. 12, Tit. 1, Art. 1, Sec. 1 and 2.
¶¶Same in New York, I. R. S. Ch. 12, Tit. 1, Art. 1, Sec. 3 and 4.

The supervisors of the several towns meet annually* on the first Monday after the general election† and choose a temporary chairman. They have power to make orders concerning the corporate property of the county,‡ audit accounts against the county, and provide for their payment, audit accounts of town officers, take charge of the poor and management of poor houses§ and equalize the assessment roll.‖

The clerk of the county court shall be clerk of the board and shall keep a record of the proceedings.¶

The county treasurer when elected shall file a bond satisfactory to the board of supervisors. He shall receive and pay out all moneys according to law and shall exhibit his books at the annual meeting of the board of supervisors.** He collects taxes charged against delinquents or non-resident lands, and can make sale thereof for the same.

The assessor†† shall between the first of May and July in each year, proceed to ascertain by diligent inquiry, the names of all the taxable inhabitants, and also all the taxable property in his town, and shall enter the same on an assessment roll.‡‡ The assessment rolls shall be completed on or before the first day of August in each year, and he shall keep a copy for inspection by the inhabitants during twenty days, and at the expiration of said time he shall set a day when, at some desirable place, he shall be ready to review the assessment on application of any person conceiving himself aggrieved.§§ If there are no objections made, the assessor signs and certifies to the roll. It is then equalized and delivered to the collector‖‖ on or before the 15th day of December.¶¶ The collector shall, in case of refusal or neglect to pay, give notice of the time and place, when and where the property of the person so refusing or neglecting, will be sold, at least six days previous to the sale, by advertisement to be posted up in at least three public places in the town where such sale is to be made.***

The collector shall pay over money to town officers and to the county treasurer and receive receipts.†††

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*Boards of supervisors meet annually in New York, on different days in different counties. I. R. S. Ch. 12, Tit. 2. Art. I, Sec. I.
†Commissioners' court had four sessions, R. S. 1845, Ch. 27, Sec. 22.
‡Same powers as possessed by Commissioner's court, R. S. 1845.
§Power held by Commissioner's court, R. S. 1845. Ch. 80.
‖Cf. I. S. (N. Y.) Ch. 12. Tit. 2, Art. I. Secs. 4 and 5.
¶In New York some person is appointed during the board's pleasure.
**I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. 12, Tit, 2, Art. 2, Secs. 33, 34. 35 and 38.
††Under county system, county treasurer was assessor, R. S. 1845, Ch. 89, Sec. 13.
‡‡Taken from I. S. R. (N. Y.) Ch. 13. Tit. 2, Sec. 8
§§Taken from I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. 13. Tit. 2, Secs. 19, 20, 21 and 22.
‖‖Under the county system the sheriff was ex-officio county collector, Ch. 89, Sec. 27, R. S. 1845.
¶¶Taken from I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. 13, Tit. 2, Sec 36.
***Taken from I. R. S. (N. Y.) Ch. 13, Tit. 3, Art. 1, Sec. 6.
†††Taken from I R. S. (New York) ch. 13, tit. 3, art. I, sec. 13.

It shall be the duty of the commissioners of highways* in the several towns who have the care and superintendence of the highways and bridges therein:

1st. To give directions for the repairing of the roads and bridges within their respective towns.

2d. To regulate the roads already laid out and to alter such of them as they, or a majority of them, shall deem necessary.

3d. To cause such roads used as highways, as have been laid out but not sufficiently described and such as have been used for 20 years but not recorded, to be ascertained, described and entered of record in the town clerk's office.

4th. To cause highways and bridges which are or may be erected over streams crossing highways, to be kept in repair.

5th. To divide their respective towns into so many road districts as they shall deem convenient, by writing under their hands, to be lodged with the town clerk, and by him to be entered in the town book. Such division to be made annually if they shall think it necessary, and in all cases to be made at least ten days before the annual town meeting.

6th. To assign to each of the said road districts such of the inhabitants, liable to work on highways as they shall think proper, having regard to proximity of residence, as much as may be.

7th. To require the overseers of highways, from time to time, and as often as they may deem necessary, to warn all persons assessed to work on highways to come and work thereon, with such implements, carriages, sleds, cattle or teams as the said commissioners, or any one of them, shall direct. They shall also have power to lay out new roads and discontinue old ones and to perform many other offices incident to a good condition of the highways. The commissioners shall report to the board of town auditors, in writing, at their annual meeting.†

The commissioners of highways of each town shall meet within 18 days after they shall be chosen, at the place of town meeting, and thereafter at such time and place as they shall think proper.

The overseers of highways‡ make list of persons subject to road labor, give notice to them when and where to work, and have general supervision over the work done on the highways.§

The fourth section, declaring that "if it shall appear by the returns of said election, that a majority of all the votes cast for or against a township organization is for the township organization, the county so voting in favor of its adoption, shall be governed by and subject to the provisions of this act on and after the first Tuesday in April," 1850," was declared unconstitutional.‖

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*Powers Possessed by County Commissioners, R. S., 1845, ch. 93.
†Identical with New York law, I. R. S. ch. 16, tit. I, art. 1, sec. 1.
‡Possess powers of old Supervisors of Highways, ch. 93, secs. 12-17, R. S. 1845.
§Cf. I. R. S. (New York) ch. 16, tit. I, art. 7, sec. 6, *et seq.*
‖People vs. Brown, 11 Ill., 478.

At the session of the legislature next ensuing, this law was amended, or rather a substitute for it was adopted. The fourth section was changed to conform to the requirements of the constitution and some additions were made. By the fourth and fifth sections of the 25th article, it was provided that upon the petition of 50 legal voters of any county acting under township organization, an election should be held at the next town meeting, for or against township organization, and if it should appear that a majority of all the voters voting at such election voted against such township organization, then the county should cease to act under such organization.*

These two sections were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme court:† "If the law providing for township organization should be repealed it must be done by pursuing the same course * * * which was required to be observed in the adoption of the system."‡

In borrowing the law from the statute of New York, and adopting it to our general statutes, many omissions, errors and imperfections occurred, which soon required correction. The act of 1851 had been amended at various times,§ and several independent acts passed,‖ but still it was unsatisfactory, and another act was demanded. The purpose of the act of 1861, said Mr. Haines, then a member of the House, was "to preserve as much of the act of 1851 and amendatory acts, as could be consistently retained, making necessary corrections, and to add such new provisions as experience under the system seemed to demand, and withal to make no further changes in the law than were actually necessary to perfect the system and adapt it to our general statutes."

The subject originated in the House of Representatives, and was referred to the committee on township organization, with instructions to enquire into the expediency of reducing the act to provide for township organization, and the several amendatory acts into one act, and to amend the same, and report thereon. The aim of the committee was to reform as far as possible, the errors and confusion existing in the old law, and to arrange the different subjects comprised under distinct heads, in methodical order, rendering the act more perfect in itself, and a reference to any portion of it more easy and convenient. The time allowed the committee during a session of six weeks, in the midst of other not less important legislative duties, was necessarily short, compared with the labor and care which this important subject demanded.¶ It is therefore not surprising

*An act to provide for township organization, approved Feb. 17, 1851: Laws 1851, 35.

†People vs. Couchman. 15 Ill., 142.

‡Provision in the constitution of 1848, that a majority of voters of a county must concur, held to be satisfied by concurrence of majority of votes cast at election. People v. Warfield, 20 Ill., 159 (1850), so the sections appearing in the later laws are constitutional. The United States Supreme Court in a case appealed from Missouri, Harshman v. Bates County, 2 Otto, 569, decided a similar case exactly the other way.

§Laws 1851, 135; Laws 1854, 27; Laws 1857, 46; Laws 1857, 55; Laws 1859, 212; Laws 1869, 406; Laws 1857, 183.

‖Laws 1857, 62; Laws 1859, 129: Laws 1859, 213.

¶Haines, Township Laws, 8th Ed., Preface.

that some errors have chanced to occur. The law was as its title implies, "An act to reduce the act to provide for township organization, and the several acts amendatory thereof, into one act, and to amend the same."*

Among the new features of this act were a provision for the division of real estate, money and apportionment of debts, when a town is divided in two or more towns, Art. 3, Secs 4, 5, 6, 9; provision for compensation for town auditors, Art. 11, Sec. 4, and for the publication of the proceedings of the board of supervisors, Art. 14, Sec. 18.

This act, with amendatory acts† remained in force until after the adoption of the Constitution of 1870. Of the amendatory acts a few are important enough to deserve mention and to be compared with like provisions in some neighboring states.

A local board of health was created for the township in 1865,§ consisting of the supervisor, assessor and town clerk. It might quarantine houses and take other measures to prevent the spread of contagion. The act was made subject to acceptance or rejection of each county. This act is similar to the Michigan act enacted before this time, whereby the township board (consisting of the supervisor, the two justices of the peace whose terms expired soonest, and the town clerk) constitutes the board,‖ and quite different from the Wisconsin provision whereby the town board, village board and common council of every town, village and city, after each annual election, organize as the board of health, or appoint wholly or partially from its own members, a suitable number of competent persons who shall organize as a board of health.¶

In 1867 the supervisor of each town was made *ex-officio*, overseer of the poor in his town.** In Iowa the township trustees are overseers, C. 1897, Sec. 574, Ch. 10; in Wisconsin the supervisor fills that office, Sec. 1501, Ch. 63, R. S. 1898; in Missouri the county court has supervision, Sec. 7327, Ch. 129, R. S. 1889; while in Nebraska, the justices of the peace take care of the poor, Sec. 4, Ch. 67, C. S. Neb. 1899.

An act providing for the payment of road tax in money was approved March 11, 1869,†† whereby the voters may at town meetings provide that thereafter the road tax shall be paid in money only.‡‡

*The section on discontinuance of the system was not in accordance with the court's decision in 15 Ill., 142.

†Laws 1861, 216; approved Feb. 20, 1861.

‡Laws 1867, 169, 172; Laws 1865, 75; Laws 1869, 407; Laws 1869, 406; Laws 1871-2, 643; Laws 1871-2, 756; Laws 1871-2, 757.

§Laws 1865, 75.

‖Compiled Laws, 1846.

¶Sec. 1-3 Ch. 26, R. S. Wis. 1849.

**Laws 1869, 172.

††Laws 1869, 406.

‡‡Missouri provided for the payment of all road taxes in money in 1883, Laws, 1883, 173. In Wisconsin and Iowa the citizens in 1849 had power to determine if any portion of the tax should be paid in labor. Secs. 1-3, Ch. 112, R. S. Wis. 1849; C. 1851, Sec. 568 Iowa. In Nebraska one-fourth of the road tax must be paid in cash, Sec. 79, Ch. 78, C. S. Neb. 1899.

By an act approved April 2, 1872,* the legal voters of a town may, by the adoption of resolutions at town meetings authorize the supervisor to sell real estate owned by the town.

Thus we see that by this time the system appears about the same as it is today.

Chapter IV.

THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT CRAZE—STATE AID TO RAILROADS.

The history of the Illinois town hardly begins until the year 1836 when the legislature passed an act known as "An act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvement." Aside from the legislation of 1819 and 1827 making the township a body corporate for school purposes, no considerable attention had been given to the town. A brief account of this famous legislation will not be out of place.

The legislature elected August 1836 was supplemented by an internal improvement convention, composed of many of the ablest men of the State, which was to meet at the seat of government simultaneously with the legislature. It is probable that the more zealous advocates of the project entertained doubts regarding the stamina of the members of the legislature when the vast project should be fully brought forward for action.† Two questions came up for decision; one was the project to move the State capital from Vandalia, the other to provide for internal improvement. The latter question was stubbornly contested, and the vote appeared to be about equal; when it was discovered that "the long nine" (the seven representatives and two senators from Sangamon) held the balance of power on the internal improvement question, it was also discovered that Springfield was a candidate for the location of the new State capital. The matter was arranged so that the capital was moved to Sangamon, and the "long nine" put through the internal improvement bill.

The enthusiasm of the promoters of this bill approached the ridiculous. It was urged that beyond any sort of doubt or question the railroads would build themselves, and that the whole thing would go through upon the endorsement of the State, without the expense of a dollar or any demand on the taxpayer. Governor Duncan said in his message on internal improvement, "Should the State be true to her own interests and take one-half, or one-third of the stock in all works of internal improvements, she will hasten the completion of the most important first, and secure to herself a lasting and abundant revenue to be applied upon the principles of the plan proposed, until the whole country shall be intersected by canals and railroads, and our beautiful prairies enlivened by thousands of steam engines drawing after them lengthened trains freighted with the abundant productions of our fertile soil."‡

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*Laws 1871-2, 643.
†Davidson & Stuvé, 434.
‡Senate Journal, 1836-7; 19.

The system contemplated the building of 1,342 miles of railroad at a cost of $11,470,444.50. The legislature of 1839 entertained doubts of the feasibility of completing the whole system, and appointed a committee to investigate. In their report submitted Feb. 16, 1839, they declared that $14,000,000 would be sufficient to complete the system and considered everything favorable for the execution of the plan. Before the people realized what was going on, the State was in debt over $12,000,000. The system was finally repealed,* but not until the State was unable to pay the interest on its bonds. The credit of the State was a by-word all over the commercial world. The people were driven almost to the extremity of repudiation. The period continued from 1839 until 1847, during which time the high taxes and hard times made capital and emigrants shun the State as they would the pestilence.† In 1847 the constitutional convention adopted a two mill tax to pay the debt.

One of the delegates to the convention of 1870, speaking of this period said: "It was a glorious time for two or three years, but after the money ran through and was all gone, and pay day came, the people had to pass through an ordeal such as no community perhaps on this continent ever went through before; it lasted 20 years; it paralyzed industry; it drove emigrants from the State; it reduced communities to pauperism, comparatively speaking."

The principal provisions of the Internal Improvement act were as follows: An act to establish and maintain a general system of internal improvement. Approved and in force Feb. 27, 1837. Three fund commissioners should be elected by joint ballot of the general assembly and bienially thereafter, who should be practical and experienced financiers. Each commissioner should give bond to the amount of $50,000. It was the duty of this board to contract for and negotiate all loans authorized to be effected by the general assembly on the faith and credit of the State, for objects of internal improvement, and they should sign and execute certificates of stock therefor, and should receive and deposit all moneys arising from such loans. For the purpose of promoting and maintaining a general system of internal improvements, there was created a board of public works, consisting of seven members, one from each judicial district, elected bienially by joint vote of the general assembly. They were styled "The Board of Commissioners of Public Works." They should give a bond of $20,000, and no commissioner was to have in his hands more than that amount at any one time. The duty of the board was to

*Laws 1840, 98.

†Gain in population; 1810-20, 34.3 per cent; 1820-30, 185; 1830-40, 202; 1840-50, 83; 1850-60, 101; 1860-70, 48; 1870-80, 21.

locate, superintend, direct and construct on the part and behalf of this State, all works of internal improvement by the State. The following appropriations were made:

For the improvement of the Great Wabash river	$ 100,000 00
For the improvement of the Illinois river	100,000 00
For the improvement of the Rock river	100,000 00
For the improvement of the Kaskaskia river	50,000 00
For the improvement of the Little Wabash river	50,000 00
For the improvement of the Western mail route	250,000 00
Railroad from Cairo to termination of I. & M. canal	3,500,000 00
Railroad from Alton to Mt. Carmel and Shawneetown	1,600,000 00
Railroad from Quincy to Indiana state line	1,800,000 00
Railroad from Peoria to Warsaw	700,000 00
Railroad from Lower Alton to Central railroad	600,000 00
Railroad from Belleville to railroad Alton to Mt. Carmel	150,000 00
Railroad from Bloomington to Mackinaw	350,000 00
Distributed among counties without a railroad, in proportion to census*	200,000 00

The funds used for internal improvement consisted of all money raised by the sale of stocks or State bonds, or by virtue of loans authorized by law, and of all appropriations which were made from time to time out of the revenue of the State arising from the tolls and water, and other rents of all the works of internal improvement, and of all rents, issues and profits arising from the lands purchased or entered by the State for the purpose of promoting and aiding in the construction and completion of said works, either by leasing or selling the same, and of the proceeds of all lands which may be donated by the general government in aid of internal improvements in this State, etc.†

The people of Bond county, as soon as the act passed, had declared in a public meeting that the system must lead to taxation and utter ruin; that the people were not bound to pay any of the debt to be contracted for it, and that Bond county would never assist in paying a cent of it. Accordingly they refused to pay taxes for several years. The question of payment was considered a very dangerous one. Both political parties evaded it; at a Democratic State convention, a resolution offered against repudiation was laid on the table by an overwhelming majority, so as not to commit the party one way or another.‡

By 1850, 110 miles of the 1,342, were completed, nearly ten years after the system had been repealed. Most of the work seems to have been done on the rivers, but for the debt of $12,000,000, the people got practically nothing.

*Population of Illinois in 1840; 476, 183.

†Laws 1837, 121.

‡Davidson & Stuvé, 453.

Chapter V.

MUNICIPAL AID TO RAILROADS.

The 2 mill tax served its purpose and the State securities were placed above par. On Dec. 1, 1869, the State debt had decreased to $5,124,995.64. The 2 mill tax was discontinued under the Constitution of 1870. Long before this time, however, the taxes had ceased to become burdensome to the people.*

The desire to overcome the natural means of transit, and the value and importance of railroads to promote the public welfare, were felt more and more stringently as years passed by, and railroads were constructed and made their advantages manifest in the eastern states. Finally the aid of Congress was invoked, cities, towns and counties were asked for aid to induce the construction of railroads. This demand of the people was at last urged so unitedly and forcibly that Congress, in 1850, made a munificent land grant to the State, to enable the construction of the Illinois Central railroad. The act stimulated all other railroad enterprises which the people in the various parts of the State had been promoting, and by 1852 the construction of railroads throughout the State was being pushed with great energy, the result of which was that in 1872, after about 20 years of strenuous effort, between 5,000 and 6,000 miles of railroad had been completed, which penetrated most parts of the State, and largely realized to the people in the benefits conferred, the anticipation of those who first labored for their construction.

Sparsely settled and unimportant townships voted fabulous sums. The town of Harmon, Lee county, with an aggregate of real and personal property of $56,000 voted a subscription of $50,000.† Sullivan, Moultrie county, offered $185,000; the city of Quincy, when the convention of 1870 had convened, had made arrangements to expend $500,000 to build a railroad in Missouri‡ and a provision was made in the constitution allowing it to do so, (Schedule Sec. 24). The town of Vandalia subscribed $149,000 to the St. L. V. & T. H. R. R. Co.

By the construction of railroads it is safe to say that the value of land has been enhanced probably more than $25 per acre, (1895), independent of the cost of the improvements put upon it by the farmer. But estimating the rise in value strictly on the effect of the construction of the railroads upon the eligibility of the lands to market at $25 per acre, and the result shows a pecuniary benefit of millions of dollars, very uniformly distributed to the original owners of the land. The average market value of these lands before the construction of the railroads did not exceed $2 per acre. When the roads were assured to be built, lands at once advanced to $15 and

*Population of Illinois in 1870, 2,539,891.

†Debates of the convention of 1870, 647.

‡Ditto, p. 1762.

$25 per acre without improvements, and ever since that time have averaged a net revenue per annum fully as great as the cost of the lands to their original owners.*

The bonds of these counties, townships and cities bore a high rate of interest and were apt to become a burden. To remedy this the legislature in 1865 passed an act under which $1,367,800 worth of bonds were registered up to 1870. Counties and cities owing debts for railroad purposes have been enabled by this law to reduce their interest from eight and ten per cent payable semi-annually, to six per cent annually. This was "an act relating to county and city debts, and to provide for the payment thereof, by taxation in such counties and cities," approved Feb. 13, 1865. It was provided that in all cases where counties and cities have hitherto under any law of this State issued bonds for money on account of any public improvement, and the same remain outstanding, or any debt arising thereout remains unpaid, the board of supervisors or county court of such county, and the city council or municipal authority of such city, as the case may be, having issued such bonds or securities may upon their surrender, issue in place thereof, to the holder or owner, new bonds, in such form, for such amount, upon such time, and drawing such interest as may be agreed upon with the holder or owner: *Provided*, such new bonds shall not be for a greater sum than the principal and accrued interest unpaid of the bonds or debts in place of which they shall be given, nor bear a greater rate of interest than six per cent per annum, and such bonds shall show on their face that they are issued under this act, and if so agreed, may provide for payment of five per cent of the principal thereof, annually, until fully paid. On presentation of any such new bond, at the office of the Auditor of Public Accounts for registration he shall cause the same to be registered in his office in a book to be kept for that purpose; such registration shall show the date, amount, number, maturity and rate of interest of such bond, under what act, and by what county or city issued.

In all cases where any county or city shall issue bonds under this act, it shall be the duty of the county clerk of such county, or of the officer to whom or at whose office, the assessment rolls for State taxation, whether county or city are, or shall be returnable, within five years after such return, to make out and transmit to the Auditor of State, to be filed in his office, a certificate stating the total value of all property, real and personal, within such county or city, exhibited by such assessment. When the bonds of any county or city to the amount of $12,000 shall be so registered, the Auditor shall annually ascertain the amount of interest for the current year, and shall add five per cent of the principal to such bonds as provide for such addition, and this amount shall be levied on the said county or city, and said addition deemed added to and a part of the percentum which is to be levied for State revenue, and shall be collected in the same

*Report of Railroad and Warehouse Com. Ill., 1895, vi.

manner. The State shall be deemed the custodian only of the tax so collected and shall not be deemed in any manner liable for the bonds.*

Four years later, in 1869, another still more liberal measure was passed. In the words of one of the delegates to the constitutional convention of 1870, it is the most remarkable law passed by any legislature in this country. It is nothing more or less than an ingenious contrivance to sieze upon the State revenues and appropriate them to private purposes. It was passed by the influence of the lobby over the Governor's veto, and against the judgment of many of the most judicious persons in the General Assembly.† This was "An act to fund and provide for paying the railroad debts of counties, townships, cities and towns." It was provided that where any county, township, city or town shall be indebted or shall create a debt under the provisions of any law of this State to aid in building a railroad near or through its territory, that shall be completed within ten years after the passage of this act, the State Treasurer is required to place to the credit of such county, township, city or town, for the next ten years, all the State taxes paid in, on the increased valuation of the taxable property as shown by the annual assessment rolls, over and above the amount of the assessment roll of the year 1868, excepting the State school tax and the 2-mill tax, and whenever any county, township, city or town shall have created a debt as aforesaid, the collector of taxes is hereby required to pay into the State treasury annually for the next ten years, all the taxes collected on the property of the railroad for whose aid the said debt was incurred. The whole amount received, with the exception of the State school tax and the 2-mill tax, shall be credited to such county, township, city or town. The said funds shall be applied to the payment of the bonded railroad debt of such county, township, town or city. Any bond in order to obtain the benefits of this act shall be registered by the Auditor, who shall see to the payment of the interest. The State shall be considered the custodian merely of the taxes so collected and shall be in no way liable for the payment of the bonds.‡

The bill was vetoed by the Governor,‡‡ and upon reconsideration was passed over his veto.

The Governor said, in vetoing the act: "The bill contemplates in its direct provisions, however carefully or artfully expressed, the assumption by the State of the obligation, first, to pay the interest and afterwards the principal of all the railroad debts of counties, townships, cities and towns, that are now contracted in aid of railroads already completed; and also to pay the principal and then the interest upon all the bonds of counties, townships, cities and towns, hereafter to be contracted, in aid of any railroad which shall be completed within ten years from the passage of the act; and in its ultimate, indirect consequences invites counties, townships, cities and towns to engage in railroad enterprises upon their own credit, with the

*Laws 1865, 44.
†Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1870, 819.
‡Laws 1869, 316.
‡‡Gov. John M. Palmer.

delusive hope of ultimately succeeding in charging the debts they may contract upon the State treasury. Under the provisions of this bill, however, property of a particular description, as that of railroad corporations, in the counties, townships, cities and towns that have or may issue bonds in aid of their construction, is actually relieved from all taxation for general State purposes, and at the same time, while the property of all such counties, townships, cities and towns as have contracted railroad debts, under the provisions of this act, is taxed at a lower and different rate than the property in counties that owe no railroad debt."

The bill was discussed next year in the constitutional convention with much warmth pro and con. In the language of one member, "The state treasurer is to become a general broker and cashier for all those institutions; a growing system is built up in the State, at some day to be put in force, to cause this State to stand responsible before the world for the whole batch. It is but another form of replacing the State in precisely the position in which it was carried by the unwise and improvident railroad legislation of 1836 and 1837."* Another said, "No law has met with more general approbation than that simple solitary act, and it ill becomes us coming up here as representatives of the people of the State to repeal a statute to which there has yet been received or heard from the people not a single objection."† Another said, "The gentleman from Alexander said that the people of the State do not complain of the passage of this law by the legislature. I do not know how it may be in his section of the country, but with all the people in our section, this law is considered a swindle, an outrage and a fraud upon the people of the State."‡ It was referred to as the "tax stealing law," the "steal law," etc. Another delegate said, "The law in the first place was a premium to townships and counties to run into debt. Seeing others investing their credit in railroad enterprises, and thereby retaining in their hands their excess of taxation, is influencing townships, counties and towns to run into debt; while in other counties such excess goes into the State treasury—they are induced to go into debt for the very purpose of drawing from the treasury that excess or increase of taxation. This is done in self-defense even, for instance, take a county which has already built its railroads; its property is increasing; its increase goes into the State treasury, while that of other counties is used by themselves, and hence such a county is induced to enter upon the system in order to equalize the scale. It will project enterprises and incur debts in this view; so that there is more danger now of counties, townships, etc., running into debt than there ever was before.§

The bills did undoubtedly affect to some extent the credit of the State; the fact that the treasurer was employed in the payment of the bonds gave color to the claim put forth by dealers in the bonds that they were guaranteed by the State. This idea seems to have been quite common in New York where many of the bonds were payable.

*Debates, Etc., 810.
†Ibid., 811.
‡Ibid., 812.
§Ibid, 836.

Counties voting against proposition in regard to municipal subscription to railroad stock. On vote for adoption of Constitution of 1870.

Chapter VI.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1870.

Besides the provision for township organization, the two questions pertaining to town government were, first, the question of municipal subscriptions to railroads, and second, a 5 per cent limitation to municipal indebtedness.

The question of municipal subscription was easily disposed of; the right of municipalities to subscribe to railroad stock was denied without a yea and nay vote. The argument advanced by the champions of the measure was that the voting of a subscription to a railroad was the voting by A of a tax upon B for the benefit of C.* Their opponents refuted "such alphabetical nonsense" with the unanswerable argument that in this State the majority rule, and vote taxes upon themselves.†

The section, as adopted, provided that "no county, city, town, township or other municipality shall ever become subscriber to the capital stock of any railroad or private corporation, or make donation to or loan its credit in aid of such corporation; *Provided, however*, that the adoption of this article shall not be construed as affecting the right of any such municipality to make such subscriptions where the same has been authorized, under existing laws, by a vote of the people of such municipality prior to such adoption."

The question of limitation to the extent of municipal indebtedness to 5 per cent of her assessed valuation, caused much discussion and argument.‡ The proposition was finally agreed to. All counties that had all the railroads needed were heartily in favor of the proposition, while the many southern counties that had not yet obtained a requisite number of railroads were against it.

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*Chicago Tribune.

†Illinois State Register.

‡Although the law required the assessment of all property at full value, it was listed much lower in 1870. The establishment of a Board of Equalization in 1867 (Laws 1867, 105,) and the abolition of the two mill tax were expected to raise the assessed valuation to approximately full value. The advocates of the 5 per cent limitation provision expected full valuation and thought that their limitation would aid in sustaining it, although by many a 5 per cent limitation on half value was considered sufficiently liberal. At that time property was assessed at about one-fifth of its actual cash value, and in the average locality has remained so ever since. In some localities, however, the temptation to avoid high state taxes has been so great that it has fallen far below this. In some parts of Cook county the assessed valuation descended as low as one-fiftieth of full value (Marvin A. Farr), while evading the payment of State taxes, the city of Chicago has been able to assume a large debt by multiplying the number of municipal corporations within her borders. (There are about 17 different municipal corporations in the city of Chicago.) Most counties being unable to avail themselves of sanitary districts and numerous park commissions are compelled to maintain a higher assessed valuation. The framers of the new revenue act, apparently actuated by a desire to maintain the *status quo*, provided for the assessment of property at one-fifth of its full cash value. As full cash value is ascertained by personal correspondence of the writer to be about 80 per cent, the assessed valuation, therefore, upon which indebtedness is limited to 5 per cent has been reduced from 100 per cent to 16 per cent. The increase in the assessed valuation in Cook county (110 per cent) shows the former assessed valuation to have been 2½ per cent, while difficulty is anticipated in one county (Calhoun) because property is assessed at only one-fifth of full value. Despite the lack of uniformity, the 5 per cent limitation, although in actual practice it has proved vastly greater than was intended, has caused no great inconvenience, because of the necessity in rural counties of a higher assessed valuation, and in Chicago on account of the more highly differentiated system of administration.

Representatives of counties negotiating the building of railroads signified their willingness to vote for the proposition, saying that they were heartily in favor of it if it would not operate to prohibit their particular cases. As a majority of the counties had a sufficient number of railroads, it was decided that the others should go without. For the distribution of the vote see map.

The section provided that no county, city, township, school district or other municipality,* shall be allowed to become indebted in any manner or for any purpose to an amount including existing indebtedness, in the aggregate, exceeding 5 per centum on the value of the taxable property therein, to be ascertained by the last assessment for State and county taxes, previous to the incurring of such indebtedness. Any county, city, school district or other municipal corporation incurring any indebtedness, as aforesaid, shall before or at the time of doing so, provide for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to pay the interest on such debt as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the same. This section shall not be construed to prevent any county, city, township, school district or other municipal corporation from issuing their bonds in compliance with any vote of the people which may have been had prior to the adoption of this constitution in pursuance of any law providing therefor.

On the question of township organization, both a majority and a minority report was offered.† The majority report was substantially the same as the article referring to the same subject in the constitution of 1848, but a provision was introduced in respect to the county board of supervisors which would have made the supervisors constitutional officers. Each town should have at least one representative; another section was added providing for uniformity of fees and days of holding township meetings. Supervisors were not mentioned in the old constitution; it was deemed proper that there should be a recognition of that part of the governmental machinery in the new constitution. The question of representation upon the county board was presented to the committee in various forms, but it was found that there were so many local interests to be consulted, so many conflicting opinions, that it was preferred to leave it for the legislature to arrange, simply requiring that all laws passed in reference to representation on the county board of supervisors shall be uniform throughout the State.

By the minority report, in addition to what was contained in the majority report, the following section was submitted: Whenever two-thirds of the members elected in each branch of the general assembly shall concur in a provision to that effect, all counties in the State shall be placed under township organization. Some other rather legislative features were continued.

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*An interesting instance of the change of public opinion on the question of municipal indebtedness is revealed by comparing the excitement amid which the proposition to limit it to 5 per cent of cash value was discussed in 1870, with the utter lack of comment on the action of the legislature in practically prohibiting it in 1898 (1 per cent is now the maximum), but by Sec. 49 of the revenue act of 1898, municipalities in counties of 125,000 inhabitants were allowed an indebtedness of only 2½ per cent, declared unconstitutional in 135 Ill., which would allow only one-half of 1 per cent of actual value.

†Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1870, 873, 874.

The question of the abandonment of the system was discussed. Up to 1870 no county had abandoned the system after once adopting it. There was a great deal of uncertainty as to the method to be pursued in doing so. The old law's provision had been declared unconstitutional, and the supreme court had prescribed a way. The uncertainty in this regard was set at rest by a section providing the same method as was prescribed by the court.*

Another consideration was equal representation of towns on the board. Under the old law great abuses had arisen from the unequal representation. The provision for assistant supervisors was not satisfactory; there was no uniformity throughout the state; special laws were made for every case; in some places the basis of representation was different from that in others, and some towns were by special laws, set entirely outside of townships.† Finally all details were left to the general assembly, and no officers were mentioned in the section.

The pronounced manner in which the constitution proposed in 1861 had been voted down, led the convention to avoid staking the fate of the whole constitution with that of certain clauses unpopular in different sections of the state. The hostility of the south towards the clause prohibiting subscriptions to railroads by municipalities, was the cause ot that clause being submitted separately to the people, yet with two exceptions‡ those counties voting against the municipal subscription clause also voted against the constitution.

*Article 10, Section 5.
†Macomb and Galesburg, for instance.
‡Montgomery and Wabash counties.

Chapter VII.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND POWERS.

The act under which counties are now organized was approved and in force March 4, 1874.* It differs in few particulars from the act of 1861.

Provision is made for the organization of cities not in towns, into separate towns, and for the first election of county commissioners, where counties go back to the old system, disposition of the town records, etc. A minimum area of 17 square miles is prescribed for a town, and a majority of the electors is made necessary to divide a town. Supervisors in Cook county are declared not to be members of the county board.

The act of 1874 has been amended many times† but the amendments are mostly of little interest in this discussion. In 1877 cities of over 3,000 inhabitants were allowed to be organized into separate towns by the county boards upon request of the city council. The town clerk was made clerk of the board of town auditors in 1879. In 1885 the territorial minimum for area of a town was lowered to ten square miles.

Having concluded the discussion of the legal provisions, we shall investigate the practical workings of the system as administered at present.

When the people of a county have voted to adopt the system, three commissioners appointed by the county board,‡ proceed to divide the county into towns, making them conform with the congressional or school townships, except in unusual cases.

Each town§ has corporate capacity‖ to sue and be sued.¶ In all such cases or proceedings the town shall sue and be sued by its name, except where town officers shall be authorized by law to sue in their name of office for the benefit of the town. To acquire and hold property for the benefit of its inhabitants and to sell and convey the same; to make all such contracts as are necessary in the exercise of the powers of the town.**

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*R. S. Ill. 1874. 1065.

†Laws 1875. 111; 1877. 212; 1877. 213; 1879. 316; 1883. 174; 1885. 249. 251; 1887. 299. 300; 1889. 359. 361; 1893 (Bradwell) 130. amended in Laws 1895. 317. 318. 319; 1899. 362. 363

‡Duty to appoint them may be enforced by mandamus against the county board. People v. Ruyle. 91. Ill. 525.

§Town under township law is not incorporated town. Town of Woo-Sung v. People. 102 Ill. 648.

‖The corporate authority is in the electors alone and in no board or officer. Kankakee v K. & I. R R Co., 115. Ill 88.

¶Town is liable in action of tort for so building a bridge as to obstruct navigation. Town of Marlem v. Emmert. 41. Ill . 319. Is not liable for materials furnished highway commissioners. Town of Harwood v. Hamilton. 13. Ill.. App. 358. Is not liable for torts of commissioners of highways Coon-y v. Hartland. 95. Ill.. 516. Town may be sued on contract, although claim should have been paid out of special fund. Elrod v. Bernadotte. 53. Ill.. 368. Town prosecuting suit to execution is liable for levy on goods of a stranger. Wolf v. Boettcher. 64. Ill.. 316 Town may sue the treasurer of commissioners of highways who refuses to pay over balance in his hands to his successor, although suit may also be brought on his official bond. Blanchard v. La Salle. 99. Ill., 278.

**Laws 1861. 218. Town can exercise only such powers as are conferred upon it by statute. Drake v. Phillips, 40. Ill., 388.

The annual town meeting is held on the first Tuesday in April for the election of town officers* and the transaction of miscellaneous business. The electors present at the town meeting have power:

1. To make all orders for the sale, conveyance, regulation or use of its corporate property that may be deemed conducive to the interest of the inhabitants.

2. To make all necessary measures and give directions for the exercise of their corporate powers.

3. To direct the raising of money by taxation for the following purposes: 1. For constructing or repairing roads, bridges or causeways, within the town to the extent allowed by law. 2. For the prosecution or defense of suits by or against the town, or in which it is interested. 3. For any other purpose required by law. 4. For the purpose of building or repairing bridges or causeways in any other town in the same county or in another county, provided that notice is given by posting notices describing the location of the bridge or causeway, and the probable amount required therefor, in at least three public places at least ten days before the meeting in the town in which the taxes are proposed to be levied.

4. To provide for the institution, defense or disposition of suits at law or in equity, in all controversies between the town and any other town, or any individual or corporation in which the town is interested.

5. To prevent the introduction, growing or dissemination of Canada thistles or noxious weeds, and to allow rewards for their destruction and to raise money therefor.

6. To offer premiums and to take such action as shall induce the planting and cultivation of trees along highways in towns, and to protect and preserve trees standing along or on highways.†

7. To make rules and regulations for ascertaining the sufficiency of all fences in such town, and to determine what shall be a lawful fence within the town, except as otherwise provided by law.

8. To regulate the running at large of cattle, etc.

9. To establish and maintain pounds.

10. To determine the number of pound masters; to prescribe their duties and to elect them.

11. To authorize the distraining, impounding and sale of cattle, etc., for penalties incurred and costs of the proceeding,

12. To construct and keep in repair public wells and watering places and enact by-laws, rules and regulations to carry their powers into effect; impose fines and penalties, and apply such fines in any manner conducive to the interests of the town.

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*Where there is a failure to elect the old officers will hold until an election can be ordered. 83, Ill., 128.

†Vote directing donation does not authorize issue of bonds to pay such donation. Schaeffer v. Bonham, 95, Ill., 368.

The town officers are a supervisor, who is ex-officio, overseer of the poor,* a clerk, an assessor, and a collector, all of whom are elected annually,† three commissioners of highways elected for three years, one retiring every year, two justices of the peace and two constables who hold for four years.

On the morning appointed for the town meeting the voters assemble and proceed to choose a moderator, who presides for the day. Balloting for town officers at once begins, the supervisor, assessor and collector acting as election judges. Every male citizen of the United States, who is 21 years old; who has resided in the State one year, in the county 90 days and in the township 30 days, is entitled to vote at a town meeting; but a year's residence in the town is required for eligibility to office. At 2:00 o'clock the moderator calls the meeting to order for the consideration of business pertaining to those subjects already enumerated. Everything is done by the usual rules and methods of parliamentary bodies. The clerk of the town is secretary of the meeting, and preserves a record of all the proceedings. Special town meetings may be held whenever the supervisor, clerk, or justices, or any two of them, together with 15 voters, shall have filed with the clerk a statement that a meeting is necessary, for objects which they specify. The clerk then gives public notice in the same way as for regular meetings. Such special meetings act only upon the subjects named in the call.

The supervisor is both a town and county officer. He is general manager of the town business,‡ and is also a member of the county board,§ which is composed of the supervisors of the several towns, and which has general control of the county business. As a town officer he receives and pays out all the town money except the highway and school funds. He prosecutes for all penalties given by law to such town, and for which no other officer is specially directed to prosecute.‖

The town clerk is custodian of town records, books and papers; clerk of the town meeting, and certifies annually to the county clerk the amount of taxes required to be raised for all town purposes.

The highway commissioners, in the oversight of roads and bridges are controlled by the enactments of the town meetings and by a large number of statutes. Highways are maintained by taxes on real and personal property, and by a poll tax of from $1 to $2 from every able

*Supervisor cannot recover from county for services rendered in his ex-officio capacity of overseer of the poor, services which by law he is required to perform, but for which the law provides no compensation. Madison county v. Bruner, 13. Ill., App. 599; affirmed 111, Ill., 11. Where the town is wholly responsible for the support of a pauper, the supervisor is acting for the town and not for the county and is entitled to his per diem compensation from the town as for town business. Bruner v. Madison county, 111, Ill., 11.

†Before qualification of successor, resignation does not relieve supervisor or town clerk from duties of his office. United States v. Badger, 6 Biss. 308; Badger v. United States. 93. U. S., 599.

‡Is the town chief executive officer. People v. Cline, 63 Ill., 394.

§Bruner v. Madison county, 111, Ill., 11.

‖And may hire an attorney for that purpose. People v. Cline, 63 Ill., 394. A contract made by the supervisor under vote giving him the power to employ counsel will bind town. Mt. Vernon v. Patton, 94 Ill. 65.

bodied man between the ages of 21 and 50. The poll tax may be abolished by the legal voters of the town.* One of the commissioners is constituted treasurer, he receives and pays out all road money.

The supervisor is *ex-officio*, overseer of the poor. The people of each county determine whether the separate towns or the county at large shall take care of the paupers. When the town has the matter in charge, the overseer generally provides for the indigent by a system of outdoor relief; if the county supports the poor, the board is authorized to establish a poor-house and farm for the permanent care of the destitute, and temporary relief is afforded by the overseer in their respective towns at the county's expense.

The board of town auditors consists of the supervisor, town clerk and justices of the peace. They examine all accounts of the supervisor, overseer of the poor and highway commissioners; pass upon all claims and charges against the town,† and audit all bills for compensation presented by town officers. The accounts thus audited are kept on file by the clerk for public inspection, and are reported at the next town meeting. The town clerk acts as clerk of the board, and the board meets semi-annually on the Tuesday next preceding the annual meeting of the county board, and on the Tuesday next preceding the annual town meeting.

The supervisor, assessor and town clerk constitute the board of health. Their transactions are reported by the clerk to the town meeting. The board possesses the usual quarantine powers to guard the town against the spread of disease.

Chapter VIII.

CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS.

While the county court, consisting of three members, is a smaller and therefore as a rule more manageable or controllable body by outside influences, there is little doubt that a board of supervisors is not only directly more expensive, but also that a thousand and one petty claims of every conceivable character, having often no foundation in law or justice are constantly presented and being loosely investigated and tacitly allowed, aggregating no insignificant sum. A board of supervisors also acts or is controlled more by partisan feelings ‡ There is almost an entire lack of individual responsibility and less able men are chosen than in the old system where the whole responsibility resting upon three men, is more likely to be felt.

*Laws 1895, 310.

†Claim against town for expenses of litigating the removal of county seat, valid. Wells v. Whitaker, 4 Ill., App. 381. Town auditors may be compelled by mandamus to audit judgment against the town. Lower v. United States, 91 U. S., 536. Members of auditing board cannot relieve themselves of duty to levy tax and pay judgment against town by resigning; until their successors qualify, they may be compelled to act. United States v. Badger, 6 Biss, 308.

‡Davidson & Stuvé, 557.

Business is transacted by three commissioners with greater dispatch, there are no committee meetings, useless speeches, roll calls, etc., while a central government is obtained over county matters.

While the institution of the town meeting has been praised by many illustrious foreigners who have diligently studied the theory, it is very probable that the institution should be abolished in towns of considerable size. The old New England town meeting in its primeval purity is there extremely rare. The participants were men of learning and intelligence with no mercenary interests, but when the town had come to exceed 700 or 800 persons where the element of farmers has been replaced by factory operatives, and still more when any considerable part are strangers such as the Irish or French-Canadians who have poured into New England, the institution works less perfectly, because the multitude is too large for debate, factions are likely to spring up, and the new immigrants, untrained for self-government, become the prey of wire pullers or petty demagogues.* Where a town has increased in population sufficiently to be incorporated as a city, the chief evil of the town meeting is encountered. The city has its mayor, aldermen, etc., while the town has its officers. The whole area of the town may not be incorporated in the city, but practically it is so dwarfed by the city as to attract little attention. It becomes then nothing but a theory.†

Speaking of the city and town of New Haven, Conn., where the above conditions existed, it is said:‡ "This venerable institution (the town meeting) appears today in the guise of a gathering of a few citizens, who do the work of as many thousands. The few individuals who are or have been interested in the government of the town, meet together, talk over matters in a friendly way, decide what the rate of taxation for the coming year shall be and adjourn. Not one-seventieth part of the citizens of the town have attended an annual town meeting; they hardly know when it is held. The newspapers give its transactions a scant notice, which some of their subscribers probably read.

The actual governing force of the town is therefore an oligarchy in the bosom of a slumbering democracy, but the town is well governed. Its government carries too little spoil to attract those unreliable politicians who infest the city council. If the ruling junto should venture on too lavish a use of the town's money an irresistable check would appear at once. Any 20 citizens could force the selectmen to summon the town together, and the apparent oligarchy would doubtless go down before the awakening people. Boston discarded the town meeting when her voters numbered only 7,000, because the great mass of the voters took no interest in it. In Chicago the state of affairs is even worse. The town meetings held within the several townships within the city limits are a caricature upon self-government. Most of the voters of the city have never heard of their town

*Brice, American Commonwealth, I, 595.

†The theory of a town meeting is "that the corporate body of the town is present for the purpose of transacting, and competent to transact, all the corporate business of the town not specially delegated to certain individual officers." 210 Ill., 588.

‡ r and City Govt. in New Haven, J. H. U. Studies, 4th Series.

meetings; much less ever attended one. Only those interested in their salaries as employes of the town are ordinarily found in attendance. The supervisor or some one interested calls a few friends together at the appointed time and place, of which practically the public has no notice, and if by chance a disinterested citizen is present, he finds that the business is transacted, and the meeting is over possibly without his having heard the proceedings or had any part therein. Yet in these town meetings, it is probable that not less than $500,000 of public money is raised and disbursed annually in the city of Chicago.*

The board of supervisors is usually much too large; it is entirely unnecessary for each town in a county to have one representative, but where a city has several assistant supervisors it is worse. The number of supervisors should be greatly reduced and better salaries paid. The poor should be cared for by the county and not by the supervisor. Highway commissioners should be appointed by the county board, and the practice of paying tax in labor should be discontinued as too expensive. The grade of justice of the peace should be raised, and he should be compelled to qualify. The office of supervisor of highways should be abolished, all officers should be elected for two years, and their duties stated more clearly.

Thus while retaining the local self-government part of the township organization system, something of the efficacy and economy of the county system might be enjoyed.

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PIONEER MOTHERS OF ILLINOIS.

(Miss Savillah T. Hinrichsen.)

Not because of any special fitness for the task, excepting only in one way, was the writing of this paper allotted to its author, and that was that the writer was a lineal descendant of a true pioneer mother, for her great grandmother settled in what was known as the "Illinois country" before it became an independent territory; while it was yet held as a county of the mother state Virginia, whose gallant son had won it to his country from the English. This lady, came to live in that part of the State now known as Egypt, when the last century was in its infancy.

This pioneer mother saw Illinois county detached from Virginia, and erected into an independent territory, and later she saw it admitted to the sisterhood of states.

Of her two daughters, one lived to attain a green old age, and in my childhood she was a frequent visitor at the home of my parents; and from this venerable relative I learned of many of the adventures and trials of the noble pioneer women whose names deserve a lasting recognition among those placed on the roll of honor, as "Makers of America."

These stories told by my great aunt, were more fascinating than any fairy tales, and told in the firelight, through the long winter evenings were more thrilling than ghost stories, and best of all to us children, they were true.

Her parents had first settled in Kentucky, but being early widowed by one of the all too common border tragedies and in a few years remarried (for what could a young widow do but choose a protector for herself and her young children, from among her many suitors?) My great-grandmother, and her children with her new husband, removed to what was then known as the Illinois country, and settled near old Kaskaskia, afterwards Illinois' first capital, from there they afterward went to the neighborhood of Fort Massac, to be near certain relatives who had come into the territory with a company of settlers. Here she raised and trained her children, one of whom, the son of her first marriage, became known as the great and reckless Indian fighter, Charles Kitchen. He has his own place in the annals of his adopted State.

We, who walk in safety and sleep in peace, resting safely under the shield of law and civilization, can we bring ourselves to realize

what life was to this woman and to so many like her; who had gone with their husbands and fathers into the wilderness to found new homes, and to better broken fortunes? While some of the wives of the early settlers were trained in a hard school, and inured to hardships, many others were of a different type; reared in homes of refinement and what was then luxury, they bravely endured life under the conditions which a life on the frontier imposed; and the State owes these gently bred women an untold debt of gratitude.

Most of them were southern women, these first comers, or they were French emigrants, and at first they clustered together in villages, or on neighboring farms, near a block house or fort, where they could seek safety in case of the advent of hostile Indians.

The French had come in while France held sway over the country and Illinois as well as Louisiana was under the French rule and these people brought and kept a spirit of gaiety that did much to lighten the gloom of that early time. Their better classes, like the settlers from the south, either brought slaves with them, or bought them after they came to the Territory, and thus the women of their families were saved the hardest kinds of domestic toil, still nothing but a great courage, and deep religious faith could have sustained them through those first dreadful years. This part of the country had changed rulers and laws more than once, and at every change there had been panic and a fear, not only of white foes, but of their merciless savage allies.

Then aside from warfare which gave warning to the settlers, Indian raids were not uncommon, and the partings of the husband and father, as he went to his daily work, might each time be the last. Surely the wife that saw her husband go out in the morning, with the fear that he might never return, welcomed him home at evening with joy unknown to the woman who, safe at home apprehends no evil abroad. And the husband—he must trust his family in God's own hands—since he might return at night to find his home a smoking ruin, and to know that it was the funeral pyre of his family, or that they were carried away into a captivity worse than death, or kept that they might be put to torture. Of this era I will relate two stories out of the many that were told to me.

One is about the great earthquake. The house—a double log cabin with lofts—began to rock, it was after dark, and the first thought as the pans came rattling from their pegs, and the floor began to heave, was that Indians were prizing the house off of its rock foundation with levers. The men seized their rifles, and the women hurried to the fire to melt lead and mold more bullets; one of them cried out, "The hearthstone is moving too." Now this hearthstone was a great slab of sandstone buried in the earth, until its top was level with the cabin floor; and that it was moving was proven by the fact that the water with which a large iron kettle had been filled was being splashed over the sides of the great vessel, and thrown over the hearth and hissing in the fire. An old negro servant seeing this called out "The Lord's a rockin' the earth chillun,

better be gittin' outside before the house falls down on us all." The other story relates to one of the last Indian massacres and is of later date.

The Indians had raided the country, but the settlers warned by the scouts, had taken refuge in the fort After a while the scouts reported that the Indians had all recrossed the river and gone from the neighborhood. Several men went out to look after their homes and to care for whatever part of their stock and crops that had escaped the destroying raiders. Of these men, two sent back for their families, and the women and children were delayed until late in the day in setting out for their homes, a matter which they minded little, as the weather was quite warm, and the moon was in its second quarter. One of the women persuaded my grandmother, then a young girl, to go with her. My great-grandmother gave her consent with great reluctance, finally yielding with great misgiving and many precautions. Her daughter, weary of the long confinement in the fort, and anxious for a change, went gaily, though for the first time in her life against her mother's wishes or advice, though not without her consent. The road lay through the prairie for the first part of the journey, and the party was quite a merry one; but the heart of the young girl grew troubled and she wished to turn back. "Why Rachel Kitchen, what nonsense," they said, and she rode on until the road was about to turn into the forest. Here she stopped. "We must go back; we must not pass the next turn." "Nonsense, child; are you afraid of the shadow of the trees? There is no danger." "Not for you perhaps if you do not feel it, but I am warned and must go back, and, oh, do come with me; do not go round that turn." They ceased to urge her to go forward, and she gave the child that she was carrying on her horse to his mother, who took him behind her, and as she had one child behind her already and one in her arms, she was burdened with the care of them. The young girl wanted to take the child back to the fort with her, and again begged the others to turn back with her, and when they persisted in going on their way, she turned her horse and rode as if for her life, back to the fort. The party still ridiculing her fears rode on into the forest, but before they had gone the distance of an eighth of a mile, they were set upon by Indians and brutally murdered, only the child that the young girl had carried escaping. He had fallen from the horse at the first attack, and rolling, stunned, into the bushes had escaped notice. He lived to tell how the "Bad black men came out of the woods and hit mamma with their hatchets."

Added to the fear of savage men was the fear of wild beasts. Mothers feared to let their children wander from the clearing, lest the prowling wolf, or the stealthy panther should seize and devour them. Schools under such conditions were impossible, except in the villages. At Kaskaskia, the school kept by the nuns was well patronized, and here with the rudiments of English and French and mathematics, the young girls learned the dainty accomplishments of needlework, sewing and embroidery; to cut and fashion garments. At home they were taught to spin and to weave.

Early in the history of the State, after the Indians were no longer a constant menace, grand hunts were planned, in which the hunters encircled a given area, building fires at night, and beating the bushes by day, until drawing the circle smaller and smaller, they finally rounded up the game, when a general killing took place. In this way bears, wolves, deer and other animals were killed off; the ferocious or carniverous animals for safety, and for their furs, the deer for their meat and skins, and to protect the crops, which they damaged and destroyed. These drive hunts, as they were called, soon cleared the country of the dangerous animals, for those that were not killed fled farther into the wilderness, and the settlers had less cause for fear.

After the war of 1812, in which British interference was finally stopped, emigration poured a tide from the east and south into the territory, and the people, no longer dreading the hostile Indians, treked into the wilderness to find new homes and larger farms.

The southern part of the State received its population largely from the southern states, the more northern portion being settled from Ohio and the east. In some cases special colonies were settled, as the Waverly colony in Morgan county, but that came later. At Waverly a number of New England people made a settlement, established schools and an academy, and built a church. The first baby born in this colony was Edward A. Tanner, afterward president of Illinois college. However the Waverly colony came much later, for the first settlers in the middle section of the State were from the south and from southern Illinois. These people like the patriarchs of old, taking their flock and their herds and their little ones with their wives, ventured into the unknown, to commence a new chapter in the "winning of the west" Among the new comers from the south was one William Wyatt, a soldier of the war of 1812, and the son of a soldier of the Revolution, who had chased a band of Indians and renegades through Kentucky into Illinois at the head of a band of Virginia rangers. Meeting Charles Kitchen, the Indian fighter, he visited him at his mother's home, and there he met the dark-eyed maid who afterward became his wife After the close of the war he again came to Illinois and wooed and married Rachel Kitchen, Returning again to Virginia for slaves and blooded cattle and horses (said to be the first brought into the State) he sought a new home. At first he went to what is now Bureau county, but finding the land bare of trees, and fuel and lumber scarce, he moved southward once more, and settled at what is now known as Diamond Grove, in Morgan county. Later he sold this farm to a Mr. Wiswall and moved to a location about three and one-half miles northeast of the present site of Jacksonville, at a place now known as the Craig farm. Here he built first a camp, then a cabin in the wil lerness, and later a house with walnut paneling and oaken floors. This house is still standing. and the floor on which my mother's feet took their first infant steps is still in splendid condition.

Can you picture such journeyings, and the living in wagons or camps while the cabins were in process of building, and the feelings of the mother as she clasped her child in her arms while she could feel the breath of the wolves coming hot and steaming through the

cracks of the camp or pen, before the open door of which the fire must be kept burning all night to frighten the animals that came sniffing and growling outside the circle of light to the back of the camp dwelling, where the women and children were placed for greater safety? And after the house was reared to shelter the family from the wild animals and wild elements, the long, long hours of loneliness and fear, when the head of the family had gone 50 or 60 miles with the corn and wheat of the first crop from the virgin soil.

What must existence have meant to this bright, young girl, fresh from the gay life and companions in a French settlement? Pierre Menard called her, this grandmother of mine, to one of her descendants, a namesake, "The sweetest, most gently reared and trained young girl that ever grew up in the Mississippi valley." Ennui she could not know, for her days were too full of duties to be done and tasks performed, although she had black servants. Slaves, at first indentured, afterwards there was much that must have the hands as well as the eyes of the mistress; but think of the homesick longing that must have come for mother, sister and friends, to her and to others like her, in all the strange new places, where each was of the family of the "first settler." Term at once expressive of courage and pathos, first settler in a new land.

Others came; soon some of her own people, her brother, the Indians being driven off, came bringing his own family, and his mother, now once more a widow. He settled in what is now Green county, but the country was too tame and well settled for his adventurous soul; and although he was a successful farmer, he sold his improved land and sought in the southwest a home among wilder surroundings.

After a while churches and schools were established, but at first all religious services were held in the homes of the settlers. What a comfort it must have been to them, this gathering together to call on their Protector, who had promised, "That where two or three are gathered together in my name, there will I be also."

Schools were only held at irregular intervals and by subscription. A wandering Scotch school teacher would come into the neighborhood and get up a school. On my grandfather's land a tenant cabin became the school house, and the children were paid for pro rata. that is the first child for so much, the second for a less sum, and so on. Free schools were to come later. The week days of our grandmothers were full; each house was a manufactory, and each house mother was the executive head and managing partner in the business conducted therein.

We find it a weariness to shop and order the making of our garments. They clothed their families, like the women of the Proverbs, with the work of their hands.

The wool, the flax and the cotton were raised on the farms by the men, but this material passed in its raw state into the hands of the women and came out cloth ready for the making, and the making was done by the women, and in many instances, the clothing for an entire family was made from the raw material, to its finishing stitch,

by the one woman, who was cook, laundress, nurse, and gardner, as well as housekeeper and wife; and who made her own soap, or did without, and in the intervals of resting, knit all the hosiery for a large family. Later travelling tailors were employed, who cut and made the men's Sunday clothes and the cloaks and "habits" of the women, but this was a sign of great prosperity, and even then was a late matter and not known in the first years of the State's settlement. The whir of the wheel, and the clank of the loom were heard in every dwelling, and though the phrase "the strenuous life," had not then been coined, the condition was existent.

Even their social gatherings, aside from weddings, had their origin in utility. Apple parings, quiltings, corn huskings and barn raisings, and often there was a combination of these entertainments, a barn raising, or a corn husking would be held, and at the same time and place there would be a quilting party, and the women guests would help to cook and serve the dinner for the men who were doing the rougher work; and at night the young people stayed to dance, the more opulent ladies going and coming on their own horses with habits and side saddles. The less fortunate (or were they less fortunate?) riding behind their husbands, brothers or sweet-hearts on the same horse. Even when neighbors went visiting they carried their knitting or sewing—"calling" in its present sense, there was not.

Can you imagine an existence without friction matches? And when you recall the importance of keeping fire, realize the strength of the words of old Nakomis, "Like a fire on the hearthstone is a neighbor's homely daughter." With all this hard labor there was happiness, love and truth, perhaps all the more from the fact that their time was so full of present duty that Satan found no idle hands or minds to bend to mischief.

The old lady that picked up her knitting to do a few rounds while the crowd gathered at her husband's funeral, may have been an extreme type, but the anecdote illustrates the industry that had become a fixed habit of their lives. Could they revisit the glimpses of the moon, what would they think of morning card parties, or golf. The maids and matrons of Illinois had all and more exercise than they needed without tennis, golf or physical culture. Yet, they valued their looks and took far better care of their complexions than the belles of today. They realized that a skin once coarsened by sun and wind, never regains its delicacy, and they wore deep shading bonnets, or wide hats with thick veils, and kept their hands from the sun and wind, as well as their faces; wool washing they did not mind, since the oil in the wool kept their hands white and plump. Childrens' bonnets and gloves were sewed on in the morning, and only removed by their mothers or nurses at night. But they grew old fast in that time and would be amazed at the modern society woman of fifty years. It was at the best a life without conveniences, when all the household supplies that were purchased came in a crude state. The washing was done by pounding the clothes in a barrel, rubbing by hand, or with "battles," a sort of paddle. If there was a near-by stream,

then the soiled clothing, great kettle for heating the water and boiling the clothes, the tubs, vessel of soft soap, and material for starting a fire, were placed upon a sled or wagon and hauled to the bank of the stream near a smooth stone, if one could be found, and the women and girls went to the stream or spring to do the washing. Sometimes two or more families would resort to the same place on the same day, and make the washing place a sort of industrial picnic and when the nymphs were gathered in any number, the scene was one of merriment, and would be worthy an artist's skill. The half clothed nymphs with their bare feet and limbs, the attitudes of these young priestesses of cleanliness, with a background of waving boughs, or the far reaching prairie, meeting the skyline in the distance.

The clothes were first dipped in the running water, then soaped, and laid over a barked log or a smooth stone, and beaten with wooden paddles, and rinsed in the stream till clean. In the winter a barrel with a heavy pounder served the turn, and this was harder, and less pleasant than the running stream. There were no short cuts to cleanliness in those days, and starch, like soap was homemade. To quote from the esteemed Mr. Charles Bliss of the *Hillsboro News*, "There were no fly screens, no cooking schools. The housewives leached their own lye, and kept off the flies with a tree branch. There were no carpet sweepers, no yeast cakes, no baking powder, no canned fruit, no shoe buttons, no chautauquas, no sewing machines, no rubber shoes, no toilet soap, no clothes wringers, no washboards, or clothes-pins." "Think of it," he says, "Our great grandmothers of a hundred years ago never enjoyed the luxury of "hang out clothes washday," with a two by four sycamore clothes-pin between their ruby lips."

Fine laundry work and clear starching in those days were regarded as elegant accomplishments and people made their own starch. Even in the better settled portions of the country this was the case and among the nobility and gentry of England, the beaux carried the hot irons from the fire to the elegantly dressed laundress at the ironing board, that she might not redden her fair cheek, or coarsen her complexion by stooping over the fire. The frontier belles, however, had to do their ironing without the attendance of the beaux, powdered or otherwise; for her beaux had serious work to do, and daylight of the week days was not often spent in dancing attendance on even the fairest of damsels. The struggle for existence was a hard one and the weaklings went down, and their places were filled with others. Daughters were blessings in those days, and there were no superfluous women. Spinsters indeed—the whirling wheel went round, wheels that must be kept going, and the rainy days were welcome, for then was the best time for the flax spinning. Many of the old songs dealt with the spinning, for instance, "As I

sat at my spinning wheel, A bonnie laddie he passed by;" and that sadder song, "A maiden sat at her busy wheel." I give the verses as my mother taught me—

"A maiden sat at her busy wheel, and her heart was light and free,
And ever anon from her bosom gushed forth,
Her song of girlish glee—
Her song was a mockery of love and oft have I heard her say—
Oh, the gathered rose and the stolen heart,
They charm but for a day—Oh, the gathered rose and the stolen heart,
They charm but for a day.

"I gazed on the maiden's cheek so fair, and her eyes so full and bright,
And I sighed to think that traitor, Love, might conquer a heart so light.
She thought not of future days of woe, as she carolled her song so gay—
Oh, the gathered rose and the stolen heart—They charm but for a day—
Oh, the gathered rose and the stolen heart, they charm but for a day.

"A year rolled round, and again I stood at that humble cottage door;
The maiden sat at her busy wheel, but her heart was light no more.
A tear drop stood in her down cast eye, and I sighed as I heard her say—
'Oh, the gathered rose and the stolen heart, they charm but for a day;'
And well I knew what had dimmed her eyes and had made her cheeks so pale,
The maid had forgotten her early song and listened to love's sweet tale:
She had drank to the dregs of the bitter cup, that was wasting her life away;
And the stolen heart, like the gathered rose, had charmed but for a day—
And the stolen heart, like a gathered rose, had charmed but for a day."

So many of the old ballads had the ring of sorrow and broken hope, and they are in strong contrast with the gay hunting songs of our great grandsires. Was it that they felt the hardness of their lot, in spite of the courage and faith, and expressed it in a more refined manner than that of the man who said that "Illinois was a fine country for men and cattle, but powerful hard on women and horses?"

However these women wasted little time on vain repinings, and they would have held in scorn the modern problem novel, and its idle, weak heroine. Their code was simple, stern and pure, and they brought up their children in the same faith. Virtue was to them, a matter of course and they taught their creed by precept and example.

We wonder at their bravery and endurance; we honor their virtues; but it is impossible for us to realize what these pioneer women did for civilization, and what weight their home life had on the building of the State. Of the State—yes, of the nation; for their sons and daughters have kept on in their work, building a nation in the wilderness until there is little wilderness left to conquer, and modern invention and improvement have lightened woman's household labors, not only with the cooking range and sewing machine, but by doing for her, so much more cheaply, so much of the work that used to use up so large a part of her life, and, in this way, giving her the time to take thought for her own mind and its improvement. Has there been loss as well as gain? Are we in all ways worthy of our ancestors?

Let some ambitious woman who models in clay, or who puts her dreams on canvas, create for us a portrait of these women in a typical face and form that shall embody our ideal, as a composite photograph might do. Give to her face strength and gentleness, make her nurse and comforter, make her strong and patient under hardships, make

her fierce against selfishness, wrong and oppression, make her courageous against danger, give to her the steadfast hope and faith and the grand motive of her life—"the love that casteth out fear."

Love to her family, love to her neighbor, and the love that looked beyond death and snatched from the last dark hour its sting, and robbed the grave of its victory. And when the statue, or the picture, shall express all this and more, let her call it, a pioneer mother of Illinois.

FORGOTTEN STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS.

(Dr. J. F. Snyder.)

Hon. Jesse Burgess Thomas.

Jesse Burgess Thomas, youngest son of Jesse and Sabina (Symmes) Thomas, was born in Hagerstown, Maryland in 1777, where the Thomas family had long resided, and was descended from Lord George Calvert, of the Irish peerage created in 1624, to whose son, Sir Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, the Maryland patent was issued by Charles the Second on June 20, 1632.

The parents of young Thomas left Maryland in 1779, when he was two years old, and settled in Bracken county, Kentucky; there he grew up, working on the farm and attending such schools as the backwoods then afforded Then going to Washington, Mason county, Kentucky, he served for a time in the county clerk's office there, and in the mean time studied law with his elder brother, Richard Symmes Thomas, a distinguished lawyer who subsequently located in Lebanon, Ohio. After his admission to the bar, Jesse B. Thomas commenced the practice of law at his home town, Brookville, the county seat of Bracken county, and shortly afterwards married an estimable young lady of that place.

His married bliss, however, was of short duration, as before the year had passed his wife died That sad event blighted his life plans and bright anticipations of the future. He left Kentucky and sought a new home in Lawrenceburg, the county seat of Dearborn county, in Indiana Territory, and again devoted himself to the practice of his profession. On the 3rd of January, 1805, he was elected to represent his county in the territorial legislature that convened at Vincennes on the 1st of February, following. On organization of the House Mr. Thomas was chosen to preside over it as speaker. During that session of the legislature he was appointed a captain of militia by the territorial governor, William Henry Harrison, between whom and himself a warm friendship had been formed that continued throughout life. He was re-elected speaker at the second session, serving in that capacity three years and one month when he was elected delegate to represent Indiana Territory in Congress.

While serving the second term in the legislature he married the widow of Major John Francis Hamtramck, the former commander at Post Vincennes, and then changed his residence from Lawrenceburg to Vincennes. Indiana Territory, embracing the present states of

Hon. Jesse Burgess Thomas.

Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, was organized after admission of Ohio, in 1802, and General Harrison, then a Virginia member of Congress, was appointed its governor by President Jefferson. In a few years, division of the territory began to be agitated by the residents of Illinois, whose sparse settlements were on the Mississippi river far remote from their territorial capital. The question of separation was made the issue in the election of their representatives to the Vincennes legislature in 1808. A majority of the Indiana members were decidedly opposed to separation, as was also Benjamin Parke, at that time the delegate to Congress.

In that year, however, 1808, Mr. Parke resigned, and an opportunity was offered the Illinoisans to elect his successor in their interest. Speaker Thomas, an active politician, and ambitious for higher honors, decided to succeed Mr. Parke in Congress, but could not be elected without the solid support of the Illinois representatives, and they would vote for him only on condition that he would pledge himself, if elected, to secure from Congress an act for division of the territory. That pledge he gave without hesitation, but the Illinoisans at that early day had so little confidence in pledges of office seekers that they exacted of him a written bond for the faithful performance of his promise, and that he gave them. He was elected by a bare majority, and at that, it was said, by voting for himself, as he received but little, if any, support from the Indianans. His term in Congress, to fill a vacancy, was brief, extending from the 1st of December, 1808 to the 3d of March, 1809. But he fulfilled to the letter his obligation to the Illinoisans, securing passage of the bill providing for organizing the separate Territory of Illinois with its capital at Kaskaskia, which was approved March 7, 1809. The citizens of Vincennes were so incensed at his perfidy—as they viewed it—they hung him in effigy, and heaped upon him, on his return from Washington, the vilest abuse and reproach.

Knowing that the service he had rendered the Illinoisans was fatal to his further political aspirations in Indiana, he shrewdly made provision for the future by obtaining from President Madison, before leaving Washington, the appointment to one of the three federal judgeships for the new Territory of Illinois. His colleagues on the district bench were Obediah Jones and Alexander Stuart, with whom he lost no time in reaching their distant field of labor. Judge Thomas settled on the American bottom in the vicinity of Prairie du Rocher, ten miles north of Kaskaskia. Nathaniel Pope, of Kentucky, who had received the appointment of territorial secretary, had preceded the judges and was located in Kaskaskia, the designated capital. The newly appointed governor of Illinois territory, Ninian Edwards, arrived shortly after, from Kentucky, with a number of negro slaves, and herds of live stock of various kinds, and located on the alluvial plain in near proximity to Judge Thomas, and there established an extensive farm that he named "Elvirade" in honor of his wife, Elvira.

As an inducement to those very competent men to accept, with their offices and meagre salaries, social exile and many privations on the far western frontier, Congress granted to the Governor 1,000 acres

of land, and to each of the other Territorial officers 500 acres, to be selected by them from any part of the public domain within the Territory not reserved for ports, or already occupied by settlers.

Judge Thomas did not long remain in that locality, but removed up to Cahokia, the county seat of St. Clair county, and identified himself with the society and interests of that old village. Judge Stuart was soon transferred to Missouri territory, and Stanley Griswold appointed in his place. Judge Jones resigned and was replaced by Wm. Sprigg. In the division of judicial labors Judge Thomas was assigned to hold court in St. Clair and Randolph counties; Judge Sprigg in the central counties and Judge Griswold in the counties on the Wabash and Ohio rivers.

Governor Reynolds remarks, in his *Pioneer History*, of Judge Thomas, "he was a man of talents, but did not particularly employ his mind on the dry subtilties of the law," by which may be inferred that he was not only a wide awake politician, but an energetic and sharp business man. He dealt in lands, carried on farming and other industries, and was always ready to embark in any enterprise promising adequate returns upon his investments. Among other schemes for increasing his revenues he established in Cahokia the first wool carding machine put in operation in Illinois. It was moved by the tread of oxen on a large incline wheel in the basement of the building. All its machinery and fixtures were purchased by himself in Pittsburg, Pa., and brought to Cahokia by keel boat.

For nine years Jesse B. Thomas discharged the duties of Territorial judge with such ability and fairness as to earn the reputation of a superior jurist. He was not a profound scholar, or deeply learned in in either law or literature; nor was he at any time a student of close application; but he possessed the quickness of perception, clear intellect, sound judgment, and knowledge of human nature constituting strong common sense. He was not gifted with oratory, but expressed his views in plain language with the force and earnestness that generally carried conviction.

Though he acquitted himself well as a judge, the restrictions and exactions of that dignified position were not in harmony with his tastes and temperament; his order of talents fitting him better for the arena of politics and statesmanship. He was one of the people—plain in dress, in language and manners, exceedingly social and affable, and consequently popular with all classes. Of jovial, cheerful disposition he was fond of mirth and pleasure, but his deportment and habits never transcended the bounds of strict decorum and morality. Very prominent in all public affairs affecting the Territory and the community in which he lived, broadminded and farseeing in all questions of local or national policy, he was among the first to commence the movement for raising Illinois to the rank of statehood, and was one of the ablest and most conspicuous leaders in that movement.

In pursuance of the act of Congress approved April 18, 1818, enabling the people of the Territory of Illinois to form a state govern-

ment on certain conditions, an election was held for delegates to meet in convention at Kaskaskia to frame a State constitution, on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 6th, 7th and 8th of the following July. At that election Judge Thomas was chosen one of the three delegates to represent St Clair county, and on organization of the convention on the 3d of August, he was unanimously elected to preside over its deliberations.

The first General Assembly of the State of Illinois, comprising 13 senators and 25 representatives, convened at Kaskaskia on the 5th of October, 1818. After completing its organization, it proceeded, on the 4th of December—the day after the resolution was adopted by Congress formally admitting Illinois as a sovereign state into the Union—to the election of two senators to represent the new-born state in the upper branch of Congress. On the first ballot Ninian Edwards was elected with but little opposition, and on the third ballot Judge Thomas was chosen, receiving 21 votes to 18 for Leonard White and one for Michael Jones. In casting for allotment of their respective periods of service Judge Thomas drew the long, or full, term.

Before going to Washington to take his seat in the U. S. Senate Judge Thomas changed his residence from Cahokia to the new town founded by Governor Edwards and bearing his name, Edwardsville, the county seat of Madison county, where he had previously made considerable investments in real estate, and that village was his continuous home until he left the State in 1829.

In the U. S Senate he found himself in the element for which his order of intellect naturally fitted him. He was modest and unassuming, but never distrustful of his own abilities, and always deliberate and self-reliant. By his quiet, dignified and courteous bearing he won and retained the respect and confidence of his fellow members and officials of the government with whom he came in contact. There was nothing of the demagogue in his composition—no deception or dissimulation, but in all things he was candid and conscientious, and expressed his opinions on all occasions when required to do so without hesitation or reserve. On taking his seat in the Senate he addressed himself diligently to the work before him and exhausted every means to inform himself fully of the duties of his position. He seldom occupied the time of the Senate with set speeches, but gave to the deliberations of that body watchful attention, and often influenced them by the evident justice and wisdom of his views. The interests of his State and constituents always commanded his first consideration; but all measures having for their object the development, welfare and advancement of the entire country and its people, found in him a ready and efficient advocate.

There were then in Illinois no organized political parties based upon questions of public policy, but elections were decided altogether by personal preferences for individual candidates. Early in their senatorial careers Governor Edwards and Judge Thomas disagreed upon several questions, but chiefly on that of Federal patronage in Illinois. Their respective adherents in the State thereupon ranged

themselves in two political factions known as the Edwards-Cook party and the Thomas-Bond-McLean party, and upon that alignment voters were divided and elections contested until the radiance of General Jackson's military glory, rising above the political horizon of the nation, gave form to new and more permanent party divisions.

Governor Edwards and Judge Thomas were both born, nurtured and educated in slave states and accustomed from infancy to the institutions of slavery. Governor Edwards was a slave-holder, but mildly opposed to the perpetuation of slavery in Illinois. Judge Thomas was not a slave owner, but believed the institution of slavery to be morally and legally right, and strongly favored its permanent establishment in Illinois. That question as it affected this State was definitely settled forever by defeat of the convention scheme in 1824; but not for many years later did any aspirant for office in Illinois dare to avow himself in favor of interfering with the institution as it then existed in the south, or to suggest that question as a factor in any election. In sectional controversies that early obtruded in discussions of the Senate, Judge Thomas' predilections were for the south and its people, and he was invariably in unison with southern statesmen.

Early in 1819 the Missouri Territorial legislature applied to Congress for admission of that Territory as a state in the national Union on an equal footing with the other states. The introduction of that bill had somewhat the effect, not only in Congress, but in all the states, of a firebrand thrown into a powder magazine. The explosion of fierce excitement it produced for a time seemed to place the life of the Republic in imminent peril. Missouri was part of the Louisiana Purchase in which slavery had been recognized by both Spain and France, and was tolerated by the American Congress, and expected to enter the Union as a slave state. But the sentiment of the free states was earnestly opposed to the admission of another slave state north of the cotton growing region.

When the application of Missouri was read in the House, Mr. Tallmadge of New York, moved to amend it by addition of the following proviso: "*And Provided*, That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and that all children (of slaves) born within the said state, after the admission thereof into the union, shall be free at the age of 25." The prolonged, frenzied discussion of this offered amendment marks the beginning of agitation of the slavery question that, with increasing bitterness, distracted our country until its solution was submitted to arbitration of the sword in 1861. Pending that discussion Congress adjourned on the 3rd of March, 1819.

The 16th Congress convened on the 6th of December of that year, and on the 29th a bill was introduced to enable the people of Missouri to form a state government. It was debated in, and out, of Congress with such heat and passion as to cause grave alarm lest it it would lead to dissolution of the union. The south contended with

great spirit and pertinacity that Congress, in 1790, had adversely settled the question of its constitutional power over the institution of slavery; that in the admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi as slave states, no attempt had been made to impose restrictions or conditions such as the Talmadge amendment proposed, and Congress tacitly admitted it had no right to prescribe to any state the regulation of its domestic government, farther than it must be republican in form.

On the part of the north, while it was admitted that Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the 13 original states, it had full power, it was claimed, to prohibit it in the territories; that Congress had undoubtedly the right to fix conditions to the admission of new states; or refuse their admission at its discretion.

The voting strength of the two sections in Congress was about equal, and the southern members declared that if the Talmadge proviso was farther urged, neither Maine—then applying for admission—or any other free state should henceforth be admitted into the Union. At the height of the turmoil and strife that threatened to rend the foundation of the government, Senator Thomas of Illinois, introduced, in a spirit of compromise, the following additional section to the bill as an amendment: "*And be it further enacted*, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude (excepting only such part thereof as is) included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully re-claimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid."

This addition to the enabling act was adopted by the Senate and sent to the House. That body amended it by striking out the words embraced in the brackets, and returned it to the Senate. The Senate refused to concur in that amendment, whereupon a joint committee of the two houses was appointed for the conference, of which Senator Thomas was selected as chairman. The conference resulted in the House receding from its restrictive amendment, and the adoption by both houses of Senator Thomas' additional section as first introduced. That action admitted Missouri into the Union as a slave state, and was the basis of the famed "Missouri Compromise" that quieted the wild ebulition of party passion, and was accepted by both sections as a satisfactory settlement of the vexed question of slavery in the territories, until it was repealed by brazen demagoguery in 1854.

In the spring of 1819, Edward Coles, a highly educated, courteous gentleman "of the old school," came from Virginia, his native state, to Illinois, with the appointment from President Monroe of Register of the land office at Edwardsville. On his way down the Ohio river,

in flat boats, he dramatically emancipated his 26 slaves, and settled them in Madison county, donating to each head of a family among them a quarter section of land. A large majority of the inhabitants of Illinois at that time were from slave-holding states, and though divided upon the question of extending African slavery, they were united in opposing its abolition where it already existed. In 1822, three years after his arrival in Illinois, Mr. Coles announced himself a candidate for governor, and, owing to division of the pro-slavery element, was elected, receiving 2,854 votes, the combined votes of the three candidates opposing him numbering 5,752.

Governor Coles was intensely distasteful to the Illinoisans of southern birth who regarded him contemptuously as a carpet-bagger and adventurer—as Governor Moses was estimated by the patricians of South Carolina in the reconstruction era following the Civil war. In his message to the Legislature, having in each branch a decided majority opposed to him and his views, Governor Coles earnestly urged the abolition of the system of slavery then recognized in Illinois. Such presumption as that eminating from a renegade from the faith accepted as orthodox in his native state and all the south, foisted upon them by a shabby minority, so incensed the leaders of his antagonists that they determined to call a convention to so amend the State's constitution as to authorize the perpetuation of slavery in its limits.

In the discussion of Senator Thomas' compromise measure in Congress the doctrine was admitted that, though Congress had the power to demand the exclusion of slavery as a condition for the admission of a new state into the Union, that state after admission had the right to change its constitution and establish slavery. The slavery propagandists in Illinois were confident of their strength in the Third General Assembly—of 1822-23—to pass, by the requisite two-thirds vote, a resolution for calling a constitutional convention, and had no doubt of their ability to influence a majority of the voters to ratify that act at the next State election in August, 1824.

Of the slavery party in Illinois Senator Thomas was the most prominent and active leader. He was a candidate before that Third Legislature for re-election to the United States Senate, and had through his vacation in the past summer, made strenuous efforts to defeat Coles by the election of Judge Phillips, and also to aid the election of members of the Legislature who would favor his own re-election to the Senate. He actively assisted Nicholas Hansen in his election to the Lower House of the Legislature, in Pike county. Hansen reciprocated by voting for him (Thomas) in the Senatorial election, but was opposed to the convention scheme, whereupon the pro-slavery majority ejected him and gave his seat to Shaw, the contestant, who would not have voted for Thomas but did vote for the convention resolution.

The Senatorial election was held on the 9th of January, 1823, resulting in the re-election of Senator Thomas for the full term to succeed himself. His chief opponent was Judge John Reynolds, whom he always regarded as a presumptious ignoramus. On the

first ballot of the joint session 29 votes were cast for Thomas, 16 for Reynolds, 6 for Leonard White and 2 for Samuel D. Lockwood. Senator Thomas did not visit Vandalia during that session of the Legislature, but remained in Washington closely attentive to his public duties.

The slavery party succeeded in passing their convention resolution through both Houses of the Legislature by the constitutional majority, and then appealed to the people of the State to adopt it by their votes at the general election. Immediately the contest commenced with fiery zeal and energy on both sides, increasing in bitterness and malignity as it progressed for the next 18 months. When Congress adjourned Senator Thomas came home and led the convention forces in the conflict with his usual spirit and power until compelled to return to his post at Washington late in the fall.

However, the cause of right and justice prevailed in the overwhelming rejection of the convention scheme at the polls, on the 2d day of August, 1824, when 4,972 votes were cast in favor of its adoption, to 6,640 against it.

The long continued excitement and acrimony of that remarkable struggle measurably destroyed the usual interest of the people in the presidential election in the following November, evidenced by the fact that in the convention election there were cast in Illinois an aggregate of 11,787 votes, and in the national election of November only 4,707. Of the four candidates at that time in the field for the Presidency, Illinois gave to John Quincy Adams 1,541 votes, to Andrew Jackson 1,273, Henry Clay 1046, and to Wm. H. Crawford 218. Neither of the candidates having received the required majority of the electoral college, the House of Representative decided the contest by electing Mr. Adams.

The relations existing between the two Illinois Senators may be inferred when it is remembered that about that time the senior Senator, Governor Edwards, who resigned his seat in the Senate to accept the mission to Mexico, was engaged in a violent quarrel with Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury, in consequence of which he resigned his diplomatic appointment to Mexico, also. At the same time Senator Thomas and Mr. Crawford were close, confidential friends, and Senator Thomas was the most prominent member of the congressional caucas that placed Mr. Crawford before the people as a presidential candidate. Governor Edwards was professedly a supporter of Jackson, but Senator Thomas entertained for General Jackson, personally and politically, the utmost dislike and contempt.

The phenomenal popularity of General Jackson as an outgrowth of that four-cornered presidential contest, had the effect in Illinois—and all over the Union—of distinctly defining the political parties. It was contended by his friends that having received the highest number of electoral votes he should have been declared President by the House of Representative, and that he was cheated out of the office by the minions of the "Yankee Abolitionist," Adams. Daniel

P. Cook, representing Illinois in the House, cast the vote of this State for Adams, and for that act, at the next election, was retired from the pinacle of his brilliant career to the obsurity of private life.

From that election of President Adams by the House of Representatives dates the furious party antagonisms that have descended, with increasing asperity, to the present day. The adherents of Jackson appropriated to themselves the title of "Democrats," and stigmatized their opponents as "Federalists," and later, "Whigs" Indeed, no doubt, by his antipathy to General Jackson, Senator Thomas, strangely, gave his support to the Adams administration—the very embodiment of anti-slavery sentiment—and was thereafter identified with the Whig party. That course, he well knew, amounted to political suicide in Illinois. It at once alienated him from the powerful party where he had for years controlled absolutely, that had now become intensely loyal to Jackson. Had he also given his allegience to Old Hickory he could have retained his place in the Senate indefinitely; but too honorable to stultify himself by such duplicity as the pretense of supporting Jackson—even for a life tenure of the Senatorship—he chose to relinquish his high position and become a private citizen. At the close of his term, March 3d, 1829, he left Illinois and located in Mt. Vernon, O.

In 1840 he attended the Whig national convention as a delegate, at Columbus, O., and then exerted himself in securing the nomination of his old friend, General Harrison, for the Presidency. With that exception he ignored all political matters, and passed the remainder of his life in quiet retirement, but not in idleness. Naturally a financier, the accumulation of property was his constant pleasure and pastime. He was one of the founders, and the principal proprietor of the town of Brookville, in Franklin county, Ind., and owned large amounts of real estate in Mt. Vernon and other localities. He was a large, stately man, full six feet in height with florid brown complexion, dark hazel eyes, dark brown, almost black, hair, and usually weighed over 200 pounds The expression of his somewhat coarse features was kindly and pleasing, and when presiding over a deliberative body, or seated in the Senate, he was quite a majestic figure. His personal habits were without blemish; his manners courtly, and in dress and bearing he had the appearance of a refined gentleman of the colonial period. In all things he was just, reliable and conscientiously honorable, and very considerate of the rights and feelings of others. After locating in Mt. Vernon in 1829, he assisted in organizing St. Paul's Episcopal church there, of which he remained a consistent member.

No children came to bless either of Judge Thomas' marriages. For his wife, Rebecca, he retained all his youthful affections; and in their elegant mansion they lived for each other in perennial happiness that defied the vicissitudes of passing years. But the death of Mrs Thomas in 1851 cruelly dispelled that elysium, and overwhelmed the Judge with grief. He was utterly disconsolate and could not be comforted. From constantly brooding over the loss of his beloved

companion, and his lonely condition, his fine intellect became unbalanced. Gradually overcome by deep dejection and melancholy, his existence became an intolerable burden. All that devotion of friends and relatives could do, or suggest for the relief of his mental depression was done, but in vain. All the resources of medical science were brought to his aid, and he was faithfully attended every moment, but the gloom became more confirmed. On the 4th day of May, 1853, evading the watchful vigilance of those caring for him, he committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor. Thus he died, in the 76th year of his age. His remains were interred by the side of his deceased wife in the Mt. Vernon cemetery.

JESSE BURGESS THOMAS, Jr.

A year or more before the expiration of Judge Thomas' last term in the Senate, his nephew, Jesse Burgess Thomas Jr., second son of Richard Symmes and Frances (Pattie) Thomas, born in Lebanon, Ohio, on July 31, 1806, came, by request of his uncle, to reside with him at Edwardsville. There he studied law and was admitted to the bar, and there on Feb. 18, 1830, he married a daughter of Supreme Court Justice Theophilus Washington Smith, and for some years occupied the residence of his uncle, the former U. S. Senator.

Following the precepts and example of his distinguished relative he cast his political lot with the Whig party, but was at no time considered a pernicious partisan; his conservatism and moderation in politics being probably in deference to his illustrious father-in-law, who was one of the prominent leaders of the democratic party in Illinois.

In stature he resembled Senator Thomas; of prepossessing figure and features, large, muscular and well formed, with pleasing address, dignified carriage and the refined manners of a courtier. He was well educated, a ready speaker, and, with studious habits and clear intellect, in time became a good lawyer.

Emulating the successful course of his honored uncle he soon displayed an eagerness for public life, and cultivated the arts and methods of the office-seeking politician. Upon the organization of the Seventh General Assembly, in 1830, he was elected Secretary of the Senate, and re-elected to that position in the next legislature, in 1832.

In 1834, though a Whig, he was elected, with General James Semple, a sterling Democrat and Jackson man, to represent Madison county in the lower house of the Ninth General Assembly, from which he resigned, on Feb. 13, 1835, to accept the office of Attorney General, having on that date been elevated to that position by the legislature. That office he also resigned, on Jan. 8, 1836, when he was again chosen Secretary of the Senate in the Tenth General Assembly. In that era, up to 1840, the Attorney Generalship of Illinois was not the exalted and important position it now is considered

to be, and almost every incumbent of it resigned just as soon as he could get into any other place, even one of as little consequence as Secretary of the Senate.

That same legislature, the tenth, elected Mr. Thomas judge of the circuit court for the first district, his term commencing on the 20th of July, 1837. After serving on the bench for 19 months he became tired of the routine drudgery of the circuit and resigned on the 25th of February, 1839, resuming, at Edwardsville, the practice of law. On the 6th of August, 1843, then a resident of Springfield, he was elected by the legislature. a justice of the Supreme Court to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who had been elected to represent the Quincy district in Congress. Mr. Thomas' term as Supreme Court Justice expired on the 8th of August, 1845, when he removed to Chicago and there again embarked in the practice of his profession. On the 27th of January, 1847, he was again elected to the Supreme bench, by the legislature, in place of Judge Richard M. Young, who had resigned to accept, from President Polk, the Commissionership of the General Land Office. Mr. Thomas' term as Supreme Court Justice expiring on Dec. 4, 1848, he once more resumed the practice of law at the Chicago bar, in which he continued until his death, occurring on the 21st of February, 1850.

Judge Thomas had the reputation of a learned and able jurist, and a sound and clear-headed lawyer, and a citizen of exemplary character and moral worth.

His wife, Adeline Clarissa, daughter of Judge Theophilus W. and Clarissa (Rathbone) Smith, was born in New York city on May 13, 1812, and died at Chicago Dec. 14, 1866.

RICHARD SYMMES THOMAS, JR.

Richard S. Thomas, Jr., the youngest son of Richard Symmes and Frances (Pattie) Thomas, was born at Jackson, Missouri, on June 3d, 1817. In 1836, after having received a common school education, he came to Illinois and entered Illinois college at Jacksonville, where he pursued his studies until the suspension of that institution caused by the slavery agitation in 1837. He then commenced the study of law with his brother, Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., in Edwardsville, and continued it at Mt Vernon, Ohio, in the office of Henry B. Curtis, brother of Gen. Samuel R. Curtis. Returning to Edwardsville he was admitted to the bar June 29, 1840, and settled at Virginia, the then county seat of Cass county, where he commenced the practice of law before Judge Samuel D. Lockwood. On Aug. 2, 1841, he was elected school commissioner of Cass county On July 9, 1843 he was appointed by Governor Ford, Adjutant of the Twenty-first regiment of Illinois militia. He followed the county seat to Beardstown in Nov., 1845, but returned to Virginia in June, 1846.

Richard Symmes Thomas, Jr.

In Aug., 1848, he was elected to represent Cass and Menard counties in the lower house of the Sixteenth general assembly. In 1854, removed to Chicago, but a year later returned to Virginia. On organization of the Illinois River Railroad company, in Sept., 1856, he was elected president of the company and superintendent of construction, a position he held for seven years, until the road was completed from Pekin, in Tazewell county, to Virginia. In the latter town he established, in 1856, a weekly newspaper, *The Cass County Times*, supporting the newly organized Republican party, but intended chiefly to promote the interests of the railroad which he controlled. He edited, at Virginia, in 1860, *The Independent*, a radical Republican campaign paper, and took an active part in the election of President Lincoln and Governor Yates. In 1862 he left Virginia and again located in Chicago, and subsequently in Waukegan.

He was urged by Governor Yates, in the early years of the civil war, to accept the colonelcy of a volunteer regiment, but declined because of the distrust he felt in his skill and ability to discharge the duties of that position with credit. During the war he was appointed by Governor Yates one of the commissioners to audit the State's war claims, a duty he performed without compensation, waiving the salary to which he was entitled. For several years he was a member of the board of trustees, and of the executive committee of the University of Chicago, and also of the executive board of the Baptist Theological Union.

On March 4, 1843, at Virginia, Illinois, he was united in marriage to Miss Helen Malvina, daughter of William and Lucy (Clark) Naylor early pioneers from Kentucky.

In 1865, he was stricken down by acute disease of the brain and nervous system, and after lingering a few months, died at Jacksonville, on Dec. 14 of that year. His, wife, who was born at Edmonton, Ky., Dec. 4, 1825, died at Boonton, N. J. in 1902.

Richard S. Thomas inherited the physical characteristics of his father and uncle, and well sustained the high standing of the Thomas family for talents and intellectual force. He was an able lawyer, an eloquent speaker, and strong, pungent writer. Of striking appearance and bearing, with some aristocratic tendencies, he was affable and social in disposition, having easy, polished manners, irreproachable habits and pure character. That he did not attain high civic honors in the State was because his tastes and inclinations were not in the direction of political aspirations, but rather confined to the more fascinating pursuits of finances. He preferred a life of opulent independence to that of the vicissitudes and uncertainties of a public career.

PRICES IN McLEAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS, FROM 1832 TO 1860.

(By Ezra M. Prince, Secretary McLean County Historical Society.)

The prices given in this paper are taken from the probate and other records of the county, and furnish as near an official record of prices as can be made. The prices of stock and a few other articles are taken from the sale bills of a large number of estates covered by this period; the prices of merchandise and some other articles and the prices of labor are taken from bills allowed in said estates. For each year I have given the highest and lowest and average price of stock. Where the prices are taken from other sources than those records, that fact is indicated in the context.

1823.

The earliest mention of prices in McLean county I find is by John Benson in the "Good Old Times in McLean County," published in 1874, page 827, who says in 1823 they paid $1 00 a bushel for corn by splitting rails at 50 cents per 100. At that time the only families here were the Hendrix and Dawsons, who came here in the spring of 1822, the Orendorffs, Stringfields, Randolphs and Burlesons, who came in the spring of 1823. The first farms were all made in the edge of the timber which had to be cleared up and prepared for cultivation and cabins and stables built. It is evident that the crops for 1822 and 1823 must have been small and the surplus for sale in the fall of 1823, when the Bensons came here, very small indeed, which accounts for the high prices paid by them. The same year William Orendorff bought a claim in the southeast part of Blooming Grove for $50.00. (Good Old Times, p. 153.)

In the winter of 1825 John H. S. Rhodes went to Sangamon county and husked corn, receiving for himself and team two and a half bushels of corn per day. (Good Old Times, p. 169)

In 1826 Jesse Funk split rails for 25 cents a hundred. (Good Old Times, p 772.)

The same year Robert Guthrie husked corn for Isaac and Absolom Funk for 50 cents per day and split rails for 25 cents per 100. (Good Old Times, p. 191)

In 1827 George Hinshaw bought 20 acres of a claim with a cabin and growing crop on the south side of Blooming Grove for a wagon and yoke of oxen worth about $50 00, and shortly after bought 220 acres for $1.25 per acre. (Good Old Times, 209.)

In 1827 Cheney Thomas sold to William Evans a claim in what is the southeast part of Bloomington for $100.00. (Good Old Times, 150, 743.)

In 1827 a good cow was worth only $5.00. (George Hinshaw Good Old Times, 209).

1828.

In 1828 Isaac Funk paid William Biggs $8.00 per month for labor. (Vol. 2 Transactions McLean County Historical Society, p. 623).

In 1828 William Lindley received ten bushels of corn for 20 days' labor. (Good Old Times, p. 212.)

1829.

In 1829 John Wells Dawson sold his claim in Blooming Grove for $400.00 and moved to Old Town. His daughter, Mrs. Paist, says the improvements on the claim were a one room hewed log cabin, a one room split log cabin used as a kitchen, and a log stable. This claim was made in the spring of 1822, and when sold in 1829 a considerable part of it was in cultivation.

In 1828 William Evans, in the southeast part of what is now Bloomington, broke the first sod in what is now that city and raised a splendid crop of winter wheat, 30 bushels to the acre, which in 1829 he sold at 40 cents per bushel to settlers moving into the country. (Good Old Times, p. 187.)

1830.

James Latta offered his claim, 160 of land and log cabin, where the Durley addition to Bloomington is situated, for $40.00 to John Price, who refused to buy it. (Good Old Times, 492.)

1831.

Estate of John Hougham, No. 12—Seven gallons whiskey, $3.50; calico, 37½ cents; iron, 10 cents per pound; paper of pins, 18 cents; ticking, 37½ cents; nails, 12½ cents; coffee, 20 cents; 36 pounds salt, $1.08; board, per week, $1.00; labor, $1.75; butter, 50 cents; three doses calomel, 25 cents.

Achilles Deatherage sold to Benjamin Depew, Dec. 22, 1830, for $100.00: W. ½ s. w ¼ sec. 15, t. 26, r. 2 e. Deed Record A, p. 5.

James Latta sold to Anthony Albury, Feb. 24, 1830, for $100.00: S. ½ w. ½ w. ½ n. w. ¼ sec. 18, t. 23, r. 2 e., 42 acres. Deed Record A, p. 6.

John Benson Feb. 24, 1831, sold to Nathan Low w. ½ e. ½ s. e. ¼ sec. 13, t. 23, r. e., 40 acres, for $75.00. Deed Record A, p. 3.

1832.

Estate of James Hodge, No. 3—Coffee, 25 cents; nails, 12½ cents; socks, 50 cents; shoes, $2.00; skein silk, 6 cents; silk handkerchief, $1.00; tin cup, 20 cents; tin bucket, $1.00; scythe, $1.25; ¼ lb tea, 50 cents.

1833.

Estate of John McGooch, No. 8—Calico, 44 cents; domestic, 12½ cents; cotton yarn, 40c per lb.; sugar, 13 cents; sugar, 3½ lbs. 35 cents; eggs, 6 cents; six glass tumblers, 75 cents; ½ lb. tea, 38 cents; shot, 12 cents, ½ lb. ginger, 25 cents; ¼ lb tea, 38 cents; bacon, 6¼ cents; rice, 12½ cents; 11¾ yards calico, $2 94; ¼ lb. pepper, 13 cents; set knives and forks, $1.50; cow and calf, $11.00.

Estate of Charles Vasey, No. 6—Iron, 8 cents per lb.; day's work, $1 00 and $1.25; pt. brandy. 12½, 50 cents; whisky, qt., 12, 18 and 19 cents; sugar, 12½ cents; calico, 25 cents; coffee, 33⅓ cents; pork, 3 cents; corn, 42½ and 25 cents; white blonde veil, $2 50; wheat, 50 cents; salt pork, 2½ cents; corn meal, 44 cents; grinding corn, 12½ cents; 600 feet laths, $3.75; 286 feet weatherboard, $2.12½; 228 feet flooring, $2.85; shingles, 50 cents per 100; salt, $2 00 per bushel; bacon, 6¼ cents; sickle, $1.00; eggs, 8⅓ cents; horse, $50.00; rent of 8 acres, $16.00; butter, 6¼ cents; brick, $4 00.

In 1833 prices were very low. Corn, 10 cents; oats, 8 cents; wheat, 31 cents; flour, $1.50 per 100; pork, $1.25; wood, $1.00. (Good Old Times, 12, Lewis Bunn, i. d., 254.)

1834.

Estate of Jesse York, No. 42—One-fourth lb powder, 13 cents; ½ yard linen, 75 cents; shoes, $1.75; 16 lbs bacon, $1.28; 4 dozen eggs, 25 cents; 3 lbs rice, 38 cents; 2 lbs sugar, 25 cents; 6 lbs butter, 60 cents; 10 yards shirting, $1.88; spool cotton, 13 cents; 4½ yards of jeans, $4.25; 1 lb tobacco, 37 cents; 10 lbs nails, $1.25; 3½ rolls wall paper, 22 cents; 3 saddles, $10, $11 and $12; horse collars, $1.06¼; bridle, $2.75; cow, $10.

Estate of Wolford Wyatt, No. —Yoke of oxen, $50; 2-year-old filly, $45; 30 hogs, $30; 4 sheep, $7; 13 acres corn, $50 ($3 85); bacon, 6¼ cents; sugar, 10 and 12½ cents; shoes, $1 50; tea, $1 50; coffee, 20 cents; cambric, 40 cents; shovel plow, $2.50; Carey plow, $4.00; prairie plow, $4.50; 80 acres s ½ sec. 21, t. 24, 1 e., appraised $480; 116 acres sec. 7, t, 25 1 e., $150.

Corn sold in Chicago at 50 cents per bushel. (J. C. Orendorff, 2nd Transactions McLean County Historical Society, p. 653.) John F. Rust, aged 18, worked for Jesse Funk six months for $50. (Good Old Times, 807.)

1835.

Estate of Jesse York No, 42, (continued)—Five lbs. coffee, $1; 7½ lbs. salt, 22 cents; 6 dozen eggs, 37 cents; 7 lbs. butter, 88 cents; 1 quire paper, 75 cents; 2 lbs. rice, 13 cents; 3 yards flannel, $2.25; 2 buffalo robes, $8; 6 glass tumblers, 50 cents; 3 yards hemp linen, $1.50; ½ lb. Young Hyson tea, 50 cents; ½ lb. patent thread, $1; 1 gallon molasses, 37 cents; 3 yards linen, $1.75; 2 paper tacks, 50 cents; 6 lbs. butter, 37 cents; board $1.00 per week; colt, $9; cows, $12.50 and $8.44.

Estate of John Canady—Hogs, (5) $14.50 ($2.90); 5 hogs, $14 00 ($2.80); 5 hogs, $10.00 ($2.00); 5 hogs, $6 50 ($1 30); 5 hogs, $5 00 ($1.00); 5 hogs, $5.05 ($1.01); 5 hogs, $3.87½ and $6 77½; yoke oxen, $40 00 ($12.00-$21.00); steers, $10 00; cows, $11.93¾, $10.25, $14 00, $10.06; 4 acres corn, $5.25; do 6 acres, $6.25 and $3.56; 40 bushels corn, $8.00 (20 cents.)

1836.

Estate Ebenezer Perry, No. 49—One-half bushel timothy seed, $1.50; deer skin, 25 cents; breaking plow, $7.78; 25 bushels corn, $7.75, $9 25 and $8.75 (30½, 37, 31 cents); potatoes, 5 bushels, $1 35 and $1 30 (27 and 26 cents); 19 hogs, $21.37 ($1.12½); cows, $15.00 and $15 06¼; heifers, $5.75, $10.37, $12.29, $10.52.

John F. Rust drove hogs to Chicago for Isaac Funk for 50 cents a day. (Good Old Times, 807.)

1837.

Mary Thomas estate, No. 55—Large wheel, $1 62½; little wheel, $2.75; horses, $32, $50, $75; colts, $30.77; 10 sheep, $23 25 ($2.32½); hogs, 10, $83.12½ ($8 31); 18 hogs, $37.00, ($2.40); cow and calf, $20.50, $28.31; cow, $15 50; bedsteads, 75 cents and $3.25; coffee, 20 cents; nails, 12 cents; cr. 17¼ lbs. sugar, $12.15.

Estate James Campbell, No. 59—Cow and calf, $25 50; table, $7.;00 bed and bedding, $26.00 and $36.25; tin pan, 75 cents; calico, 16⅔ and 28 cents; handkerchief, 88 cents; 5½ dozen eggs, 34 cents.

Estate Merritt Lyon, No. 75—Eighteen day clock, $20.00; cheese, 12½ cents; blue blanket, $8.50; wheat, 75 cents; potatoes, 25 cents; tea, $1.25; calico, 20 cents; cow, $25.00; flour, 4 cents pound; labor, $1.00 per day.

Estate Jesse Hyatt, No. 93 (new)—Bee stands 2, $1.50, 75 cents; do. 2, $1.75, 87½ cents, $2.68; do. $3 00, $2.94, $1.40; sheep 7, $15.75, ($2 25); 6 sheep, $12 00 ($2.00); 7 sheep, $11.41 ($1.63); 5 sheep, $5 00 ($1.00); cows, $9.31, $12 50; heifers, $8.08 and $8.18; 2 steers, $26.50 ($13.25); 2 steers, $12 62 ($6 31); horses, $18.62, $26 50; hogs 5, $18 50 ($3.70); 5 hogs, $18.25 ($3 65); 5 hogs, $18 00 ($3.60) 5 hogs, $15 25 ($3.05); 5 hogs, $13 25 ($2 65); 8 shoats, $8 37 ($1.48); 6 shoats, $4.37 (73 cents); sow and pig, $4.00 and $5.00; wheat, 56 cents; corn, 26, 25 and 22 cents; potatoes, 33 cents.

1839.

Estate of John Mitchell, No. 125—Calico, 31¼ cents; shoes, $1.25; cows, $11 00, $16.75; sheep, 4, $6.00 ($1.50); heifer calf, $4.31; bull calf, $4 25; horse, $55.50; hogs, $2.25, $2.18.

Estate Caleb Hall, No. 132—Large wheel, $4.12½; bureau, $3.00; clock, $11.12½; Carey plow, $5 00; diamond plow, $6.75; shovel plow, $1 87½; scythe and cradle, $2.12½; cows, $12 50, $50 00, $24 00, $25 00, $30,00; colts, $19.00, $24.75; horses, $61.00, $47.25; sheep 5, $18 62½ ($3.72½); 5 sheep, $20.00 (4.00); 5 sheep, $18.50 ($3.70); 5 sheep,

$16 00 ($3.20); corn per acre, $4.47½, $4 82, $5 11; sugar, 12 cents; coffee, 20 cents, ¼ lb. pepper, 13 cents; ¼ lb. tea, 38 cents; calico, 25 cents; gingham, 37½ cents.

Corn and oats 10 cents in Bloomington, wheat 35 cents in Pekin. —Abraham Enlow. (Good Old Times, 435.)

1840.

Estate of Gooden Lucas, No. 144—Bedsteads, $4.50, $6; bureau, $13; cook stove, $25; 1 month clock, $5; wool 25 cents pd, yarn, 52 cents and 56 cents pd; large wheel, $3.50; loom, $5; bacon, 3½ cents, 5 cents and 4 cents pd; sheep, 4, ($2.37 each,) $9.48; cow and calf, $17.75, $13; sows, $5 and $6; turkeys, 62 cents and 50 cents pair; 6 hogs, $12, $2 each; 12 pigs, $11.10.

Estate of John Anderson, No. 178—Board at hotel, $1 50 and $2.00 per week; meal, 25 cents per pushel; 2 doz. quills, 63 cents; paper qr. 38 cents; sheep, $2 37, $1.52, $3.50, $3 37; cow and calf, $17.75, $23.50; sows, $5, $6, $3.62, $4.25, $4, $3.75; shoats, $1.59; colts, $21, $25.25, $41.22; bacon, 3½ cents, 5¼ cents, 10 cents; corn, 20½ cents; brick $7; wheat, 50 cents; Eggs, 10 cents; apples. 75 cents; labor, 75 cents.

1841.

Estate of William Goodhart, No. 180 (continued)—Blue domestic, 25 cents; cook stove and furniture, $30; making shingles, $2 per m.; wood, $1; labor, $1.25.

Samuel Stewart, No 160—Corn, 20½ cents per bushel; hogs, per head, 5 at $3, $15; 5 at $3 per head, $15; 5 at $2 56, $12 80; 10 at $1 25, $12 50, 12 at $1, $12; oxen yoke, $55, $50, $50, $40.25, $28; cow and calf, $12.50, $20 06¼; cow, $14 50; heifers, $10.50, $8, $6 50, $4 12½, $5 and $6; steers, $7.25, $4.12½, $7.75, $3.75; horses, $41.50, $40; yearling, $27; carriage, $25.50.

1842.

Estate of Joshua Hobson, No. 174—Three calves, $3.94; heifers, $2.12½, $3.87½, $3 12½; cows, $7 and $8; horse, $36.75; 4 sheep, $7.68¾; 3 sheep, $5 68¾; 25 bu. corn at 13 1-2 cents, $3.37¼; 25 bu. corn at 14 cents, $3.50; 25 bu. corn at 13 1-2 cents, $3.37 1-2; harvest hands, 75 cents per day; wheat in Pekin, 25 cents. (W. J. Rhodes to E. M. Prince, 14th March, 1904); pork in Chicago, 25 cents per 100. (Good Old Times, 15-241) The summer of 1842 was the bottom of distress. (J. E. McClunn, Good Old Times, 343.) Dry cows, $5.00 and $6.00 a head, after wintering, sold for $7 50 and $3.75 each.

Estate of Dr John Anderson, No. 178 (appraisement)—E. 1-2, s. e., 35, 20, 2 e., $4 00; 320, e. 1-2, n. e., 35, 20, 2 e., $4; 320 e. 1-2 s. w., 6, 19, 2 e., 60 16-100 acres, 60 16; w 1-2, s. w., 6, 19, 2 e,. 60 16, w. ½, s. w. 6-19, 2 e, 60.16, $5, 300, 80, s. w., s. e., 5, 19, 2, 40 acres, ¾, $30.00.

1843.

Estate of William Brewer, No. 187—2 yearling steers, $3 37 and $5.00; cow and calf, $4.25 and $8.00; cows, $5 25, $6 62 and $5 31; sides of harness leather, $2 43 to $4 06; sides of sole leather, 10 to 16 1-2 lbs., 26 to 28 cents; pair coarse boots, $2 50; upper leather, $1.87 to $3 75; 6 deer skins, 81 cents to $1 50; deer skins, 25 cents to 50 cents; 10 pairs boots, $1.43 to $3 50 each; buggy, $31.00; hair, 25 cents per bushel; large wheel, 75 cents; Life of Marion, 12 cents; atlas. 5 cents; 7 bed blankets, 25 cents to $1 00; 40 yards rag carpet, $5.00; 3 months' labor, $16.00; wood, $1.00, $1.25; cider, 18¾ cents per gallon; labor 75 cents and 50 cents; corn, 12 1-2 bushels; beef, 3 cents per lb ; breaking prairie, $2.00; two journeys to Chicago with wheat, $16 00; butter, 6 cents; potatoes, 12 1-2 cents; 50 pounds flour, 75 cts.

Mr. Brewer was the pioneer tanner of the county. An examination of the papers of his estate will disclose the price of all kinds of leather and everything connected with that business.

1844.

Estate of Nathan Low, No. 208—Corn, $3.00 an acre; salt, $3 75 per bbl.; oats, 20 cents; bacon, 8 cents; improved Carey plow, $3 25; shovel plow, $1 50; Rathbone plow, $5 00; rye, 56 cents; 19 bushels of corn, $7 03; two-horse wagon, $50.00; Durham cow and calf, $30 00; steer calves, $2.12½ to $4 00; cow and calf, $10.00, $9 00, $8 00, $5.62; horses, $53.50, $50.50, $31 00, $37 00; oats, 18c. Low had 266 sheep which sold as follows: 10 Wethers, $23.70; 10 Wethers, $22 50; 10 Wethers, $22 10; 10 Wethers, $21.80; 10 Wethers, $20.10; 10 Wethers, $18 80; 10 Wethers, $18.70; 10 Wethers. $14.40; 29 ewes and lambs, $32.17; 20 sheep, $27.50; 20 sheep, $26 00; 21 sheep, $23 62½; 18 sheep, $36.00; 20 sheep, $25 00; 1 sheep, $1.12½; 16 sheep, $24 00.

Estate of William R. Robinson, No. 207—Hogs, 10, $10.00 ($1.00 each); 10, $3 40 (34 cents each); 10, $2.10 (21 cents each); 9, $1.17 (13 cents each); scythe and cradle, $2 00; timothy seed, 75 cents per bushel; tobacco, 10 lb. lots, 16 lots, 25 to 56 cents per lot; rifle, $8 00; 8 bedsteads, $1.37½ to $3 12½; cows. $5 50 and $8 00; steers, $8 12½, $9 37½, $6 12½, $4 00, $4 62½, $3 37½, $2 12½; horses, $15 00, $24 50, $35 00; sheep, 4, $7 25 ($1 81 each); 4, $7.50 ($1.75 each); 4, $6.00 ($1 50 each); 2, $2.75 ($1 37 each).

Estate of George W. Wallace, No. 281—Corn, 12½ cents; apples, 50 cents; stove. $20 00, cow, $12 00; bacon, 12½ cents; eggs, 12½ cents; labor, 62½ cents, $1.25.

Yearling steers, $3 50 per head, which a year or two after sold for $9.00. R. A. Warlow (Good Old Times, 135).

1845.

Estate of Mildred S. Clark, No. 261—20 sheep, $25 60 ($1.28 each); 2 cows, $13 00 ($6 50 each); barrel salt, $3.00; labor, 50 and 62½ cents per day; 7 sheep, $8.96 ($1.28 each).

Estate of Abel Larrison—Whisky, 50 cents per gallon; oats, 19 cents; corn, 25 cents.

Estate of Hiram Patterson, No. 226—4 head of hogs, $3.56 (89 cents each).

1846.

Estate of George W. Wallace—Apple tree, 12½ cents; half dozen hens, 75 cents; flour, 2 cents per lb.; bacon, 6 cents; cambric, 50 cents; hose, 37 cents; spool of thread, 8 cents; saleratus, 10 cents; paper, 20 cents per quire.

Estate of William Karr, No. 248—Scythe and cradle, $2 00; horses, $26.62, $25 00; 6 sheep, $3.75 (62½ cents each); 6 sheep, $6.00 ($1.00 each;) 6 sheep, $7.86 ($1.31 each); 6 sheep, $8.25 ($1.37½ each); 6 sheep, $8 40 ($1.40 each); 2 sows, $5 00 ($2 50 each); cows, $8 75, $8.25, $8 00, $5 00; heifers, $4.00, $7.00; steers, $5.62, $5 00, $2 32; 3 yearling calves, $7.50 ($2 50 each); 2 spring calves, $4 00 ($2.00 each); 6 stock hogs, $3 00 (50 cents each); 2 sows, $4 00 ($2 00 each); 42 hogs, $176 25 ($4 28 each); 5 acres corn, $11.75 ($2.35 per acre); 33 bu. wheat, $12 87 (39 cents per bu.; 8 lbs. coffee, $1.00 (12½ cents); 10 lbs. sugar, $1 00; 1 lb. tobacco, 13 cents; third class reader, 38 cents; 16 lbs. coffee, $2 00; 10 lbs. sugar, $1.00; ½ lb. tea, 50 cents; linen, 50 cents; shoes, 75 cents, $1.13; drilling, 25 cents; pepper, 20 cents; rice, 8 cents.

Estate of Mildred S. Clark, No. 261—Cook stove, $12 00; shoes, 22 pair, 50, 75 cents, $1.05 per pair; fine bedstead, $4 00; wagon, $30 00; 5 hogs, $12 00 ($2 50); 5 hogs, $10 50 ($2.10); 5 hogs, $7.00 ($1.40); 6 hogs, $8 00 ($1.33); 8 hogs, $31 50 ($3.93); horses, $39.00, $52 00, $68 00; 180 bu. corn, $18 00 (10 cents); 91 bu. wheat, $47.32 (52 cents); 8 bu wheat, $4.08 (51 cents); 42 bu. spring wheat, $15 54 (37 cents); 107 bu. wheat, $35.31 (33 cents).

1847.

Estate of William Karr, No. 284—Shoes, 88 cents, $1.12; sugar, 10 cents; coffee, 12½ cents; molasses, 50 cents; 7 yards blue calico, $1.17 (16⅔ cents); domestic, 13 cents; nails, 7 cents; white lead, $2.25 per keg.

Estate of Nathan Gattan, No. 323—Two-horse wagon, $48.00; cow, $11.25; heifers, $3.75, $4.98; sow and pigs, $2 50; 4 shoats, $5 62½ ($1 40½); 3 shoats, $2 62 (87 cents); 4 shoats, $4.81 ($1.20); 4 shoats, $3 25 (81 cents); 4 shoats, $2 43 (61 cents); 6 shoats, $3.00 (50 cents).

Estate of Theophilus Caton, No. 317—Two-horse wagon, $10.00; hogs, 9 at $2.94, $26 50; 9 at $1.69, $15.25; 9 at $1 11, $10; 9 at 93 cents, $8.37¼; 10 at 65 cents, $6 52½; cow and calf, $6 51, $12 00; cow, $9 75; steers, $11 75, $10 20, $7.50, $6.92, $5 00, $4 62½, $4 50; horses, $39 50, $42.25; corn, 50 bu., $6 50 (13 cents per bu.); 50 bu., $6 25 (12½); 50 bu., $7 00 (14); 50 bu., $7 25 (14½); 50 bu., $7.50 (15); 50 bu., $7.62½ (15¼). domestic, 10 cents; calico, 25 cents; jackonet, 50 cents; black veil, $1 00; skein silk, 6 cents; shoes, $1.00, 56 cents, 63 cents; 87½ 62 cents.

Wm. J Rhodes split rails at 25 cents per hundred and cut wood at 25 cents per cord; made about 50 cents per day Hands in summer $8.00 to $10.00 per month (W. J. Rhodes to E.M. Prince, March 14, 1905.)

1848.

Estate of Michael Darnall, No. 336, May—Hogs 10, $10, ($1 each) 10, $2.50, (25 cents each); 12 pigs, $1.50 (15c each); 8 sheep, $11 ($1.39 each); do. $9.75 ($1 22 each); do. $7.50 (94 cents each;) 5 heifers, $4.12½, $5 81½; bull, $5.62½; cows, $8 50, $8.62½; cow and calf, $8.90, $10 25, $10.12½, $12 12 1-2, $13.50, $10.75, $47; horses, $36.75, $28-50, $57; mare and colt, $27.12½.

Estate of Benj. Cox, No. 338—Tea 50 cents, crackers 10 cents, matches 79 cents, wood $1.50, one-half pound raisins 12 cents, sugar 10 cents, one-fourth bushel peas 50 cents, blacking 5 cents, one-half gallon vinegar 13 cents, lard 6 cents, board $1.25 per week, flour 2¼ cents per pound, potatoes 25 cents, corn 12½ cents, wood $1.50.

Owen Cheney, No. 333—Shoes $2, kid boots $4.25, shoes $1 25, brogans $2, $1.38; tuition, 2 scholars 1 quarter, $4; 3¾ gallons whisky $1.40, 9 pounds coffee $1, 10 pounds sugar $1, coffee 25 cents per pound, 2 1-2 yards calico 47 cents, 2 yards calico 25 cents, shoes $1 25, one-fourth pound powder 13 cents, box caps 10 cents, calico 16 1-2 cents; gingham 37 1-2 cents, 12 tumblers 60 cents, 5 papers garden seeds 31 cents, one-half gallon molasses 31 cents.

1849.

Estate of Charles Hinshaw, No. 347—Five sheep, $5.75 ($1.15 each); 5 sheep, $4.25 (85 cents each); 4 sheep, $2.50 (62 cents each); 5 sheep, $6 ($1.20 each); 3 sheep, $1.05, (35 cents each); 2 calves, $10.60 ($5 50 each); 3 calves $13.20 ($4.40 each); 2 year-old steer, $7.50; cows $9, $10.87, $11.12; horses, $79 25, $86 50; 15 shoats, $6 25 (55 cents each); 10 hogs $14 ($1.40 each); 8 sheep, $8 ($1 each) sow and pigs, $2.12; 50 bushels corn, $6.25 (12 1-2 cents per bushel) 20 bushels corn $3 (15 cents per bushel); 100 pounds side meat, $2.45.

1850.

Estate of John Maris, No. 383—Lawn 22 1-2 cents, calico 20 cents, common chairs 50 cents, parlor chairs $1.20, bedsteads $2 and $6, hay $3 per ton, 12 chickens $1, starch 12 1-2 cents, brogans 50 cents, labor $8 per month, horse $60, gloves 75 cents.

Estate of Charles Tilbury—Beef 2 1-2 cents, brick $3 per thousand; whisky 12 cents per quart, horse $50, buckwheat 30 cents, iron 7 cents per pound, sugar 8 1-2 cts.; calico 12 1-2 cts., muslin 12 1-2, cts., nails 7c.

Estate of E. G. Dille, No. 385—Steers, 20 head, $426 20 ($21.31 each); 25 steers, $438 ($17.52 each); 21 steers, $312.80 ($14.90 each); cows, $12.25, $13.10; horses, $71, $66.50, $57 62.

Estate of Oliver Stanwood, No. 418—Butter 12 cents, cheese 10 cents, eggs 5 cents, one-half pound tea 56 cents, calico 12 and 15 cents, shoes $1, silk $1.90, ham 9 cents, molasses 56 cents, white lawn 50 cents; nails 7 cents, linen 88 cents, fine shoes $1 75, drilling 15 cents per yard, sugar 10 cents, satin $6 per yard, cambric 25 cents, rifle $7, watch $11.50, 5 days' labor, $7.25 ($1.75 each.)

Estate of Isaac Peasley, No. 415—Salt $3 50, shoes $1.31 1 2, rifle $5 50, shot gun $5; horses, $35, $80; colts, $24.50, $32; yoke of yearlings, $28 50; 7 calves, $47 50 ($6.70 each;) cows, $12.25, $9, $15.35, $13.75, $11.37, $13 12 1-2; 8 hogs, $25 ($3.12 1-2 each;) 8 hogs, $17 ($2 12 1-2 each); 8 hogs, $9.12 1-2, ($1.18 each;) 8 sheep, $14.75 ($1 84 each); 8 sheep, $13.25 ($1.66 each) 10 sheep, $12 25 ($1.22½ each); eggs, 6 cents; calico 18¾ cents; molasses, 60 cents; labor, $1.

1852.

Estate of A. Van Nastin, No. 241—Spring wheat, 65 cents; corn, 20 cts.; horses, $16.00, $30; large wheel, $1.15.

Estate of Henry Bunn, No. 474—Flour, 60 lb $1.20; (2) linsey, 40 cents; drilling, 14 cents; muslin, 13 cents; flannel, 40 and 50 cents; calico, 12½ cents; Irish linen, $1.00; suspenders, 40 cents; cassimere, 50 cents; shoes, $1.75; molasses, 60 cents; 4 lb Rio coffee, 50 cents. (12½ cts.;) cr. 1 hog, 142 lb, $4.97 (3½); board, $1.25.

Labor, 37½ cents; cutting cord wood, 65 cents per day.—Dr. H. Schroeder

1853.

Estate Thomas Hitchens, No. 2, new—Horses, $42, $48.50, $41.00, $48.00, $45 00, $82.50, $82 50, $44.00, $28.50, $70.00, $38 00; 12 pairs boots, $27 00 ($2.25); 6 pairs, 9 ($1.50); 141 bu. oats, $49.35 (35 cents b.); salt, $2.75; shoes, $3; board, 1 day, feeding horse, 25 cents; meals, 30 cents.

Estate George S. Hill, No. 5—Black silk, $1.35; drilling, 15 cents; brick, $6 00.

Estate Henry Bunn—bbl. flour, $6.00; 8 yds .calico, $1.20 (15 cents); 8 yds. calico, $1.00 (12½ cents); shoes, $1.25.

Estate Asa Roberts, No. 34—Tea, $1.00; butter, 20 cents; eggs, 10 cents; bacon, 9 cents; coffee, 12½ cents, muslin, 12½ cents; linsey, 30 cents; two chickens, 22 cents (11); flannel, 35 cents; calico, 12½ cents; boots, $3.25; blankets, $1.40; domestic, 10 cents; shoes, $1.25; wood, $3.50.

1854.

Estate of Reuben L. Draper, No. 16—Nails, 7 cents; Irish linen, 50 cents; cambric, 50 cents; muslin, 25 cents; sheep, 32 head, $56 00 (1.75); cows, $18.00, $19.00; horses, $70; colts, $50, $5.00, $35.00; stock hogs $82 50 ($2.50); 3 brood sows, $18.00 ($6.00); 5⅝ acres corn, $33.75 ($6 00).

Estate of Mary Price, No. 68—Horses, $71, $98.50; cows, $26.10, $32.00, $21.25; calves, $8.30, $10.00; sheep, $2.30; fat hogs, $5.15, 3.50, $2 75; 14 shoats, $12.00 (85 cents); molasses, 50 cents; salt, $3.50; calico, 12½ cents.

Estate of Elisha Gibbs, No. 84—Corn, 25 cents; cow, $20.00; nails, 8 cents; labor, $1.50 per day.

1855.

Estate of Isaac Smalley, No. 118—Hogs, 2 hogs $8.04($4.02); horses, $37.50, $19.00; rye, 45 cents; labor, $1.00.

Estate of James Tompkins, No. 117—Corn, 51 cents; horses $135.00, $130 00, $101.00, $145.00, $100 00, $140 00, $65 00, $126 00; cows, $35.00, $30 00, $25 00, $21.00, $24.75, $22 00, $36 00 $15 00, $25 00, $30 00, $16.50, $25 00, $25.00, $15.00, $18.00, $25 00, $20 00, $25.00; hogs, 4, $20 00, ($5.00), 4, $8.00 ($2.00), 4, $7.50 ($1 87½), 6, $8.25 ($1 37½) 18, $72.00 ($4 00); horses, $100.00, $125.00, $65.00, $100 00; 2-horse carriage, $150.00; corn, 50 cents; yearling calves, $12.00; oats, 30 cents.

1856.

Estate of William Bishop, No. 173—Cows, $36.00, $25 00, $25.00, $20 00, $30.50, $50 00, $29.00. $42.00; heifers, $17.75, $20.25, $25 00, $15.75; horses, $72 50, $57.50, $175. $175.50; colts, $52 50, $66 00, $25 00; sheep, wethers, $2.10; ewes, $1.42; lambs, $1.32; 24 ewes, $122 ($5.50), bucks, $33.00, $34.00, $25.00, $4. This flock consisted of 23 bucks, 446 wethers, 566 ewes, 384 lambs, 32 buck lambs in all, 1468 sheep.

Calico 13⅓ cents, alapaca $1.00 kid boots $5.00; labor, $1 per day, $18.00 per month.

1857.

Estate of R. E. Frisby, No. 207—Wheat, 75 cents; hogs 5, $53.75 ($10 75); 5 hogs, $50.00 ($10.00); 5 hogs, $36.25 ($7.25); 5 hogs, $42 00 ($8.40); 5 hogs, $30.00 ($6.00); 6 hogs, $38.25 ($6 37); horses, $80 00, $100, $170.50, $185; yoke oxen, $125, $100, $52.50; cows, $25.20, $43.50, $17.30, $16.50, $25 00, $50.00, $40.00, $21.00, $13.00, $21.75, $25.25, $41.00, $55.00, $26.00, $27.00, $30 50, $30 00, $16.75, $25.25; cow and calf, $20.00, $27.00, $16 75, $35 00, $30.00, $18 00, $25.10, $31.00, $34.75, $37.00, $32.10, $26 50, $12.60; labor, $1 00.

Estate John Hendrix, No, 192—Swiss muslin, 45 cents; apples, 50 cents; coffee, 12½ cents; eggs, 10 cents; tea, 75 cents; cotton flannel, 12½ cents; shoes, $1.38; Irish linen, 75 cents; boots, $3.50; tobacco, 25 cents; rice, 10 cents. N. 1-2 s. w. ¼ sec. 16, t. 23, 4 e. $700.

The wages of carpenters in 1857 was $1.25 per day and continued from that to $1.75 till 1861. (Richard Jones to E. M. P., May 8, 1904.)

1858.

Estate Charles McGraw, No. 374—Cows, $39.00, $23.00, $25.00; horses, $87.75, $150; oats 76 cents, wheat 75 cents.

Estate of William Talbert, No. 356—Cow and calf, $20 00, $16.00, $25 25, $28.75, $19 50, $21.25; steers $17.00; heifers, $12 25; cows, $34.00, $27.00, $26.00, $25.00; hogs 20, $172 ($8 60); hogs 20, $112 ($5 60); 10 hogs, $49.00 ($4.90); 10 hogs, $41.00 ($4.10); horses, $141, $155, $120, $100, $126 50, $76.00, $61.00. $60.00; sugar, 10 cents; boots, $3.00; coffee, 6½ pounds at $1.00 (16⅔ cents); molasses, 75 cents.

1859.

William Birdsell, No. 429—Two-year-old fillies, $105.00, $66.00, $61.00; horses, $155.00, $85.00, $100 00, $88 00, span mules, $215 00; cows and calves, $49 00, $66 00, $31.50, $31.50, $16 00, $13.25, $25 50, $23.50; wood. $1.70; rifle, $8 30; cows, $40.00, $25.00, $42.25, $30 00; heifers, $13 50, $12.00; yearling heifers, $8 00, $11.50; 2-year-old steers, $24.20, $12 62; mowing machine, $66.00; corn, 77 cents, hogs, 5 sows, $75 00 ($15.00); 10 hogs, $72.50 ($7.25); 18 sows and pigs, $50.25 ($2.80) labor, $1 00; rent, 76 acre, $190 00 (2 50); board, $2 week; oats, 25 cents; making underground ditch,20 cents rod; calico, 12½ cts.; calf boots, $5 50, $3.75.

Estate John Carter—Shoes, $1,45; cotton flannel, 15 cents; tea, $1.00; domestic, 10 and 12 cents; print, 12½ cents; drilling, 15 cents; molasses, 60 cents; paper, 20 cents a quire; nails, 6 cents; sugar, 11 and 10 cent; eggs, 8 cts. 10 cts. 12 cts. dozen, 44 cents.

1860.

Estate Cyrus Hinshaw, No. 480—Hogs, sow and 5 pigs, $15.00; 2 hogs, $22 00 ($11 00); 3, $24 15 ($8 05) 3, $27.60 ($9.20); 6 pigs, $13.20 ($2.20). 6, $10.20 ($1.70); 4 3-year old steers, $86.40 (21 10), 2 yearlings, $30.30 ($15.15); cow and calf $17.00, $13 00; cows, 15.00. $16 50; horses, $151 00, $61 00, $89.00, $31.25; mare and colt, $130.00; filley, $118.50, $70.00, $28.00.

Prices of Grain and Stock in McLean County, Illinois—1831–1860.

Year.	Grain.			Horses.			Cows.			Cow and Calf.			Steers.			Hogs.			Sheep.		
	Corn.	Oats.	Wheat.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
1831			$0 50			$37 50						$14 12½									
1832	$0 37½		50			25 00						11 00						$1 25			
1833	33½		50	$50 00	$29 00	39 50	$12 00	$10 12	$11 06				$10 31	$ 5 62½	$7 96½	$ 4 00	$0 62½	2 81			
1834						45 00	10 00	4 00	7 08	$11 25	$ 9 25	10 25				1 00	44	72	$ 2 03	$0 66	$1 22
1835	20						12 50	8 44	10 87						10 00	2 90	77½	1 83			
1836	30¾		56			60 00	24 00	15 00	18 50			17 00				2 21	1 12½	1 52	2 96	2 16	2 63
1837		$0 26	75	75 00	25 25	50 10	25 00	15 50	20 25	28 31	20 50	23 40				8 31	1 84	3 51			
1838	24½		56	64 00	18 62	39 05	16 00	9 31	12 60			26 50	13 25	6 31	9 78	3 70	2 55	3 33	2 25	1 00	1 91
1839	30½			85 37	47 25	61 68	30 00	11 00	20 09			15 00				10 72	2 18	4 20	4 20	1 50	3 32
1840	20½			100 00	26 00	56 80	16 50	11 50	13 89	23 50	17 75	20 62			26 00	6 00	1 12	3 47	3 50	1 52	3 69
1841	20½			60 50	40 00	48 62	14 62	11 50	13 54	20 06	12 50	16 25	7 75	3 75	5 74	3 00	1 00	1 76			
1842	13¾			38 00	36 75	37 37	8 00	7 00	7 50						3 81			1 00	1 89	1 67	1 76
1843	12½			25 00	12 75	18 87	8 25	5 31	6 44	8 00	4 25	6 12½	13 31	3 37	7 22				2 00	1 00	1 60
1844	21½	19		53 50	15 00	37 00	12 00	5 50	8 50	30 00	5 62	12 52	9 37	2 12	5 39	1 00	21	51	17 50	1 12	1 40
1845				50 00	10 00	35 00	10 25	6 50	8 45	9 12	7 44	8 29	8 82	3 93	5 19			89	1 86	1 75	1 50
1846			41	68 00	25 00	42 12	8 75	6 00	7 75				5 62	2 32	4 81			3 17	1 40	62½	1 14
1847	14			40 25	39 50	39 87	11 25	9 75	10 50	12 00	6 51	9 23	11 75	4 50	7 22	2 94	65	1 45			
1848				57 00	28 50	42 81	8 62	8 50	8 56	13 50	8 90	10 94				1 00	25	62½	1 39	94	1 17
1849	14½			86 50	20 00	53 57	13 00	5 00	17 97				14 87	7 50	12 82	2 03	72½	1 27	1 65	35	99
1850				71 00	50 00	60 10	13 10	8 50	11 07				21 31	14 90	17 83				1 75	81	1 40
1851				87 00	26 50	57 64	15 35	9 00	12 20							3 12	1 18	2 13	1 84	1 22	1 51
1852	20		52	92 00	16 00	56 93	17 00	10 00	13 87				26 25	23 00	24 62	8 50	1 11	2 43	1 75	1 50	1 62
1853	25			99 50	28 50	57 44						16 55				9 00	2 79	6 14			2 25
1854	25½		50	98 50	45 00	74 99	35 00	14 00	22 48							6 50	2 50	3 12	2 30	1 75	1 79
1855	53	30	1 86	146 00	10 00	103 00	36 00	15 00	23 41						19 00	5 00	1 87½	3 75	4 81	3 42	3 64
1856				175 25	57 50	125 00	42 00	16 50	27 15										3 40	1 42	1 86
1857	21½	21½	75	185 00	80 00	136 82	50 00	13 00	22 83	37 00	10 00	25 90				10 75	6 37	7 62			
1858	28	76	75	155 00	60 00	112 10	39 00	23 00	29 00	30 00	16 00	21 27			17 00	8 60	3 85	5 68			
1859	77	25		155 00	85 00	107 00	42 25	25 00	34 31	68 00	13 25	32 03	24 20	12 62	18 41	15 00	7 25	9 83			
1860	31	16	1 00	151 00	10 00	62 15	29 50	15 00	22 55	40 00	13 00	27 18	21 10	15 15	19 30	11 00	7 00	8 66	3 40	1 65	2 76

Prices of Stock in McLean County, Illinois—1831 to 1860.

Year.	Horses.			Fillies.			Cows.			Cow and Calf.			Heifers.		
	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....
1831.....	.....	.....	$37 50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$14 12½	.....	.....	$10 75
1832.....	.....	.....	25 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11 00	$10 75	$6 50	8 62½
1833.....	$50 00	$29 00	39 50	.....	.....	.....	$12 00	$10 12	$11 06	.....	.....	11 00	10 00	7 30	8 65
1834.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$45 00	10 00	4 00	7 00	$11 25	$9 25	10 25	.....	.....	.....
1835.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12 50	8 44	10 47	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 00
1836.....	.....	.....	60 00	.....	.....	.....	24 00	15 00	17 34	.....	.....	17 34	12 29	6 75	9 91
1837.....	75 00	25 25	44 25	.....	.....	.....	25 00	15 58	20 25	28 31	20 50	23 74	.....	.....	.....
1838.....	64 00	18 62	39 05	.....	.....	.....	16 00	9 31	12 60	.....	.....	26 50	.....	.....	.....
1839.....	85 37	42 25	61 18	.....	.....	.....	30 00	11 00	20 09	.....	.....	15 00	.....	.....	.....
1840.....	100 00	26 00	56 80	.....	.....	.....	16 50	11 50	13 89	23 50	17 75	20 62	.....	.....	.....
1841.....	60 50	40 00	48 62	.....	.....	26 00	14 62	11 50	13 84	20 06	12 50	16 25	12 50	4 12	7 64
1842.....	38 00	6 75	37 37	.....	.....	.....	8 00	7 00	7 50	.....	.....	.....	7 00	7 00	7 00
1843.....	25 00	12 75	18 87	.....	.....	25 00	8 25	5 34	6 44	8 00	4 25	6 12	6 50	3 00	4 66
1844.....	53 50	15 00	37 00	.....	.....	.....	12 00	5 50	8 50	30 00	5 62	12 52	.....	.....	.....
1845.....	55 00	10 00	35 00	$36 62	$17 62	26 56	10 25	6 50	8 45	9 12	7 44	8 29	4 62	4 19	4 38
1846.....	68 00	25 00	42 16	.....	.....	.....	8 75	6 00	7 75	.....	.....	.....	7 00	4 00	5 50
1847.....	40 25	39 50	39 87	.....	.....	.....	11 25	9 75	10 50	12 00	6 51	9 25	.....	.....	.....
1848.....	57 00	25 80	42 81	.....	.....	.....	8 62	8 50	8 56	13 00	8 90	10 94	.....	.....	.....
1849.....	86 50	20 00	53 57	.....	.....	.....	13 00	5 00	7 97	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5 23
1850.....	60 00	50 00	60 10	.....	.....	.....	13 10	8 50	11 07	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1851.....	87 00	26 50	57 64	.....	.....	.....	18 35	9 00	12 20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1852.....	92 00	16 00	56 93	.....	.....	.....	17 00	10 00	13 87	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1853.....	99 50	25 50	57 44	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16 50	.....	.....	.....
1854.....	98 50	45 00	74 99	.....	.....	.....	35 00	14 00	22 48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1855.....	145 00	19 00	103 00	.....	.....	.....	36 00	15 00	23 41	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1856.....	175 25	57 50	125 00	.....	.....	.....	42 00	16 50	27 15	.....	.....	.....	20 25	15 75	17 55
1857.....	185 00	80 00	136 82	.....	.....	.....	55 00	13 00	22 83	37 00	10 00	25 90	30 00	17 00	23 25
1858.....	155 00	60 00	112 10	.....	.....	.....	39 00	23 00	31 00	30 00	16 00	21 27	.....	.....	12 25
1859.....	155 00	85 00	107 00	105 00	61 00	77 33	42 25	25 00	34 31	66 00	13 25	32 03	13 50	12 00	12 75
1860.....	151 00	10 00	62 15	118 50	28 00	72 16	29 50	15 00	22 55	80 00	13 00	27 18	.....	.....	.....

Prices of Stock in McLean County, Illinois—1831 to 1860.—Concluded

Year.	Steers.			Hogs.			Sow and Pigs.			Pigs.			Sheep.		
	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....	Highest.....	Lowest.....	Average.....
1831															
1832						$1 25						$0 25			
1833	$10 31	$5 62½	$7 78	$4 00	$0 62½	2 31¼									
1834				1 00	44	94							$2 03	$0 66	$1 34
1835			10 00	2 90	77½	1 81									
1836				2 21	1 12½	1 52							2 96	2 16	2 56
1837				8 31	1 84	3 51							2 50	2 00	2 25
1838				3 70	2 65	3 72	$5 00	$4 00	$4 50				2 25	1 00	1 06
1839				10 72	2 87	4 74							4 00	2 87	3 62
1840			26 00	6 00	1 12	3 47							3 50	1 52	2 69
1841	7 75	3 75	5 74	3 00	1 00	1 76				$0 18¾		18¾			
1842			3 81			1 00							1 86	75	1 50
1843	13 31	3 37	7 22										2 06	1 00	1 60
1844	9 37	2 12	5 39	1 00	21	51							2 00	1 11	1 52
1845	8 82	3 93	5 19			89							4 40	1 56	2 21
1846	5 62	2 32	4 21										1 40	62½	1 14
1847	11 75	4 50	7 23	2 94	65	1 45				1 40	$0 50	90			
1848				1 00	25	62½						12½	1 39	94	1 13
1849	14 87	7 50	13 62	2 03	72½	1 27			2 12			55	1 65	35	99
1850													1 75	81	1 40
1851	21 31	14 90	17 83	3 12	1 18	2 13							1 84	1 22	1 51
1852	26 25	23 00	24 62	8 50	1 11	2 40							1 75	1 50	1 62
1853				9 00	2 79	6 14									2 25
1854				6 50	2 50	3 12							2 30	1 75	1 79
1855			19 00	5 00	1 37	3 75							4 65	3 01	3 64
1856				14 00	8 25	11 63									1 86
1857				10 75	6 37	7 62									
1858			17 00	8 60	3 85	5 64									
1859	24 20	12 62	18 41	15 00	7 25	9 83			2 80						
1860				11 00	7 00	9 00			15 00	3 50	2 65	3 18	3 40	1 66	2 76

The Prices of Lands in McLean County.

The prices of farm lands vary greatly with the improvements on the lands. To get at the intrinsic value of the lands exclusive of improvements is somewhat difficult. The sale of the school lands, the sixteenth section, furnishes a good index of the value of unimproved lands in this county. In the order of their sales they are as follows:

Town		Amount.	Per Acre.
Danvers	T. 24, R. 1, W., 640 acres, 27 Sept., 1833	$ 834 80	$ 1 30
Bloomington	T. 23, R. 2, E., 640 acres, 13 March, 1834	4,603 27	7 19
Funks Grove	T. 23, R. 1, E., 520 acres, 20 June, 1834	1,282 20	2 46½
Funks Grove	T. 22, R. 1, E., 120 acres, 10 Oct., 1836	150 00	1 25
Randolph	T. 22, R. 2, E., 200 acres 24 Sept., 1835	250 00	1 25
Randolph	T. 22, R. 2, E., 440 acres, 30 Nov., 1836	550 00	1 25
Old Town	T. 23, R. 3, E., 640 acres, 12 Nov., 1836	1,209 30	1 88
White Oak	T. 25, R. 1, E., 630 acres, 28 Nov., 1836	1,616 85	2 56⅔
White Oak	T. 25, R. 1, E., 10 acres, 3 Feb., 1838	8 00	80
Empire	T. 22, R. 4, E., 640 acres, 22 April, 1837	4,187 50	6 54
Lexington	T. 25, R. 4, E., 520 acres, 28 June, 1837	1,237 50	2 57
Lexington	T. 25, R. 4, E., 120 acres, 1 Nov., 1839	150 00	1 25
Money Creek	T. 25, R. 3, E., 40 acres, 3 Oct., 1846	60 00	1 50
Money Creek	T. 26, R. 3, E., 120 acres, 1 Nov., 1848	220 00	1 83⅓
Money Creek	T. 25, R. 3, E., 400 acres, 30 July, 1849	710 00	1 75
Money Creek	T. 25, R. 3, E., 80 acres, 24 June, 1850	110 00	1 27½
Dale	T. 23, R. 1, E., 120 acres, 26 May, 1849	150 00	1 25
Dale	T. 23, R. 1, E., 40 acres, 30 July, 1849	50 00	1 25
Dale	T. 23, R. 1, E., 440 acres, 28 Sept., 1850	550 00	1 25
Hudson	T. 25, R. 2, E., 120 acres, 24 June, 1848	380 00	3 16½
Hudson	T. 25, R. 2, E., 320 acres, 21 Dec., 1849	670 00	1 37½
Hudson	T. 25, R. 2, E., 200 acres, 23 Jan., 1850	400 00	2 00
Dry Grove	T. 24, R. 1, E., 240 acres, 30 Sept., 1848	325 00	1 35
Dry Grove	T. 24, R. 1, E., 400 acres, 1 Oct., 1849	515 00	1 28
Towanda	T. 24, R. 3, E., 202.26 acres, 29 Sept., 1849	293 50	1 40
Towanda	T. 24, R. 3, E., 443.04 acres, 27 Sept., 1850	558 72	1 27
Cheney's Grove	T. 23, R. 6, E., 240.9 acres, 9 March, 1850	301 12	1 25
Cheney's Grove	T. 23, R. 6, E., 360.246 acres, 21 Jan., 1851	450 45	1 25
Cheney's Grove	T. 23, R. 6, E., 39.97 acres, 1 April, 1852	50 00	1 04
Downs	T. 22, R. 3, E., 645.78 acres, 18 May, 1850	975 71	1 51
Dawson	T. 23, R. 4, E., 630.55 acres, 1 July, 1851	1,891 65	3 00
Allin	T. 23, R. 1, W., 638.8 acres, 3 Nov., 1851	1,367 26	2 14
Normal	T. 24, R. 2, E., 99.84 acres, 6 Nov., 1852	693 28	6 94
Normal	T. 24, R. 2, E., 522.29 acres, 1853	5,299 38	10 01
Martin	T. 24, R. 5, E., 641.64 acres, 14 July, 1853	1,291 06	2 01
Mt. Hope	T. 22, R. 1, W., 646.54 acres, 11 Aug., 1853	2,414 52	3 73
Lawndale	T. 25, R. 5, E., 643 28 acres, 29 Sept., 1853	1,641 34	2 55
Arrowsmith	T. 23, R. 5, E., 281.34 acres, 10 Feb., 1854	1,215 98	4 67
Arrowsmith	T. 23, R. 5, E., 281.55 acres, 25 Dec., 1855	1,307 21	4 29
Arrowsmith	T. 23, R. 5, E., 80.38 acres, 16 June, 1856	464 19	5 77
Gridley	T. 26, R. 3, E., 641.87 acres, 8 Feb., 1855	3,283 86	5 10
Blue Mound	T. 24, R. 4, E., 641.39 acres, 12 July, 1855	4,753 13	7 41
Belleflower	T. 22, R. 6, E., 640 acres, 26 June, 1857	4,320 00	6 75
Yates	T. 26, R. 5, E., 323 37 acres, N. ½, 7 June, 1860	2,213 27	6 82

The examination of the probate files of McLean county from which the above paper was prepared, was confined to the subject of prices. These files are in excellent condition, all jacketed, arranged in chronological order and indexed, so that any paper is easily found. They deserve a much more extended examination than is here given them. Everything the deceased owned, from old horse shoes to the horse, the number of beds and quilts, crocks and jars, plates, cups and saucers, the whole furniture of the house, stock of all kinds, grain, books (if they had any), are all minutely appraised and sold. The accounts proved up show what people ate and what tools they used and clothes they wore, the books they read and frequently the church to which they belonged, the prices for labor, etc.

If the probate files of some of our older counties, like St. Clair, Randolph or Monroe, are in a condition to be examined from the organization of the counties, the State Historical Society should undertake a full and careful examination of them, as they would furnish a more detailed and exact history of the people and the county selected than is elsewhere to be obtained. From the organization of McLean county until about 1842 or 1843 was an era of expanded credit. During that time long accounts of merchants were universal. After that time the credits were so restricted that for several years mercantile accounts were very short, customers either paying in cash or settling with short time notes. The full force of the panic of 1837 evidently did not reach this county until after 1840. About 1854 credits became more common, but not so extended as those of the 30s.

The pioneers of McLean county were not a rich people; they evidently took life more easily than their children. They had few books, the majority none at all; few had any beyond the Bible and the hymnal of their church. James McGouch, an early Presbyterian minister, had a collection of 500 volumes of the literature of his church, a rather remarkable collection to be found in a little village of a dozen families, and William French, the abolitionist of Randolphs, had 41 volumes, amongst them Uncle Tom's Cabin. Nearly everyone kept sheep, but the flocks were small, seldom exceeding 25, apparently enough to furnish wool for the consumption of the family. Nathan Low had a flock of 266 sheep and William Bishop 1,468. All the other flocks were small. The number of large and little wheels were few, and the looms fewer still. This, I think, must have been due to the fact that the houses of the early settlers were mostly one or two room log cabins, crowded to find room for the large families, and those that did not have wheels borrowed of their more fortunate neighbors, and by the time they moved into larger houses clothes and cloth manufactured by the family were superseded by those furnished by the merchant.

The prices of groceries fluctuated less than dry goods. Salt was $5.00 a barrel until about 1845, when it was $3.00 to $3.50; in 1853 it had fallen to $2.75. Coffee and sugar were most stable in price of any commodities, about 20 and 10 cents for many years. Eggs were usually 6½ cents a dozen, and butter from 5¼ to 12 cents. Cloth varied greatly in price, calico 19 and 37½ cents in 1831 to 44 cents in 1833; in 1851, 18¾ cents, and in 1853, 8 cents. Shoes usually $1 50 to $2.00, and wood 37½ cents to $1.00 a cord.

Judging from these accounts coffee and sugar were universal articles of diet as early as 1831. From the amount of sugar charged in these accounts, the bee gums that nearly everyone had, one man having 20, the amount of wild honey in the groves, and the maple sugar, of which so many of the pioneers speak, I judge that the old settler had a very sweet tooth.

The men of McLean county were evidently a temperate class, for in only five of the 92 estates do I find any charge for intoxicating liquors.

It is always interesting to note the first appearance of articles in a community. I find in the accounts the following: In 1831 paper of pins, in 1832 silk handkerchief and fur hat, in 1834 wall paper, in 1835 patent thread and paper 75 cents a quire, paper of tacks 50 cents, 1839 Durham bull, 1840 two dozen quills 63 cents, 1841 cook stove and lead pencils, 1843 rag carpeting, 1848 blacking, 1852 reaper, 1859 mowing machine and the "underground ditch" or mole tile. Of course many of these articles may have been in use in the county before these respective dates. It is the first time they appear in these accounts.

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE

Hall of the House of Representatives

BY THE

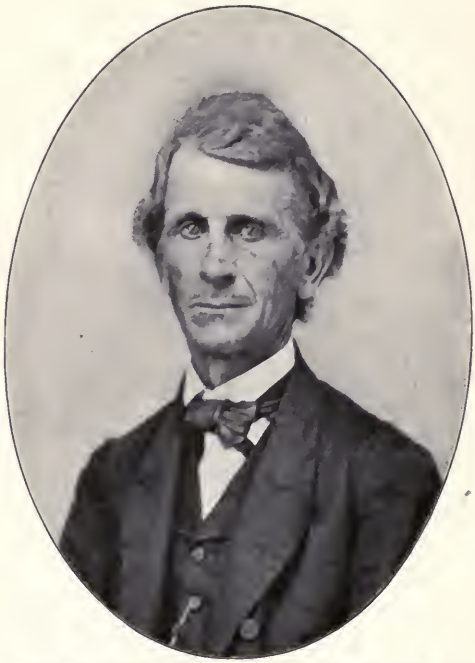
HON. WILLIAM BROWN, A. M.

Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional Law in the McKendree College.

For the purpose, among other things, of exhibiting the importance of education (including a knowledge of the principles of Government, as understood by us) to a proper discharge of the duties of a citizen of the United States.

FIVE THOUSAND COPIES ORDERED TO BE PRINTED.

VANDALIA, ILLINOIS:
WILLIAM HODGE, PRINTER.
1839.



Hon. William Brown, A. M.—Professor of Political Economy in McKendree college, 1837 to 1840. From photograph taken in later years.

INTRODUCTION.

ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, Jan. 11, 1839.

On motion of Colonel Thomas of St. Clair, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Hon. William Brown, (Professor in McKendree College) proposes on the evening of Friday, this day, to deliver an address on the importance of education, (including a knowledge of the principles of government, as understood by us) to the proper discharge of the duties of a citizen of the United States, and on Tuesday evening to submit some practical remarks touching common schools, academies, colleges, and other matters connected with the cause of education; therefore

Resolved, That the use of the Hall of the House of Representatives be granted to Professor Brown, on the evening of Friday (this day) and Tuesday next, at half-past six o'clock, for the purposes aforesaid.

The addresses contemplated in said resolution were delivered in Representatives' Hall, to large and respectable meetings of citizens and strangers. At the close of the last lecture, on motion of Mr. Cloud of Morgan, Col. R. B. Servant of Randolph, was called to the chair, when, on motion of Mr. Cloud, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the Honorable Judge Brown, for the interesting lectures which he has delivered on the subject of education.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee of seven be appointed by the chair, to solicit a copy of Judge Brown's lectures for publication; and that said committee raise the necessary funds, and superintend the printing of 5,000 copies thereof, in pamphlet form.

The chair then appointed the following gentlemen that committee, to-wit: Mr. Cloud, Mr. Churchill of Madison, Mr. Butler, Mr. Allen of McLean, Mr. Hogan, Mr. Thomas of St. Clair, and Mr. McMillan.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VANDALIA, Jan. 19, 1839.

To. Hon. Wm. Brown:

SIR—The undersigned were appointed a committee to communicate to you the thanks of your fellow-citizens, for the very able and interesting addresses delivered by you on the subject of education.

Conscious that the subject is one of the most vital importance to a free people, and anxious to place your lectures in the hands of as many of the people as possible, we would respectfully, in the name of the meeting, solicit a copy for publication.

Respectfully, your friends,

N. CLOUD.
G. CHURCHILL.
P. BUTLER.
J. ALLEN.
J. HOGAN.
J. THOMAS.
ROB'T MCMILLAN.

VANDALIA, Jan 20, 1839.

GENTLEMEN—In forwarding a copy of the addresses alluded to in your note of the 19th inst., I will only say, that I fear that kind feelings have induced you, and those you represent, to over-appreciate their merits. If their publication will, in any manner, advance the cause of education, they are at your service.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM BROWN.

Messrs. Cloud, Churchill, and others of the committee.

ADDRESS.

[Designed, in part, to illustrate the importance of education, (including a knowledge of the principles of government, as understood by us), to the proper discharge of the duties of the citizen of the United States.]

As the present and late executive have earnestly directed the attention of the General Assembly, now convened, to the subject of education, it may not be improper that we, a portion of their constituents, in the exercise of a constitutional privilege, should peaceably assemble to discuss a subject of such acknowledged importance.

This evening exhibits, practically, one of the great privileges guaranteed to the citizens by the Constitution, and illustrates with much

force, the necessity of his being an intelligent man. Does a law, unintentionally or otherwise, operate unequally and unjustly upon the community? Does a provision fail of accomplishing the design of the framers of the Constitution—or, accomplishing the design, does it confer too much of power upon the government? Citizens, under the protection of the Constitution, peaceably assembled, consult for the general welfare, express their sentiments, and if grieved demand redress. To participate in these primary assemblies of the people, in such manner as will be most creditable to the individual, and profitbly to the country, requires knowledge, and an easy and agreeable mode of communicating that knowledge to others.

And when we reflect, for a moment, upon the sympathies of our nature—upon the rapidity with which sentiment passes from breast to breast, until it warms, animates, arouses a thousand hearts—when we reflect that this sentiment may prevail, until it becomes that of the people; and that it there enters into, and, to some extent, affects the government in all its branches, we are somewhat prepared to estimate the value of an intelligent and virtuous man, who, in private intercourse, and in the primary assembly, labors to give a proper direction to public sentiment.

Is religion the topic of discussion? Bearing in mind, "that all men have the natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," and that the Constitution has guaranteed "that no preference shall ever be given by law, to any religious establishments, or modes of worship," he reasons with his neighbors, seeking to win them by force of argument, and the oftentimes resistless eloquence of a quiet life and a godly conversation.

Is he a follower of the meek and lowly Redeemer? Does he believe that God, in his mercy to man, has revealed his will? Is he happy in the love of Christ? Does the hope of eternal life break forth from the heavenly world, in mildest light, upon the pathway of his pilgrimage? Oh, how natural, that his heart should burn with an ardent zeal to scatter abroad this light, till the moral heavens of the whole earth shall be illuminated by the rays of the Son of Righteousness

Under proper influences, the sympathies of our nature impel us to invite others to participate in those blessings, of which we are possessed. And it is cause of the deepest gratitude, that these influences are, now, so operating upon society, that the spread of the gospel of Christ is irresistible. It is carried on by voluntary associations, whose enterprize must succeed, because favored by a special Providence. Christ "shall have the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." Who, my friends, would have it otherwise?

Here it may not be inappropriate to refer to a sentiment, which has recently been recognized as true, by Justice McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in an address before the college of teachers in Cincinnati. After alluding to war and fanaticism, as

passions, which in the past ages of the world, had been productive of the most melancholy results, he remarks, that to control these, comes in the Gospel gentle, kind, easy to be entreated, long suffering, full of mercy and good works—and then advances the position, "that the great missionary enterprises must succeed; and that upon it, depends the success of the world."

Do you doubt the opinion of the learned judge? Compare the condition of those nations where Christianity prevails, with the heathen nations of the earth and whilst you are gratified at the elevation of the former, and deplore the degradation of the latter, give your doubts to the wind.

Again, deprive man of the knowledge of the fundamental principles of the Bible, and you strip him of his chief glory. Let him doubt his immortality—let him be unadvised as to the attributes and perfection of the Deity—let him not understand the duties he owes to himself, to his fellow and his God—let him be ignorant touching his fallen state and the plan of salvation, yet fearing a judgment to come—and his heavens are hung with dark clouds, which philosophy cannot penetrate. Upon these deeply interesting subjects, the Bible —and the Bible alone—presents the necessary information. Without this information, intelligence, and virtue, and religion, and freedom, taking hence their flight, would leave man, unaided by the counsel of the Eternal Throne, to grapple with the powers of darkness, and the corruptions of his own soul!

These remarks, I trust, justify the conclusion that every system of education, which hath other foundation than the Christian religion, will fail of raising society to its proper elevation, and of increasing to the greatest extent, the amount of human happiness.

It will be readily admitted, that it should ever be the aim of education, to promote the happiness of man, and the glory of his Maker. To the accomplishment of these ends, the powers of the whole man should be developed. The body should be strengthened by appropriate exercises and labor; the faculties of the mind, by proper training, should be prepared for the various pursuits of life, for deep investigation, and for those severe moral, scientific, political and religious conflicts in which giant meets giant; and the heart, its passions being subdued, should delight in things "lovely and of good report."

In this enlarged sense, how important that education should prevail amongst us We are, indeed, a peculiar people, peculiar in our origin, peculiar in our progress, peculiar in our institutions and peculiar in our duties and privileges And whilst we contemplate, for a moment, these peculiarities, observe how intimate the connection betwixt them, and intelligence and virtue.

Look back, through the vista of time, to the period when the mind of Columbus conceived the stupendous idea of a new world; see him after he had purposed its discovery, struggling against the prejudices of crowned heads, and superior to the derision of false philosophers; view him launch into unknown seas, and whilst battling successfully against the storms of heaven, see him superior to a mutinous crew,

and holding on to his course till the joyful cry, "land ahead," gladdens every heart. Such an achievement, under such circumstances, exhibits, boldly, the power of the cultivated man. Your own thoughts have doubtless already suggested, that it would have been impossible to have performed that voyage of discovery, had not philosophic investigation presented to the world the mariner's compass.

Time passes on and many of our forefathers, oppressed at home, sought an asylum in the forests of the new world. Settlements are made at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock—and exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, to the diseases and privations incident to a residence upon a distant and newly discovered continent, and surrounded by more than 30 hostile tribes, who would not have expected their extermination, rather than their growth, in so short a time, to this great nation?

In their progress, they resist unjust usurpations of power upon the part of the mother country—declare themselves independent, and fearlessly battle for freedom. They are successful, and the United States of America is admitted into the great family of nations. Think you,that the glories of that eventful struggle would now light up the pages of our national history,had the leading patriots of that day been uneducated men? Could such men have planned the campaigns, provided the means of carrying on a protracted war, or, when the soldiery was unpaid and discontented, with passions untamed, could such men have resisted the temptation to erect the government into a military despotism, for their personal aggrandizement?

But, liberty achieved, the Articles of Confederation proved, in time of peace, to be "a rope of sand," and inadequate to secure the objects of a good government. Whilst the war raged, and a proud foe was in the country, the states, standing side by side, won glory and freedom. The lion crouched in his lair, peace came, state looked with a jealous eye upon state, the requisitions of Congress were disregarded, the government was destitute of the means of meeting its engagements, the confidence and respect of the people was gone, and standing upon the brink of anarchy and civil war, the people of the states, through their representatives, assembled in convention, to remodel the Union.

Upon the issue of that convention how much depended. The confederacy of the states was a signal failure. Can the collected wisdom of the country devise a plan upon which the people inhabiting an extensive territory can govern themselves? This was the question. They who did good service in the hour of peril, and whose wounds were hardly yet healed, as they looked back to the victories of the eventful struggle through which they had passed, and forward to the destiny which seemed to await their country, paused in view of the crisis. They deliberated, and that Providence which favored the American army upon the battlefield, enlightened her wise men in the council chamber. They recommended the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, It was adopted. Never before did man achieve such triumph. It was the triumph of principle.

These scenes exhibited a new spectacle. What? Of state leaguing with state in a grand confederacy? That experiment had failed. They exhibited the people (in the exercise of that power, ever inherent in them) calmly, dispassionately, deliberately, deciding that the Confederacy had failed to answer the objects of a good government, the happiness and welfare of the governed, and then calling into existence, by virtue of the will of the people of the United States (expressed in the conventions of the several states) a new form of government, to which, having delegated certain portions of sovereignty, they retained the controlling power in themselves. Limiting, by written landmarks, governmental power, they afforded to the people an easy method of detecting any encroachment upon their reserved rights.

Thus originated the Constitution. It commemorates a new era in the science of government. It develops new principles; and these principles are tending to the political regeneration of the world. Under its banner we have grown until we are a mighty people. Our past glory, our present happiness and influence, our future prospects are all identified with the Union. Binding together distant sections, harmonizing the interests of the North and the South, the East and the West; it was the result of concession, conciliation and compromise. Built upon the principles of eternal truth, may this proud temple ever stand, unshaken by the blasts of a false and misguided philanthropy, unaffected by the insinuating and destructive elements of vice.

This federal government, emanating from the people, and deriving all its powers from them, through the provisions of the Constitution, has its orbit prescribed. The states also derive their powers from their respective constitutions (emanating alike from the people) and are controlled only by their own constitutional provisions, except as to powers delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the states.

Here, then, is presented to the world two governments, each the creature of the people; each responsible to the people; each clothed with some of the attributes of sovereignty; each operating upon and controlling the same people; each exercising jurisdiction in the same territory; and yet, when each has adhered to rigid principles, when each has been satisfied to revolve in its appropriate orbit, the system has worked well.

Here are citizens of Illinois good and true, yet owing allegiance to the Union. And to determine, where run, the boundary lines betwixt the two powers, each having the highest and strongest claims upon our regard, is often a delicate and difficult task; yet upon a strict observance of these boundary lines, depends the success of the system. Then you perceive, gentlemen, that to be a citizen of Illinois, and at the same time a citizen of the United States, and to be true (as it is your interest, your duty and your glory to be) to each, requires, to some extent, a familiarity with the principles of our government. I said that the Constitution of the United States commemorated a new era in the science of government. It denies the

omnipotence of the government. It recognizes the people as the source of power; the government as a creature emanating from them and deriving all its powers from the Constitution.

Denying the principle, that any man is born with the right to rule, or that any set of men come into being with higher civil privileges than those enjoyed by the multitude, it contemplates man as a rational being, who of right ought to be free.

In this government (thus originating in the written expression of the popular will) "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." Congress does not possess the undefined and undefinable powers of the British parliament; and the people retain the right "to enlarge or diminish the sphere of authority which they have prescribed" to the federal government.

How dignified the situation of the citizen of the United States! He stands upon the watch! His country has confided to him the important trust of sounding the alarm when the foe shall approach. And whether he comes in the person of the bold usurper, or the wily and cunning demagogue, who steals away the liberties of his country, while the accents of devotion to the interests of the people linger upon his lips; he should alike blow the blast of alarm and expose to his countrymen the treasonable design. To fulfil this important trust, this delicate duty of the citizen requires, not only that he be a man of intelligence, but that he be acquainted with the occasion which gave birth to the Constitution and with the principles upon which it was constructed.

Do the states seek after powers conferred, by national consent, upon the Union? Let him be prepared to sustain the interests of the whole people. Is the tendency to consolidation? Let the landmarks of authority, as ascertained by the Constitution, be pointed out and then let the free and the fearless citizen make no compromise. In private business, men may make honorable overtures and good result; but when the hand of authority (whether wielded by whig or by democrat) grasps unauthorized powers reserved to the people, let the war be carried into Africa. And though the stealthy politician "may cry peace," let there be no peace until the Constitution shall be restored to its original landmarks, and until the ruthless Goth, and the unprincipled Vandal, regardless of the party to which he may belong, shall be driven by an indignant people from the temple of liberty.

Under this Constitution, and those of the states, highly important duties devolve upon the citizen, and their performance demands that he be intelligent and virtuous.

In other countries the throne is esteemed the fountain of honor; here, it emanates from the people. In other countries, men are noble born, and important stations are filled by hereditary succession; here our institutions delight to honor the man of qualifications and integity, and appointments to office are made through the ballot box. Then, how important that the elective franchise should be exercised by competent men.

If the influence of sentiments expressed at the polls was confined to Illinois, voters should be sufficiently informed to understand its true policy—to know what would tend to advance its prosperity and what to retard its rapid growth—what would tend to lessen our influence as a State. and what to elevate us to the highest rank amongst the confederated powers. Why? Because their votes fill these seats, and their views regulate and control legislation. Representatives generally reflect in their acts the will of their constituents, and should they occasionally go ahead of public sentiment, their legislation is inoperative—remaining a dead letter in the statute book. But enlarge the field of your vision—behold this great and extensive Union depending for its prosperity, nay, for its existence, upon the proper exercise of the right of suffrage, and you will perceive the absolute necessity of immediately putting into operation an educational system which shall extend at least the advantages of a sound common school education to the great mass of the American people.

Thus perceiving how intimately the prosperity of our common country is connected with the free, the intelligent and virtuous exercise of the elective franchise, let us labor together in the cause of education. And as none would abandon, at the peril of property and life, this distinguished birthright of the American citizen, I trust that the man will not be found who is not willing to aid in every laudable effort to secure its proper exercise. Upon its being thus exercised depends the security of "our lives, our property and our sacred honor."

But again: Our privileges require the general dissemination of knowledge. Here the highway of knowledge is open to all classes. The humblest individual, in origin or occupation, may aspire to the most elevated office. And how frequently, in the history of our beloved country, do we see men rising above the adverse circumstances which surround them, and by dint of genius and merit seating themselves upon the high places of honor and distinction? See Roger Sherman, in early life laboring industriously in making and mending shoes. Behold him passing from village to village, with the implements of his trade upon his back, seeking employment, and by his energies supporting an indigent mother. Presently he is figuring in the councils and courts of Connecticut—then in that convention of dignitaries which formed the constitution of the United States—and now, by the weight of his personal influence, he procures its adoption by the people of his own state.

The forces are marshalled upon the field—the fight begins amidst the firing of the musketry, the roar of cannon, the clashing of steel, warrior grapples with warrior—and as the British lion cowers beneath the strong strokes of the American blacksmith, fame weaves one of her gayest chaplets for the brow of the victor at the Eutaw Springs.

Need I multiply examples to fasten your affections upon this feature of our institutions? Where is the man whom any price could tempt to barter away from himself and his children the privilege of aspiring to office in which, whilst useful to his country, he may build up the pyramid of his own fame? Then let us endeavor so to edu-

cate the rising generation that they may be qualified for the various stations in society, that they may be able, when occasion shall require, to serve with advantage the country, the State, the Nation—that they may be ready in any emergency to stand by the banner of the Union, and to uphold it amidst the strife of excited parties.

Here, too, a great nation is making the experiment of self-government. Shall she succeed, or shall her institutions yield to soft, stealthy and insidious corruption? Let us profit by the experience of other republics. Greece and Rome are only known in the history of the past. The record of their downfall is the record of their corruption. Let us avoid their fate by the proper education of our children.

In other countries the stability of the crown depends upon the ignorance of the people; here education is necessary to the existence of the government. The citizens must understand the principles upon which our institutions are based and duly appreciate the high responsibilities which devolve upon them. Then, as we love our liberty, and would perpetuate it, let us endeavor to have the people so educated that they shall understand their duties and possess virtue enough to perform them—that they shall appreciate their privileges, and under all circumstances fearlessly maintain them.

Can I (need I, if I could,) say more to satisfy the reflecting man, and especially those of my audience who occupy these seats, and who are busied and perplexed with the labors and toils of legislation, whether instructions in the principles of our government—principles adverse to those he gathers as he reads the history of other nations, principles which elevate the people, principles which admit of no castes or orders in society, principles which leave untrammelled conscience, speech, the press; principles which recognize the people as the source of power and the government as a creature called into existence to advance their prosperity and happiness, principles which constitute the essence of liberty—whether instruction in these principles should not enter into and constitute an essential part of the education of American youth. I mean not simply of those young men who are so fortunate as to enjoy the blessings of a collegiate education nor yet of those who may boast of academic honors. I mean of the great mass of American youth who,though educated in the common school may become (nay, have and will continue to become) the legislators, the lawyers, the judges, the politicians of this country. Whilst his youthful imagination delights in the natural beauties of his native land, in the magnificence of her plains and the grandeur of her mountains, shall his fancy be fastened upon the blazing badges of nobility and the pomp and parade of the court of the queen of the Isles? Shall even the coronation of the youthful Victoria win his affections? Genius of liberty, spirits of the mighty dead, forbid. With early instruction (and who can so successfully impart it as the intelligent, the affectionate, the beloved mother) whilst yet under maternal teaching and strong maternal influence, let him drink in republican principles, let them become a part of his nature, and then, come what may, tempt who will, whether the enemy slyly offers him his supposed price, or come like Caesar, at the head of his legions,

his affections are fixed and his blood is ready to be spilled in defence of that constitution which is associated with his country's happiness and glory and around which cluster feelings—strong, resistless feelings of attachment. These feelings can only be planted in the youthful mind. Then let the American youth be so taught, and long, very long, shall the American banner wave over a happy, thrice happy people. And long shall every wave of that starred and striped banner beckon the nations to the pathway of glory and the enjoyments of freedom. Nay, every wave shall waft the breath of liberty upon crowned heads and orders of nobility, and its purity shall wither them, and the nations shall be free.

Pursue this system of instruction, and our youth, instead of growing up in almost entire ignorance of the harmonious principles upon which the noble structure of our government is reared—instead (in the capacity of voters) of deciding grave and important questions upon the judgment of others, and these not unfrequently designing and ambitious, they will be prepared for themselves, in the light of their own knowledge, to express their own sentiments, and to pronounce their own decisions, upon constitutional questions, or points of national policy.

Then as a citizen of Illinois, and of the Union, I shall be proud, nay, I shall rejoice, to see the day, when the youth of the United States shall in the common school, the academy, and the college, be instructed in those plain, republican principles, which constitute the strength of the Union, and which are endeared to every American citizen by the recollection that their price was the blood of their fathers. They won them at the point of the bayonet. Let us understand them, let us cherish them, let us defend them, let us love them; and sooner will the everlasting hills reel from their rock-bound foundations than our proud eagle cease its lofty flight.

If these considerations do not clearly demonstrate the importance of education, including a knowledge of the principles of our government, and the intimate connexion betwixt intellectual and moral cultivation on the one hand, and the elevation of society, and the amount of human happiness, on the other, let us examine yet a little further.

Look at the glass, which lights this hall by day, and protects us against the inclemency of the night. How largely does this product contribute to the comfort of every civilized community. The chief of the savage tribe is destitute of the advantages of this production of human skill, which the humblest individual in this village enjoys. But before the pane of glass was manufactured by the operator, the investigations of the geologist, showing what kind of earth would enter into combination with certain other substances, so as to produce an article transparent, and admitting of great extension, were indispensably necessary.

Upon this paper, manufactured from rags, otherwise valueless, may be imprinted the learning, discoveries, and improvements of the present period; and the record transmitted to distant countries and future ages.

Examine the press, that mighty engine of power. See it, through the periodicals of the day, keeping the world awake. See it throwing off scientific productions, and multiplying books adapted to the infant mind, so rapidly, that it is adequate to the supply of the world. Under its benign influences the human family has been elevated in the scale of being, and qualified to undertake schemes of enlarged benevolence. But as it is powerful to accomplish good, so is it mighty in working ruin, if conducted in the spirit of licentiousness. To prevent its abuse should be the desire and aim of the good man of every party.

Shall I allude to the improvements in machinery? Such is its perfection and extent that it is now estimated to perform an amount of labor equal to that of one-third of the population of the world, with its 800,000,000 inhabitants. How materially the prices of the common necessaries of life (upon the cheapness of which depends chiefly the comforts of the poorer classes) are lessened by this vast amount of artificial labor, I leave you to determine. Only give to education the credit of contributing, in this particular, in so large a manner, to the cause of human happiness.

The application of steam to navigation has already produced great commercial revolutions, and is likely to produce others still greater. The facilities of the steamboat have advanced the prosperity of the Great Valley, many years. But what will be the wondrous changes in its agricultural and commercial condition, when the Great Western, and the Liverpool, and the British Queen, ladened with the products of other continents, shall ascend the great Father of Waters, and return, bearing to foreign ports our abundant produce? A few years will serve to develop.

The improvements and enterprise of the age are bringing into closer connexion the nations of the earth; and whilst this favors the spread of civilization the way is open for the introduction of the Gospel. Indeed, art, and science, and commerce, and war, and peace, are each, by an over-ruling Providence, made subservient to the great work of subjugating the world unto Christ.

Such conquest will far exceed in glory any achieved by earth-born warrior. We have heard that Alexander conquered the world; we have read of the victories of Napoleon. Their course is marked with blood; and the wreathes which decorate their triumphal entries, are bedewed with the tears of the bereaved widow and the helpless orphan. Not so the course and ascension of the Messiah. The angel of the Lord proclaiming to the shepherds glad tidings of great joy to all people, points them to the birth-place of the infant Savior "and suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." This Son of God was a man of sorrow, and acquainted with grief. He spake as never man spake; He taught doctrines, bearing internal evidence of their divine origin; and having triumphed over all His enemies, in the presence of the gazing multitude, He ascends to the Eternal Throne, whence He will

judge the world. His kingdom, thus established, relieves the distressed, pities the poor in spirit, administers comfort to the widow, supports the fatherless children, and points the deathless spirit of the dying man to the glories of heaven. Fighting under no banner but that of love, recognizing no principle but that of peace, tribe after tribe, and nation after nation, has yielded to its conquering power, until now the day dawns in which the continents and the isles of the seas acknowledge that the Lord is God.

Whatever be the situation of an American citizen, let him always aspire to the rank of an intelligent and useful man. Behold young Rittenhouse, whilst engaged in the mechanic shop, instead of lounging away his leisure hours at the tavern, or spending them in idle amusement, redeeming them in the acquisition of useful knowledge. Presently he exhibits an orrery to the world, which displays the relations of the heavenly bodies at distant periods and, anon, he calculates the period of the transit of Venus. He is one of those who are stationed in the observatory to watch the predicted event. As the time approaches, mark the anxiety of his pale countenance and agitated frame, and now, when the event transpires according to his calculations, he sinks, overpowered by the intensity of his emotions. This, indeed, was a triumph. And to such achievements let the aspirations of American youth be directed rather than to the acquisition of wealth. I cannot enlarge upon the pleasures of the cultivated mind. Its seasons are indeed joyous, and I invite all to "the feast of reason and the flow of soul."

One other remark, and I shall have done. Illinois is yet in her infancy. Her character is not yet formed. Her local situation, her commercial advantages, the fertility of her soil, secure to her, at no very distant period, a heavy population. What shall be the character of that population, is, gentlemen, a matter completely in your hands. The ability to give a proper direction to public sentiment, and the means of sustaining such a system of education as shall enlighten the public mind, are with you. Then choose you, whether our children shall grow up in ignorance, liable to be carried away by every passing temptation, and subject to the control of the designing demagogue; or whether, having enjoyed the advantages of a sound education, they shall be liberal, enlightened and influential freemen.

Gentlemen, let us, as legislators, and citizens, act worthy the destiny of our native or adopted State, touching the education of her youth; and in all coming time, and through eternity, the recollection will bring joy and consolation. Such action will scatter the cheering beams of intelligence through all parts of the State, rescuing many young men of talent from oblivion, and advance Illinois, the young, the rich, the beautiful and the promising, to her proper station among the States of the Confederacy.

Address.

(Hon. Wm. Brown, A. M.)

[Showing, among other things, the importance of the common school, the academy and the college, and their necessary connextion in any general system of education.]

In the address delivered on a former evening, in this hall, I aimed, in part, to show the importance of education (including a knowledge of the principles of the Constitution) to the citizens of the United States, and that these fundamental principles of our government should not only be taught in the academy and the college, but also in the common school, where the great mass of American youth must ever be educated.

Upon the present occasion, I shall, among other things, endeavor to prove that betwixt the common school, the academy and the college, there exists a necessary connextion, that the interest of no one of these institutions is at war with the prosperity of another, and, indeed, that each is essential in every system of education which affords sound, extensive and liberal educational advantages to the whole people.

First, as to the common school. Can I say anything to impress the views you already entertain, of the importance, nay the necessity of a judicious, equal and effective system of common schools? Who constitute the men, foremost in the battlefield, and foremost, the most erect, in the political crisis? The plain men of the country—the men who have received their school learning under the instruction of some laborious and worthy teacher of the village or the country school. And, gentlemen, those who have been, and must continue to be thus educated, constitute by far the greatest portion of our youth. Might I not stop here? Might I not justly conclude that the recollection, that in these institutions is to be laid the foundation of our national character; that in these institutions the mind is to be so trained as to conduce most to the development of its powers in after life, or to cripple it forever; that in them either correct or incorrect modes of teaching, thinking, reasoning, speaking are to be enforced, and that these modes will endure; that in them, either good or bad principles, in morals and government are to be inculcated, and that these principles will cling to our children with all the tenacity of early friendship; I ask might I not justly conclude that these recollections would arouse the anxiety of every citizen and awake the attention of every legislator to the necessity of devising and carrying into execution such a system of common school education as will afford to every child in the land the opportunity of having his mind opened to understand something of himself, the immortality of his spirit, his duties to himself, to his fellow and his God; to understand something of the universe in which he lives and the principles by which it is upheld and sustained in its grand operations, to understand the natural rights of man, and how far these rights have been yielded up in the organization of that government, which, through the instrumentality of our sires, a kind

Providence has established, and in which it is his high privilege to be a citizen initiate. Surely such is the anxiety of the citizen and such the attention of the legislator touching this interesting subject.

As early as the winter of 1833-4 an educational convention was holden at this place. Of that convention some of the most honorable gentlemen of this legislature were members. That body, for the purpose of preparing the public mind for suitable legislation upon the subject of common schools, sent forth an address to the people of Illinois. That address I had the honor to draft, and as it expressed the views then entertained by a very respectable portion of the community, it will not be considered presumptious in me, upon this occasion, to suggest (from recollection) some of the sentiments then commended to the consideration of the people.

It was assumed as a position that the state was responsible for the education of its youth. Yes, sir, responsible for the education of its youth. Is it a questionable matter, whether intelligence and virtue be essential to the perpetuity of our institutions? Has the experience of the past been so easily forgotten? Do the ruins of other republics teach no lesson worthy of consideration? Has the counsel of those most prominent in the establishment of our government been interred with their remains? No, sir. There is an abiding conviction in the minds of this people that nothing can maintain our institutions, nothing secure them against the tendency to anarchy and civil war on one hand, and to consolidation on the other, but the firmness, the integrity, the intelligence of those who exercise the right of suffrage. The purity of the elective franchise is the hope of the nation. If the great mass of those who enjoy this privilege are oppressed with ignorance, are unacquainted with the character of those rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, of the tendency of this or that course of policy, how is it possible that the complicated machinery of state and national government shall work to the best advantage? Then by virtue of the obligation resting upon every state, to preserve the government, she should adopt all acts, honorable in themselves, and not contravening the provisions of the Constitution, which tend to enlighten the public mind, and to infuse throughout the body politic, a preserving principle. The cheering and legitimate tendencies of sound common school instruction are to elevate society, to improve the mind and morals of the rising generation and to give permanency to our political institutions.

Then the argument is made out, and it fixes an obligation upon the State to secure to all its children such education as shall be deemed necessary to a proper discharge of the duties imposed upon them by State and national government, and to the perpetuation of our liberty.

How far the means, now under the control of the State, will enable it to act efficiently upon this subject, the better judgment of the Legislature will determine.

There is one feature, however, in the common school system which has told well in New York, to which I invite your attention: I mean the principle of holding out the share which, upon distribution, would fall to each neighborhood, as an inducement to the appropriation of a portion of its own means to the purpose of education. Let it take interest enough in the cause, to build a school house, or to employ a teacher a certain number of months in the year, or to do something else toward advancing the system, before it shall enjoy any benefit from the state fund. Should any neighborhood fail to comply with these requisitions let its share go to the other neighborhoods in the same county, in which the people take interest in the cause of education and are willing to contribute towards making it common to all the children of the state. Each vicinity would be too proud to suffer adjoining neighborhoods (under circumstances so humiliating to its character) to receive its distributive share of the school fund.

By such legislation, a spirit of emulation would be waked up, an interest in behalf of learning would be aroused, and a small fund, by judicious distribution, be the means of appropriating a much larger amount of private wealth to the public good.

Another thought as we pass along. I have already remarked, that the great mass of our youth must be educated at the common schools. The number that will enjoy the advantages of a collegiate education, will be comparatively small.

Then the question naturally comes up to the philanthropic mind, may not institutions—numerous institutions—spring up throughout the State, occupying the middle ground between the common school, on the one hand, and the college on the other, in which many, very many, (who, unless such institutions spring into existence, will be, of necessity, confined to instruction in the common school) may enjoy the advantages of a more extensive and liberal education. Will not judicious legislation here, as it has done in New York, cause academies to spring up in different parts of the State, and thus be instrumental in rescuing from obscurity, many young men of humble means, but of the brightest promise, and of elevating them to honorable and useful stations.

Again, might not these academies be so organized, that assistance, at least to the extent of the tuition fees, should be afforded to indigent young men, of sufficient abilities, provided they should (after having completed their education) engage for a specified time, in the profession of school teaching; and in that mode liquidate the amount due from them for tuition, to the seminary fund. In this manner you may aid in the education of poor, but useful and talented men who will reimburse the State in services, which, in the formation of her character, and the development of her resources, are of the utmost importance.

And I doubt, I very much doubt, (if the consent of Congress can be obtained) whether it would not be far more judicious, benevolent and useful, thus to appropriate the avails of the "college and seminary funds," than to appropriate them to the support of two mam-

moth institutions, which would ever tend to aggravate the violence of party strife, and the management of which would ever be a source of angry and expensive legislation. Let the State look to the education of the many; and let individuals, who desire to obtain more extensive advantages for their children, patronize (after their sons shall have passed through the common school and academy) institutions which, protected by reasonable and guarded acts of legislation, have sprung into being, and are sustained by the voluntary aid of those who, directly and indirectly, enjoy their wide spread blessings.

Such a system would be the most advantageous to all. It would be a bright star, to which the poor man could look for the irradiation of hope and promise upon his family; and to such as might desire their sons to enjoy the opportunities of a college, it would afford the means of training them in suitable institutions, at home, until they had arrived at that age, when they might, with propriety, be removed from the immediate authority of family government, and the present force of parental influence.

I shall now submit to your consideration a few practical remarks.

Education is the work of years. In youth the faculties of the mind must be developed by proper training, and moral principles must be inculcated, if you would have useful manhood and happy old age.

In order to the most successful accomplishment of this work, comfortable and convenient school houses and seminaries, and colleges, must be erected and suitably furnished Is this proposition doubted? The connexion between the body and the mind is so intimate, that the condition of the one immediately affects the other. The body must be at ease, or the intellect cannot operate to the best advantage.

After sitting some two hours upon a rough slab, without a back to recline against, could you advantageously investigate a subject which, under any circumstances, would tax your ability to the utmost? The mind, sympathizing with the body, would be unqualified for severe effort. Why then, is the child, similarly situated, expected successfully to accomplish a task as difficult to him, as the solution of the most abstruse question in science would be to the man of ripe years.

Again, when the cold winds are entering the school room through a hundred openings, and the 10,000 sensitive nerves send shivering thoughts to the brain, how can the child learn to advantage?

Since the commencement of winter, many schools in the Valley have been abandoned, for the want of suitable houses; and how many more have lost half their value, on the same account? Shall this state of things longer reproach us as a people, and repress the restless genius of our youth?

There is amongst us another and a crying evil, to which I invite your attention. I allude to the employment of incompetent teachers. who, my friends, are impressing their manners, their habits and

their thoughts upon the rising generation? The common school teachers. Look at the majority of those who are thus employed and ask yourselves whether you wish your children to grow up in their likeness.

The man who is engaged in the arduous and responsible business of training the infant mind should not only be possessed of intellectual attainments, but of moral worth. His character should be irreproachable, and he should be welcome to the hospitalities of your table and the enjoyment of your fireside. To such men, and to such only, should you commit the education of your children.

Their usefulness in life, their preparation for death and the scenes of the judgment, depend much upon the man who teaches them in early life. How responsible the trust! Next in importance to that of him who stands in the sacred desk, proclaiming glad tidings, is the station of the teacher. Then, as you design your offspring to be intellectual, useful and happy; as you value their deathless spirits, I charge you to look well both to the moral character and the mental qualifications of the schoolmaster.

To have such teachers, it is necessary that they should be paid, in common with others, a fair compensation for their labor, and that their profession should be esteemed honorable. But to build such houses and procure such teachers will involvethe expenditure of much money, says one, whilst another complains that tuition is too high—can't possibly give more than $3.00 a quarter.

In the ordinary business of life do men act upon principles so contracted? Let a cloud rest upon the title to your property; let an adversary claim be set up, making it necessary to try the strength of conflicting titles in the courts, do you inquire for that member of the bar whom you may retain for $2.50 or $5.00? Certainly not. Your judgment leads you to the office of him whose experience and legal learning will enable him to understand the case and quiet you in the possession of your estate. You need his services and are willing to pay him a liberal fee, according to the usages of the profession. If such would be your course in a mere business transaction, with how much greater liberality should you act in compensating that man whom you may select to aid you in the formation of the character of your children.

And tell me into whose hands is this property, of whom many are so careful, soon to pass? Into the hands of their children. Let them reflect upon the temptations and dangers which surround that young man whose parents, in their zeal to add house to house and field to field, have neglected his moral and intellectual training, when he comes suddenly into the possession of his father's estate. Finding himself the master of his time and his fortune, and having no fondness for literary pursuits, he seeks society. Unqualified to appreciate the pleasures of the cultivated and refined, he naturally falls

in with those who delight in sensual gratifications. The rest is easily told. His wealth is squandered in riotous living and he becomes a vagabond upon the face of the earth.

But the objector still urges that the general dissemination of education amongst the children of this people will require the expenditure of much money. Grant it. Its accomplishment will justify any expenditure, however great.

And in human operations what great work can be accomplished without means? The system of internal improvements, projected in Illinois, requires its millions. Indeed, the necessity of money or property to carry through successfully any vast enterprise is so manifest that you would immediately doubt the practicability of any project proposed to be effected without the one or the other.

Now, my friends, what work (strain your thoughts, give loose rein to your imagination,) what work so important as the education of the American youth? Pause upon the question, view it in reference to the Union alone, cast your eyes over the land in its length and in its breadth, gaze upon its green plains and snowy mountains, its broad lakes and mighty rivers, its boundaries east and west, limited only by the great deep, and ask yourselves if the development of its incalculable resources be a matter of small moment? And is there a heart which has ever throbbed with one single patriotic emotion that does not look with the most intense anxiety to the question whether, in after ages, our country, our beloved country, is it to be the seat of art, science, religion and freedom? The thought that ignorance and vice and tyranny shall one day reign in this lovely land in the spirit of licentiousness, oh! how it sickens the patriot's heart! Then let us arouse from our lethargy and by the proper education of the rising generation secure the perpetuation of our institutions.

View this question with reference to the world. The force of our character and our principles has gone abroad, and has wrought great changes in public opinion. The spirit of investigation is at work, and the forms of government, if not changed, are bending themselves, more or less, to American principles. The genius of government is better understood and the people are ascending to their proper level. What philanthropist and, especially, what citizen of the United States, would have his country cease to exercise kindly influence upon the nations of the earth? Then, cost what it may, the rising generation must be educated.

But is it, indeed, the tendency of intelligence to impoverish a people? That man who so supposes, has observed with little profit the condition of nations, and but illy apprehends the simplest principles of political economy. Compare the comforts, the improvements, and the wealth of the best cultivated governments, with the wants and poverty of ignorant tribes, and determine whether the appropriation of means in the dissemination of intelligence, tends to lessen individual or national wealth. Such appropriation requires present expenditures, but it is returned (with interest) to the citizens of an enlightened community, through a thousand avenues, never opened to an uneducated people.

Further—I assume the position, that it is the will of God, that the children of this people shall be educated. This proposition is susceptible of the clearest demonstration. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart therefrom," is an express command, written in the Holy Book.

But this design is manifest from the very organization of the mind. It possesses various faculties, each susceptible of great improvement. Examine the great volume of nature, and point to a single instance in which creative power was uselessly exercised in the formation of a material or immaterial substance, or in clothing it with a useless property. That instance cannot be found. Then, the mind of man being susceptible of improvement, and that improvement being requisite to his general enjoyment, I argue that it was designed that it should be cultivated. And, if to be cultivated, in order to advance his happiness, then the will of Deity, as to the propriety of using the necessary means, is made manifest.

But again—The great objects of man's creation, were, his own happiness, and the glory of God. Disclose to the uneducated mind, for the first time, the astonishing fact, that all, the various modifications of matter—the valley, and the many beautiful flowers which carpet it—the mountains, and the clouds which hang in deep drapery upon its lofty summit, nay, that every material substance around and about us, is composed of a very few original substances, in different combinations, and his conception of the Great Architect is enlarged. Teach him, that the substances, entering into the composition of atmospheric air, if a little differently combined, would prove destructive of animal life; and that the cooling waters of the gushing spring would be rendered unfit to slake burning thirst; and that the great river which rolls along your western border, and the mighty deep, would cease to float the steam boat or the ship, under a different combination of their original elements, and he more fully discovers the wisdom and goodness of the Deity. Let him understand, that the sun is the center of the great system; that the earth is a small orb revolving, in common with other orbs, around this common centre; that there is no clashing in their orbits; that those twinkling, stars, which he had fancied were hung out in the heavens, to beautify the scenery of the night, are perhaps the centres of yet other systems; and whilst he listens to the music of the spheres, and beholds in the vast expanse, the benevolence, omniscience, the omnipotence of his God, he is at once a more elevated and a more devotional man. Then, whether we look at man in reference to his own happiness, or to the glory of his Creator, he should be educated.

But the means of accomplishing this grand object are abundantly provided. These children, by the happy institutions of society, are provided in their parents, with natural guardians, whose hearts burn with parental affection. At the hands of these guardians, He, to whom "the earth and the fullness thereof," belongeth, requires a portion of the goods entrusted to their stewardship, to be expended with liberality in the education of their children, and their neighbors'

children. Will you throw obstacles in the way of accomplishing this heavenly design, by vesting these means in lands, in houses, or schemes of wild speculation? Beware. The time will speedily come, when the steward must give an account of his stewardship, and oh! how many will mourn mis-spent time, talents abused, and wealth greedily accumulated. Remember, we are warned to make to ourselves friends "of the mammon of unrighteousness," and how can we do it more effectually, than in raising them up in our own household, of the offspring with whom God hath blessed us, and in securing the favor of heaven, by the performance of its plain requirements?

These conditions show that not only the faculties of the mind, which are susceptible of great improvement, but that the ample means and institutions provided, in order to secure this improvement, nay, that the happiness of man, and the glory of the Eternal Throne, demand the cultivation of the human intellect and the human heart.

In this cultivation, the mother plays a distinguished part. Her nature, her education, her pursuits, the various situations in which she is placed, from infancy to age—all tend to elicit and expand the finest feelings. Whilst yet under the parental roof her love for her parents, her deep attachment for her sister, her devotion to a beloved brother, and the various occurrences daily transpiring in the family and social circle, wake up the sympathies of the soul—and, shall I say it?—almost, in the estimation of the admiring youth, transform her into an angel of light. Her affections fasten upon one of noble bearing, and at the altar their destiny is united. She enters upon the performance of new duties; and these duties tend still more to the cultivation of the heart. Home and its endearments, her tender solicitude for the success of her husband; her warm, burning affection for her offspring, bring into the soul so much of tenderness and love, that the affections of youth (whether they palpitate in the bosom of the delicate girl, or the active, spirited boy) center in the mother. This is the secret of her influence; in this, is its exceeding strength; with this yearning attachment, with this confidence, which, is never easily lost, she may, she does, exert a power, for evil or for good, which will not only tell upon the state of society, upon the destiny of our government, but upon the woes and the joys of that deathless state of existence to which all of us hasten

Then, by all that is amiable in virtue, by all that is enchanting in liberty; by all the glories of that land of light, which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nay, which it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive;" and by all the horrors of outer darkness, I beseech mothers—and especially the mothers of the youth of the Union—to lead them in the paths of honesty, honor and truth; unfold to them the beauties of virtue, display to them, in the works of nature, and in the Holy Scriptures, the manifestation of Divine wisdom, power and goodness; walk with them, through the temple of liberty, and as you explain the principles upon which the magnificent edifice was erected, and the powers which bind together its massy apartments, pour upon their ready ears the manly tones of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, exhibit the battles of the Revolution and of the late war, point to the statues of Washington, Lafayette, Jackson, Perry, Clay, Madison, Henry and a host of others, and with admiration they gaze upon the scene before them, cherish feelings of gratitude towards the benefactors of the nation and vow, at their very entrance into the temple, eternal, undying and uncompromising enmity against the foes of freedom.

Maternal influence and intelligence thus directed become the most powerful allies of the school, the academy and the college.

This exhibition of the influence and the responsible duties of the mother, is the strongest argument I can make to the reflecting mind to show the importance of affording to our daughters, a sound and liberal education. In a short time they will, to some extent, give tone to public opinion, public taste, public manners and morals. In a short time they will be moulding the character of those who, when you shall be covered with the mantle of death, will occupy these seats.

Surely, justice, chivalry, truth, religion, liberty, all demand that the daughters of the citizens of the United State shall be so educated that they shall, in some good degree, be prepared to discharge the important duties which upon them necessarily devolve.

Another thought—to make common schools and academies most useful, as well as to afford to such as may desire it, a thorough education, it has been deemed expedient to establish, within the bounds of this State, colleges. Is it asked how the prosperity of the common school is in any measure dependent upon the prosperity of higher institutions of learning? I answer, that in them the teachers of the common schools must be qualified for their profession.

I trust that we have perceived the great necessity of employing none except moral and competent teachers. And whence shall we obtain a supply adequate to the present and future wants of our rapidly increasing population? Shall we annually, or every five years, send abroad and make an importation? What would you think of that farmer who should yearly send to Missouri for produce to supply his family which he could raise to advantage upon his own soil? How much more unwise is the policy of a state which relies upon another to furnish her with men necessary to educate her children? Who is willing thus to pay tribute, and in so doing fill stations which should be occupied by our own people with persons who, if not foreigners, are at least not bound to us by strong local and family attachments? And whilst, at the present time, I gladly see the qualified man of any state or nation engaged in our schools, yet I do desire to see the day when our own children (who have grown up in the country and are familiar with our habits and feelings), having enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education in the institutions of our own State, shall become successful teachers in all our schools. The character and the best interests of the State require that our teachers be of our own people and of our own manufacturing.

But one objects—I do not expect to educate my son at college, and therefore I am not interested in its prosperity. Sir, you are greatly mistaken. Have you no State pride? Do you not desire your native or adopted State to take a high stand among the sister states of the Union? Do you not look forward to the day when Illinois shall be as famous for her learning and religion as she now is for the fertility of her soil? Then you must cherish her literary institutions.

Grant that your child does not receive a collegiate education, yet if he enjoys the advantages of a good common school, conducted by a neighbor's son, qualified for his profession at the college, do you not, though indirectly, yet in the most happy manner, enjoy the blessings of the institution? Most clearly. Then all are interested in the prosperity of the common school, the academy and the college; and each of these is necessary in any general system of education.

Under the force of these reasons the McKendree College was organized. The second annual catalogue exhibits (in the preparatory and collegiate departments) 116 students, from this and other states and territories. A patronage equal to the expectations of its most sanguine friends. The winter term of the present year opened more favorably than any former session, and the current expenses of the institution being provided for, it stands upon permanent ground.

The scheme of endowing this institution to the amount of $50,000 (by the sale of 100 scholarships) has been generously met by the public. The scholarships have been all sold and the endowment secured. Each scholarship confers upon the purchaser the privilege of sending one student to the institution, free of charge for tuition, room rent and the use of apparatus and library, by paying the interest upon the purchase money of the scholarship, at the rate of 10 per cent per annum. This mode of endowment at the same time provides for the current expenses, scatters into different parts of the country 100 individuals of different denominations, and of no denomination, who are interested in seeing that the institution is properly conducted. These 100 men (all more or less influential in their immediate neighborhoods, and some more extensively so,) are directly interested in keeping the institution filled with scholars and in advancing its general prosperity.

Yet the institution is laboring under one difficulty. The buildings, which were originally designed for the use of the Lebanon Seminary, are inadequate to its wants, and especially to the flattering prospects of the McKendree College. Under these circumstances the trustees, who have determined to erect, during the coming season, an edifice which will be creditable to the State, confidently appeal to the liberality of the people. It must be erected. And whilst we rear an institution which shall irradiate light and truth and science throughout the land, we build the monument of the honored and lamented McKendree.

Having labored to show the popular origin of this institution—that it is endowed by the people—that all its tendencies were to enlighten and bless the people, we ask you for a liberal contribution.

It is a better investment than railroad projects, speculations in the sites of cities, or even than land at $1.25. The results of these you may calculate in dollars and cents—but the blessings of such an institution are incalculable.

Here I will take occasion to remark, that many gentlemen of different religious and political feelings, and from different and distant sections of the country, have liberally contributed to the erection of the proposed ediffice. To a proposition to raise $10,000 to this object, by subscription of $100 ($33.33⅓ payable annually) 39 gentlemen have subscribed their names, many more have subscribed smaller sums, on the same terms.

The site upon which this building is to be erected, is at Lebanon, 20 miles east of St. Louis. This situation is beautiful and healthy. Not a single case of fever occured amongst the students boarding in the commons, during the past season, which has been one of general disease. It is convenient to the people of Illinois and Missouri, to the north and the south, the east and the west being easily approached by the great western mail route and by the Illinois, the Missouri, the Wabash, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

Gentlemen, the facts are before you, and long, very long, may that edifice (now about to be erected, and I trust, in part by your liberality) stand, and standing, dispense blessings to the inhabitants of "the beautiful plains of the departed Illini."

Is there a man in this large and respected audience, who doubts the policy of sustaining literary institutions? If there be one, I would introduce that man to the Sage of Monticello. I would have him listen, as he tells of times that tried men's souls, as he speaks of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and unfolds the fundamental principles of our government, I would have him accompany the great statesman as he retires from the presidency, and, with his honors about him, seeks the quiet enjoyment of domestic life, and the grandeur of his mountain home.

And then, as citizen speaking to citizen, I would have him ask if he did not perceive something in the nature and tendencies of literary institutions to undermine the liberties of the country. It seems to me, the Sage replies, "I have pledged my life, my property and my sacred honor to the cause of liberty, when the clouds were dark, gloomy and portentous, I have witnessed the dangers to which the government was exposed, in consequence of the inefficiency of the Articles of Confederation. I saw the people, in the exercise of inherent sovereignty, call into being the present Constitution—under the auspices of the Father of his Country, I saw the machinery of the new government put into successful operation—at the will of my country men, I have presided over the executive department of the Union twice, four years, and now, standing before you in the garb of the citizen, having no ambitious designs to gratify, and expecting soon to terminate my earthly career, I turn you, sir, to the Central College of Virginia, which has sprung up under my superintendence; and I

say to you, that unless the public mind is enlightened, unless the common school, the academy, and the college emit a light sufficiently strong to dispel the darkness of ignorance, and exert a power of sufficient force to burst the fetters of vice, our government is but an experiment and our freedom an empty name."

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ERRATA.

On page 28, for John A. Logan, read *John Logan*.

On page 51, for Col. Tell, read Col. *Yell*.

On page 210, for date of Paul Selby's connection with The Morgan Journal, 1848. read *1852*.

On page 257, for Gen. Pavey, read Gen. *Posey*.

On page 303, for Strubelpeter, read *Struwwelpeter*.

On page 312, for Ivedell, read *Iredell*.

On page 327, for Jacksonville Monday Conversational Club, read Jacksonville Monday *Conversation* Club.

On page 367, for Joseph Terry, *read* Joseph *Torrey*.

On page 372, for Anderson, read *Andrew*.

On page 379, foot note, for 1905. read *1904*.

On page 381, for Hon. Richard M. Cullom, read Hon. Richard *N.* Cullom.

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